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'One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More.'—SPENSER.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGES
<u>INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.</u> By J. Kennedy, I.C.S.	1
<u>RUSSIA AND CHINA.</u> By E. H. Parker	11
<u>THE PROGRESS OF THE PANJĀB.</u> By Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I.	48
<u>PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY IN MYSORE.</u> By Sir Roper Leth- bridge, K.C.I.E.	77
<u>THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE INDIAN TOBACCO INDUSTRY.</u> By T. Durant Beighton, I.C.S. (Retired)	82
<u>THE FOUNDATION OF PENANG — CAPTAIN LIGHT AND THE NONYAH.</u> By A. Francis Steuart	112
<u>A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.</u> By George Brown, M.D.	124, 288
<u>THE ABSENCE OF ANGRA MAINYU FROM THE ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.</u> By Professor Lawrence Mills, D.D.	139
<u>MR. WICKREMASINGHE'S EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA.</u> By H. C. Norman, B.A. (Oxon.), Boden Scholar of Sanskrit	146
<u>TOLERATION IN ISLAM: THE CHARTER OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD TO THE CHRISTIANS, AND THAT OF THE CALIPH ALI TO THE PARSEES.</u> By Abdullah al-Māmūn al-Suhrawardy	152
<u>PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION</u>	162, 395
<u>THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF INDIA.</u> By General J. F. Fischer, R.E.	225
<u>THE PLACE OF INDIA UNDER PROTECTION.</u> By S. S. Thorburn, I.C.S. (Retired), late Financial Commissioner, Panjab	250
<u>A VINDICATION OF AN INDIAN STATESMAN.</u> By "Shahd-i- 'Adālat"	267
<u>SOCIAL ASPECTS OF NATIVE LIFE IN BENGAL.</u> By R. E. Forrest	279
<u>QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.</u> By Professor Dr. Edward Montet	301
<u>JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.</u> By Charlotte M. Salwey, M.J.S.	309
<u>THE CONQUEST OF ABYSSINIA.</u> By Frederick A. Edwards, F.R.G.S.	320
<u>A TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.</u> By Lieutenant- Colonel G. E. Gerini	361

	PAGES
CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.	177, 410
Fanciful Translations.—"The Salt Monopoly."—China and Tibet.— Britain, Russia, and Japan.—Education of Indian Immigrants in Ceylon.—Northern Nigeria	177—189
The Value of the Rupee.—China and Tibet.—Britain, Russia, and Japan.—The Hon. Sir Lewis Tupper, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., on Literature.—The Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists. —Primary Education in the Plantations of India and Ceylon.	410—418

REVIEWS AND NOTICES 190, 419

<u>Nyasaland under the Foreign Office, by H. L. Duff.—The Nizám, by R. Paton McAuliffe, B.A.—The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great, by Vincent A. Smith.—The Second Afghan War, Vol. II., 1878-1880, by Colonel H. B. Hanna.—Hossfeld's Japanese Grammar, by H. J. Weintz.—A Yankee on the Yangtze, by William Edgar Geil.—Further India, by Hugh Clifford, C.M.G. ("Story of Exploration" Series).—The Penetration of Arabia, by David George Hogarth, M.A., F.R.G.S.—Nan-Tchao Ye-Che: Histoire Particulière du Nan-Tchao. Traduction d'une Histoire de l'Ancien Yün Nan, accompagnée d'une carte et d'un lexique géographique et historique, par Camille Sainson, Vice- Consul de France à Ho-K'ou.—A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, by E. B. Havell.—The Book of Consolations; or, The Pastoral Epistles of Mar Ishoyabh, of Kuphlana in Adiabene.— A Plea for the Better Local Government of Bengal, by Robert Carstairs, I.C.S. (retired).—Japanese Grammar Self-Taught, by H. J. Weintz.—The Sportsman's Book for India, edited by F. G. Affalo.—The Heart of a Continent: a Narrative of Travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Hunza, by Colonel F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E.— Studies, by B. C. Mahtab.—The Sayings of Lao-Tzū, translated from the Chinese, with an introduction, by Lionel Giles, M.A. (Oxon.), Assistant at the British Museum.—Actual India, by Arthur Sawtell.—The Rise of English Culture, by Edwin Johnson, M.A.</u>	190—210
---	---------

The Sikhs, by General Sir John J. H. Gordon, K.C.B., with illustra-
tions by the author.—The Outskirts of Empire in Asia, by the
Earl of Ronaldshay, F.R.G.S.—Europe and the Far East, by
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Mongolie, etc.), 2357 av. J.-C.—1904 apr. J.-C., par Le P.
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fors.—An English-Persian Dictionary, compiled from Original

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	PAGES
<u>Sources, by Arthur N. Wollaston, C.I.E., His Majesty's Indian (Home) Service, translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili," editor of the miracle-play of "Hasan and Husain," etc.—The Guide for the Perplexed, by Moses Maimonides; translated from the original Arabic text by M. Friedländer, Ph.D. The second edition, revised throughout.—Traité sur les Éléphants. Leurs soins Habituels, et leur Traitement dans les Maladies, par Le Capitaine Vétérinaire, G. H. Evans, A.V.D., Surintendant au Département Vétérinaire Civil de la Birmanie. Traduit de l'Anglais, avec Autorisation de l'Auteur par Jules Claine, Consul de France en Birmanie.—The New Era in South Africa, with an Examination of the Chinese Labour Question, by Violet R. Markham, author of "South Africa Past and Present"</u>	419—429
OUR LIBRARY TABLE	210, 429
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES	215, 436

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THE IMPERIAL
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JANUARY, 1905.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

By J. KENNEDY, I.C.S.

EDUCATIONAL matters have received an unusual amount of attention from Lord Curzon. He referred to them in some of his earliest speeches, as well as in later ones; then came the famous University Commission whose report called forth much contentious criticism, and was followed by a University Act; and now we have an elaborate Blue-Book on the whole subject of Indian education, and a Government Minute of great importance, initiating many radical changes. With such a mass of material before us, it is possible to survey the whole field, and to say what has been achieved, what defects or deficiencies are admitted, what remedies proposed.

In British India, including Burmah, there are some 36,000,000 of children of a school-going age, out of whom rather more than 4,500,000 (4,100,000 boys and 450,000 girls) are under some kind of tuition; 3,900,000 are in public institutions—that is, in institutions which are either paid for or aided from public funds, or which at least comply with the Government curriculum; and nearly 400,000 more are in private elementary schools which have not accepted the Government standard, or fail to meet its requirements. The remaining 200,000 are in

purely indigenous institutions, which are usually small, and almost all religious, schools, held in a mosque, or the courtyard of a temple, or in the teacher's house, or a suburban garden. A great many of them are Koran schools, where the pupils learn passages from the Koran by heart—a duty incumbent upon every Mohammedan. Others are grammar schools for the study of the Oriental classics. There are nearly 2,000 such Sanskrit grammar schools, with 22,000 pupils, mostly in Bengal; and over 2,000 Arabic and Persian grammar schools, with 37,000 pupils, in Upper India. These schools usually give board and lodging, as well as education, to their students free of charge. There are also some celebrated centres of more advanced study. Benares and Navadwip in Bengal are known throughout India as the chief seats for the study of Sanskrit grammar and philosophy; while the fame of Deoband and Khairabad, renowned schools of Islamic theology and canon law, has attracted scholars even from Central Asia. All these institutions lie outside the sphere of Government influence; and although their ideals are noble, and their love of learning is genuine, their methods are antiquated. They are hopelessly unprogressive, and they appeal only to old-fashioned folk who desire to honour the medieval learning which their fathers honoured, and to live as their fathers lived. On the other hand, there is an almost universal consensus of liberal native opinion in favour of the new learning of the West, although some of its deficiencies and aberrations are occasionally regarded with misgiving.

Thus, the system of State instruction has practically entire possession of the field. There are three kinds of public institutions—primary schools, for elementary education; secondary schools, the most of which teach English, as well as some classical language; and colleges, where English is the sole medium of instruction. Of the 3,900,000 children who attended these schools in 1902, 3,200,000 were in the elementary stage, 622,000 in secondary schools, and 22,000 at college. Special schools accounted for the rest. Almost all of those at college or in secondary

schools learnt some classical language, and 493,000 of them studied English.

Now, if we compare these figures with those of former years, the first and most obvious fact is that, while vernacular education has come to a standstill, so far as numbers are concerned, the demand for English steadily grows. The growth of the English Arts colleges is especially remarkable. No less than thirty first-class colleges were founded between 1882 and 1892, and twenty-five during the last quinquennium, although none of the latter were of much importance. There are 140 of these institutions, including several which are, properly speaking, not colleges at all, but high schools with college classes. The increase in the number of students has kept pace with the increase in the number of colleges. In 1887 they had 8,764 students, 14,420 in 1897, and 17,651 in 1902. The growth of the secondary schools in which English is taught has been equally steady and equally rapid. In 1897 there were 2,760 such schools, and 3,097 in 1902; while during the same five years the number of pupils rose from 339,704 to 422,187—an enormous increase, quite disproportionate to the number of new schools opened.

The history of vernacular education is very different. Although Government has always acknowledged its responsibility for primary education, down to 1872 it had done very little for it. Between 1872 and 1882 an immense step was made. The number of primary schools rose from 16,473 to 82,916, and the pupils from 600,000 to over 2,000,000. At the end of the following decade (1892) there were 97,109 primary schools, with over 2,750,000 children. Five years later (1897) we have practically the same number of schools (97,881), while in 1902 the number of schools had fallen to 92,226, the number of scholars from 3,028,000 to 3,009,000. Many of the schools which have been struck off the list or closed were doubtless inefficient, and plague and famine account for the large decrease of scholars in Bombay. But the returns show that

everywhere except in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the vernacular schools are stationary or declining. In the United Provinces alone is there any considerable increase. The history of the secondary schools which teach only the vernacular, or at least do not teach English, is much the same. There were 2,067 of these in 1897, and 1,935 in 1902, while the number of pupils remained practically the same.

The preference of English is natural. Although it is the *lingua franca* of the educated natives, it is studied, not for itself, but because it is a preliminary qualification for employment in the Government service, and for admission into the learned professions. It is, therefore, not only a study which pays, but a study which is indispensable. Vernacular education is also required for the lower ranks of the Government service, but this affects only a few out of the millions in a primary school, and it appears to be at a standstill for two reasons: (1) Education in India, as the Government says, is largely a matter of money, and the funds available for primary education—the local funds, at any rate—appear to have reached their limit, and to be exhausted; (2) all the most promising localities have been exploited. In Bengal there is said to be a primary school for every two miles of country, but in reality these schools are very unequally scattered; they are urban or suburban, or in large villages where indigenous schools existed before. In other provinces primary schools are much fewer. The rural population, whose children watch the fields and are ignorant of school, remains to be dealt with; and that is the hard part of the problem.

Another peculiarity of Indian education is the unequal demand for it, both in different provinces and among different classes. Out of the 4,500,000 at school, more than one-third belong to the huge province of Bengal; Madras and Bombay supply somewhat less than another third; while the United Provinces and the Punjab, with a larger population, contribute not one-seventh of the scholars. The Burmese are the most literate part of the

population, nearly two-fifths of them being able, it is said, to sign their names.

Of course, the past history of the provinces and the habits of the people are chiefly responsible for these variations. Education has long been popular among the Hindus in Bengal. Respectable folk—landowners or traders—who require a tutor for their sons, open their doors to neighbouring families which are of equally good caste and position, and which will contribute to the pay of the teacher. European influences have been for some centuries at work in Madras and Bombay, and in these provinces educational work has long been carried on with success. In these three provinces one Hindu boy out of every four or five is at some kind of public school. Burmah is, for the most part, Buddhist, and Buddhist monks consider it a duty, and Buddhist laymen a merit, to teach. But many of the indigenous Burmese schools are, for one reason or another, unrecognised by the Department, and the proportion of boys in public—departmentally recognised—institutions is low. In the matter of girls, the Burmese Buddhists take the first place. One Buddhist girl out of every twenty-one attends a public school, while in Bombay it is only one Hindu girl in twenty-seven, and in Bengal one in forty-nine; the proportion among Hindus for all India being one in fifty-one.

Of all classes of the community, the native Christians, who contribute over 130,000 children to the schools, are the most generally, if not the most highly, educated. They are most numerous in Madras, where the Syrian Christians represent the most backward section. By far the most highly-educated class of any are the Brahmans. One-half the Hindu students at college and in the high schools belong to them. On the other hand, the Mohammedans have very generally held aloof from our system of instruction. They do not regard education in a purely utilitarian spirit, as the Hindus do, and their law requires them to undergo a course of religious training before they attack secular subjects. A *Moulvie* skilled in Arabic and in theological

lore is held in great repute, and learned men often abandon lucrative appointments to teach theology for the love of God to ragged but keen-eyed pupils. These causes are general, but it must further be remembered, when we come to statistics, that one-half the Mohammedan population of India is found in the north and north-east of Bengal, where they consist of converts from the aboriginal tribes and are miserably poor. In the United Provinces, where the influence of Sir Syad Ahmad was long paramount, and where the imperial traditions of the race remain, the Mohammedans are in every way educationally in advance of the Hindus, especially with regard to the higher education.

The work of education is carried on partly by a Government department, partly by municipalities and district boards—the equivalent of our English County Councils—and very largely by means of grants in aid. The total expenditure in 1901-1902 slightly exceeded 400 lakhs of rupees, say £2,750,000. One hundred and twenty-seven lakhs were realized by fees, and 83 lakhs came from subscriptions and endowments; the municipalities and district boards contributed 74 lakhs, and Government the rest.

Among the institutions supported solely from public funds, the colleges are, as a rule, the special charge of Government, while municipalities maintain most of the secondary schools, and municipalities and district boards are entrusted with primary education. But there is no very fixed rule in the matter. In Madras there are five municipal colleges, while Government supports a number both of secondary and primary schools, which are intended to serve as standard models for the rest. By far the largest part of the work is done by aided institutions. One-half of the Arts colleges, three-fourths of the secondary schools, and four-fifths of the primary ones are aided. The system of grants in aid is widely extended in Bengal and Madras; Burmah, where there is an ample field for it, appears to be educationally in a stage of transition; in Bombay, on the other hand, large and expensive State institutions are in

favour. The aided schools and colleges are naturally of almost every description. Some of them, like the M.A.O. college at Aligarh, and the colleges of the Scotch missions in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are equal to any. Many, again, are poor institutions, with little prospect of permanence. Generally speaking, the funds of these aided institutions are small, their teachers are badly trained, and their average attendance is a good deal less than in either the municipal or the Government schools. But the resources of the municipalities and district boards are not very elastic, and their contributions to education appear to have reached their limit. The future of education in India depends, therefore, either on larger expenditure by the Government or on an extension of the aided system.

The outline we have given will suffice to show the present condition of education in India, its progress and its deficiencies, so far as numbers are concerned; but the question of quality is equally important, and it is with regard to quality, rather than to quantity, that the Government finds fault. The Government Minute remarks that education has done much during the last fifty years in diffusing knowledge, in opening up new avenues of employment, and in improving the character of public officials, although it may be doubted whether this improvement is due to education alone. But it admits certain notable defects. Chief among these are the pursuit of education solely with an eye to Government employment, the excessive prominence given to examinations, and the consequent tendency to cram; lastly, the neglect of the vernacular. The Government rejects the proposal to open the doors of Government employment to competitive examination. It points out that the tests imposed by the Universities are a sufficient guarantee of educational fitness, that the ability to pass an examination is not the only qualification it requires, and that it is itself the best judge of the men it needs. It may be added that religious and class distinctions, as well as old traditions, have to be carefully considered in recruiting the ranks of the

governing class. So far the Government is undoubtedly in the right.

It is also undoubtedly right in discouraging the tyranny of examinations, and in abolishing the system of payment by results. In this it follows English experience. The system of payment by results is one of the most powerful inducements to cram, and it contributes to financial instability. For it there will now be substituted a system of according grants on much the same lines as those which govern the grant of aid in England. An increase in the inspecting staff will be necessary for the purpose, and precautions will have to be taken against an abuse of power by the underlings; but this reform will be received with general satisfaction.

There are other educational difficulties with which the Government can deal only in an indirect fashion, if at all. Some of them are inherent in the native character—the excessive training of the memory, the fondness for metaphysical hair-splitting, the love of verbal distinctions, and the neglect of facts. Other defects are inherent in the system itself. It is an exotic, it is utilitarian, and it is secular. Its chief defects are twofold. It is not true to say that there is no religious training; it is given in many aided, both missionary and non-missionary, schools, as well as in some municipal ones out of school hours; but in a land where the religion of the rulers is different from that of the subjects, religion is necessarily excluded from the State system. And apart from religion it is hard to find any ethical basis of education, and of the development of character. Conceit and irreverence are not peculiar to Indian youths, but they are prominent in the Indian school and college educated generations, and they are in striking contrast with the reverence, the affection and obedience which the purely indigenous systems inculcated as of primary importance. Secondly, our system of education, being an exotic, has no background, no experience or association of ideas upon which to work. It moves in a world of words and unrealities. Mr. Sharp, an

inspector of education in the Central Provinces, gives a vivid illustration of this in his sketch of the clever village schoolboy :

" On the whole, this lad of fourteen years strikes us as possessed of a coolness and an acuteness equal to those of an English youth of twenty-two, working upon an experience narrower than that of a child of seven. Hence there is a brilliancy, but at the same time an artificial tone, about his attainments. He is wanting in breadth of view, in versatility, in solidity. He will explain a piece of poetry more difficult than Chaucer, recount the history of the Ramayana, work a complicated sum in interest, astonish us with his quickness in tables, interpret the village registers or balance an account with accuracy. This is fairly safe ground. More than this, he will rattle off a list of the Moghul emperors, or of the British possessions in Africa. Probably, however, he does not know who the Moghuls were, or when they lived, nor whether Cape Town is a city, a country, or a mountain. That which he really knows, he knows with accuracy ; but his knowledge is like a slender column, supported on a narrow basis of experience, and unbuttressed by information from surrounding sources. Such a column, we much fear, may soon collapse."

The inexperience of the schoolboy is not remedied by the wisdom of the teacher. Master and pupil are products of the same system : they have studied the same books, learnt the same rules ; of anything beyond they have no conception ; their ignorance is great. Thus a supply of trained teachers is the first necessity. This is especially felt in the teaching of English. The teacher knows only his book-work : colloquial English is unknown to him ; and when the boy proceeds to college, he finds that he has to study an unknown subject in an unknown tongue. No wonder that he requires to attend four times as many lectures as a Scotch or English student does.

For the evils we have described there are no direct remedies. The Government advocates the extension of

the *Kindergarten* system, and of rural schools teaching subjects calculated to awaken and interest the minds of village children. It encourages the employment of trained teachers, provides for the extension of normal schools and training colleges, and regulates their studies. But space fails us to follow out all the Government proposals in detail; suffice it to say that two principles appear to underlie them: (1) Departmental, or at least expert, supervision is to be brought to bear much more strictly upon every branch, from the metropolitan college to the village school, and the qualification of educational fitness, according to the standard of the State, is to be rigidly enforced for all employment under Government. (2) An effort is to be made to impart an ethical basis to education, and to bring the students under stricter discipline, by collecting them in hostels managed by the teachers or professors, wherever this is possible. On the other hand, the Government sets its face against the evil pre-eminence of the examination system. Hitherto the model of the London University has reigned supreme. Now the Indian Universities, like the London University itself, are no longer to be mere examining boards: they are to approximate so far as may be to Oxford and Cambridge; while the high schools, instead of being mere day-schools, are to approach to the type of an English public school, where that is possible. In making this attempt to alter the character of Indian education, the Government is actuated by a lofty ideal: "Education in the true sense means something more than the acquisition of so much positive knowledge, something higher than the mere passing of examinations; it aims at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind; it should form character and teach right conduct." These are noble words. We hope that the staff of teachers may be able to live up to them, and that the aided schools may keep pace with their requirements.

RUSSIA AND CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

It is an established historical fact that during the thirteenth century Russia was well known to the Mongol rulers of China, and that almost up to the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368 part of the Peking Emperor's bodyguard consisted of Russian war-captives, or of serfs sent to him as presents by his relatives ruling in the West. For nearly three centuries after the disappearance of the Mongols into their native deserts, nothing whatever was heard of Russia, for the simple reason that the Chinese dynasty occupying the Peking throne during that space of time (1368-1644) never succeeded in subduing the ejected Mongols on their own nomadic ground, and therefore an impenetrable Mongol barrier always lay between China and Russia. Besides, after the unsuccessful attempt of Demetrius IV. to shake off the Tartar yoke in 1380, the Russians persisted in struggling for independence, until at last Ivan the Great (1462-1505) overthrew the Kipchak Tartars altogether. Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584), along with the merchant-guilds of Russia, made tributary the Kipchák sub-kingdom of Tobolsk (Sibir), whilst the adventurer Yermak and his lieutenants engaged in warfare with its ruler Kutsium Khan (the K'u-ch'êng Khan of Chinese authors, 1584-1598). The Western Mongols, or Kalmucks, lying between the Russified Kipchak powers and the Kalkas, or Chinese Mongols, for some time thus formed a little-known buffer State, behind which gradually developed two great rival powers, each in almost entire ignorance of the other. These two great powers were the Russia of the Romanoffs (1613) and the China of the Manchus (1616). True, between 1567 and 1619 the Russian Czars are said to have sent missions to Peking, but no trace of such events can be found in the Chinese history of the Ming

dynasty. The first two Manchu conquerors (1616-1643) were not yet Emperors of China, and the first two Romanoffs (1613-1676), like the first two Manchus, were rather semi-barbarous chieftains than Emperors; endowed, however, with sufficient natural sagacity and ambition to lay the foundations of real empire. The first young Manchu Emperor of China (1644-1662) and his Regents may be compared with young Peter and his two incapable brothers under the regency of their sister Sophia (1676-1689). It was under Peter the Great (1689-1725) and K'ang-hi (1662-1722) that the modern relations between Russia and China seriously commenced. Both States had for two or three generations back been engaged in pushing forward their frontiers, and consequently each one had as good a moral right as the other to any conquests made good in the Amur region. Each of the two States, when the two first came to blows, was imperfectly informed as to who its great adversary really was.

The first Manchu official record is in the late spring of 1640, when, during the prosecution of the annexation policy on the Amur, news arrived at the Manchu headquarters that the city of Yaksa had been conquered. Yaksa is also the name of a petty stream running into the Amur; it had been under the rule of a Tungusic chief called Albazi, whence the Russians have always called the town Albazin. In 1643 and 1644 a second successful campaign on the Amur is recorded. The name "Russian" does not yet appear, but there can be no doubt that the operations in question have reference to the first Cossack raids; for between 1643 and 1647 these freebooters and sable-hunters, under Vassily Pojarkoff, made an extensive reconnoissance of the country north of the Amur, from the mouth of that river right up to Albazin.

Towards November, 1652, news was brought that the Manchu forces sent north from Ninguta had been defeated "by the Russians." Very early in 1655 another expedition was sent, and six months later the Chagan Han ("White

Khan ") of Oloss, or Russia, sends an envoy with tribute. In the summer of 1658 the *Amban* of Ninguta succeeds in inflicting a defeat upon the Russians, capturing both arms and prisoners; the prisoners were divided as slaves amongst the successful warriors. In the summer of 1660 the following important statement is laid before the Emperor: "In the year 1655 the White Khan of Russia sent a mission, but one unprovided with the usual submissive address: as on the first occasion, the mission was dismissed with some presents, coupled with an order to send tribute annually. In 1656 a second mission appeared, this time with an address; but the envoy declined to kneel. On this occasion it was resolved to refuse both presents and audience, and to dismiss the envoys. On yet a third occasion the White Khan has now sent a mission with both address and tribute; it has been three years *en route*. The document was dated 'year 1165,' and the ruler styled himself 'Great Khan.' Under these circumstances it is proposed to drive the mission away and refuse the tribute." The Emperor, however, ordered by decree: "We must be considerate to gross ignorance. Give them a banquet, and receive the tribute. Also give presents to the White Khan and to his envoy; but we will not send a return mission. Explain to the envoy why he cannot, on account of the boastful impropriety of the address, be admitted to audience, and then dismiss him." I do not understand what Western era can be supposed to begin in the year 495, but the rest of the account is well supported by Western (chiefly, of course, Russian) authorities. Alexis, father of Peter, was the Czar in 1652; it was he who first dominated the Cossacks; and the existing caravan trade between Siberia and China was an ancient one. In 1649 Khabaroff had continued the discoveries north of the Amur, and had defeated the Chinese, but had ultimately thought it better to retire; still, from 1651 the town of Yaksa was held by the Russians. In 1653-1656 Stepanoff made repeated attempts to ascend the Sungari; having at

last reached a point three days' sail up the river, he was driven back on June 30, 1658, by a Manchu fleet carrying 3,000 men, and was ultimately killed in a scrimmage just below the embouchure. With regard to the missions, that which was under Baikoff left in 1653, and arrived in 1656. In 1658 the Russians mention two missions under Perpilyeff and Yarykin respectively, all three equally unsuccessful, on account of the refusal to *kotow*.

In the autumn of 1660 a report was received in Peking that a force had been sent to the spot where the Sa-ha-lien (Amur) joins the Sung-koh-li (Sungari), and that the presence of a rebel horde of Russians had been established on the west frontiers of the Fiyarka Tungusic tribes. The Manchu force had advanced as far as the "dog-using" population, and was lying in wait below the banks, ready to pounce upon the enemy. The Russians had to abandon their boats and decamp; many were drowned; over sixty heads were cut off; forty-seven women were taken prisoners, besides muskets, armour, and weapons of all kinds. Fifteen Tungusic villages were then called in to their Manchu allegiance, and were encouraged to stand firm. The first Manchu Emperor of China died in 1661, and his successor in reciting his father's virtues, mentions how he had extended his influence "west as far as the Kalmucks, north up to the Kalkas and Russians." These particular events do not seem to be confirmed by any Russian authority under the date 1660-1661; but in 1659 Yaksa was destroyed, to be rebuilt by Tchernigovski in 1665. In 1667-1669 the fort was besieged, and the Russians were forced by hunger to surrender. Nothing more is said by the Chinese until 1671, when it is observed that, "though the Russians have given in their submission, every precaution must still be taken, and the troops be kept up to the mark." In 1672 two more unsuccessful missions are mentioned by Russian authorities, apparently those under Milovaioff and Kavyakoff.

The next Chinese record is in the summer of 1676,

when the White Khan of Russia sends an envoy named Ni-kwo-lai [Nicholas Spafari] with tribute of local produce. The officers reporting this event announce that Russia is situated in an out-of-the-way, distant quarter, and "from the remotest times has never had any communication with China." (Manifestly the Emperor had not properly digested the Mongol histories.) "Her people are totally ignorant of Chinese written characters, and are unacquainted with the proper form of memorializing, yet it appears she is now anxious to show deference and bring tribute." The young Emperor K'ang-hi says: "Admirable conduct indeed; let the Regents inform me what they propose to do." Two months later it is explained that "Nicolai is so ignorant that it would be better not to furnish him with an imperial order. The Mongol Colonial Office can instruct him as follows: 'If your master wishes for friendly relations, let him send back our deserter Gantimur, and despatch a further envoy to regulate his proceedings according to our forms, when you will be allowed to trade as usual.'" In the meanwhile the envoy was presented with a saddle-horse, a gown, and some clothing. The Russian accounts seem to make out that the Greek Spafari was sent by the Tribunal of Envoys in 1677; it is to be noted that after the word Nicolai the Chinese add a second name, which looks like Hambrilovitch, and no doubt the Russian archives are capable of "placing" the Christian name of Spafari's father. As to the Tungusic chief Gantimur, who had "converted" and become a Christian, it is a curious coincidence that about forty years after this the Hospodar of Moldavia was also named Gantimur; but only Russians are competent to decide whether there can be any possible historical connection between these two men.

At the beginning of 1683 an officer named Langtan returned from a political mission to the Daours and Solons, bringing with him the latest intelligence upon Russian affairs. The Emperor, who was now ruling individually,

free of the Regents, decided that "with 3,000 men there ought to be no difficulty in overcoming the Russians, though war is as a rule a dangerous thing." He ordered 1,500 men to be sent up from Kirin and Ninguta with a flotilla of boats and "red-clothes" cannon; also a stock of muskets and men in proportion competent to use firearms. These troops were to rendezvous at Hêh-lung Kiang and Humar, where forts were to be constructed opposite those of the Russians, until an opportunity for attack should occur. It was estimated that the Korchin and Sibé Mongols could provide 725 tons of grain, enough for three years' consumption, and it was decided also to make the troops sow more grain as they should arrive. Hêh-lung Kiang city being only five days' journey from the Solon village, it was arranged that a midway station should be established, and that supplies of oxen and sheep, besides 500 remounts, should be obtained from the Solons. At this time the most northerly Manchu Military Governor lived at Ninguta, and it was he who had to carry out these measures. In the autumn of 1683 the name of Nipchu (Nertchinskoi) first appears, and it is pointed out that the Russians can easily reinforce themselves with men and stores from this place, "so that it would be better to concentrate all our forces at once upon Yaksa before the enemy can gain additional strength, and not divide our strength upon Humar." A Russian captive, or renegade, named I-fan (Ivan) is here mentioned, and it seems that his services were utilized as a spy moving to and fro; two other Russian messengers, named Mi-hai-lo (Michael) and Mo-lo-tui (? Mordvi) are named, and an order appears enrolling all surrendered Russians under a separate military commander of their own nationality at Peking. A month later the Emperor issues a manifesto setting forth the following grievances: "(1) Attacks upon our Solons; (2) concealing Gantimur; (3) raiding the Fiyarka and Kilor Tunguses; (4) enticing into a house, and then burning alive, Etirké and nineteen other sable-hunters of the Solon, Daour, and Orochon tribes: on the other hand, we have captured

thirty Russians and injured none of them. If Gantimur is returned, and the Nipchu and Yaksa Russians will mend their ways, all will be well ; if not, war ; and if the displaced Russians think they are too far from home to go back, they will be received kindly as our subjects."

Early in 1684 the Manchu authorities urged prompt action once more ; it is pointed out that the Russians have twelve stations between the Argun and Shilka junction and Yaksa ; that they are perfecting their supply arrangements ; and that the Kalka Mongols should not be allowed to traffic with them. The first thing to be done is to cut and destroy the crops they have just sown. Another year passes without anything beyond skirmishing, but a captured Russian reports the arrival of a new chief named Elikxie (Alexis), the steps taken by him to prevent further Russian massacres of Daours, and the fact that replies were being awaited by him to further despatches which had been sent to the ruler of Russia. In the summer of 1685 the Emperor, who was then at Jêho, received from his Generals P'êng-ch'un and Sabsu the welcome news of the fall of Yaksa and the surrender of Alexis. All the Russians had been allowed to go free ; Pa-si-li (Vassily) and a few others who preferred it were given quarters in Mukden ; and the Solons, Daours, Kalkas, and Kalmucks taken by the Chinese at Yaksa were sent to their respective homes. " Thus," adds the Emperor, " after thirty years of harassing in the Sungari region, the Russians have been defeated without any loss of life."

The above events are amply confirmed from Russian sources, according to which Langtan had been despatched by the Emperor K'ang-hi in 1682. Following upon his visit, the Chinese built, over against Albazin, two wooden forts, defended by 1,500 men, and connected by post-stations with Aigun and Argun. It must be explained that Aigun is about as far to the south-east of Albazin (Yaksa) as Argun is to the south-west, Albazin occupying, as it were, the apex of the great Amur curve. " Humar " appears in the Russian maps as Khumarsk, and is a settlement at the

junction of the river Khumar with the Amur, about halfway between Albazin and Aigun (or Sahalien Ula, as it is also called, just opposite Blagoveschtschensk, of recent inauspicious memory). According to Russian accounts, Aigun was founded in 1684, and served until 1691 as the official residence of the new Manchu Military Governor appointed to these parts. It is curious to find that both Michael and Ivan are also mentioned by the Russians as two prisoners captured by the Manchus in 1683, and utilized by the Emperor K'ang-hi in 1684 to convey a letter to the Governor of Albazin. The sable-hunter "Etirké," is manifestly the man Ordighy, who had been captured near the river Bystrya by Russian adventurers. The late Dr. John Dudgeon, of Peking, who published a great many of these particulars (gathered from the Archimandrite Palladius and others) in 1871, makes out that the Chinese forces appeared on July 4, 1685. They numbered 15,000 men, with 50 cannon and 100 field-guns, against a total Russian force of 450 men, 3 cannon, and 300 other firearms, all under the command of Alexei Tolbuzin. On July 22 the Chinese were defeated, but the Russians surrendered on condition that they were allowed to depart freely to Nertchinsk (*sic*). Twenty-five Russians, under a priest named Vassily Leontyeff, elected to accept the Chinese Emperor's offer and proceed to Peking. Another Russian account, recently published, says the Chinese forces numbered 5,000 men under Langtan, Bandashi, and Sashou. These two last-mentioned personages are evidently the Royal Duke P'êng-ch'un (who, as *Ta-shwai*, or Commander-in-Chief, would probably be styled P'êng Ta-shwai), and the Military Governor Sabsu. From the Chinese point of view Langtan was quite a subordinate officer, but being an older hand at Russian affairs (as Sir Harry Parkes and Sir Thomas Wade were in English affairs when interpreters during the China War), he bulked largely in the enemy's mind (as they did).

In the beginning of 1686 an imperial decree announces that "although we abandoned Nipchu to the Russians, it is

now reported that they have begun to rebuild Yaksa. The question arises, Shall we attack them at once, or wait until Hêh-lung Kiang and Merguen are properly settled?" A month later a further announcement is made that the Solons have captured a Russian named Ok-somu-kwo (? Aksumkoff), who states that, during the previous year, "Ivan, chief of Nipchu, had ordered the Alexei whom we released to occupy Yaksa once more, with 500 men, and that the town had now sufficient supplies for two years." The Emperor decided to leave the Russians no more time, but to repeat the strategy of last year at once. Towards the end of the summer he seems to express surprise that no replies have yet arrived from the White Khan to the various letters sent by Nicolai, Alexei, and the Russian prisoners. "But the Dutch envoy says his country borders on Russia, and possesses the means of communicating with it in writing. It will be well to give him a letter for the White Khan, explaining to him that the Nipchu and Yaksa Russians must really respect our frontiers. When the White Khan's memorial to me is ready, let his envoy proceed hither direct by land; but if the journey is too arduous, let the Dutch envoy bring it by sea. Give a copy also for transmission by the West Ocean Country [Portugal?]." A month later we find Sabsu, with 2,300 men, entrenching round Yaksa, and stowing his boats away at suitable points. But, still a month later, a letter arrives by way of the Kalka Mongols from an advance envoy or messenger despatched by the Government of Russia: "We do not understand the written communications you have sent to us, but Nicolai explains that your grievances are about our detention of Gantimur, and about the harassing of your frontiers. Please arrest any such marauders in future, and send them in to us for execution. I am sending special envoys to arrange frontier questions; and meanwhile I despatch Mikifur Wei-niu-kao and Ivan Fa-go-lo-wa with this letter, begging you to raise the siege of Yaksa, and to write out a comprehensible statement for us." The Emperor writes a minute: "Tell Sabsu to with-

draw from Yaksa, and collect his forces at some fresh camp near the flotilla. He may inform the Russians that their movements are free, provided there is no plundering ; in the meanwhile wait till the special frontier envoy indicated arrives."

The Chinese dates given above are probably more accurate than the Russian as given by Dr. Dudgeon, who mistakes most of his dates by one year in one chapter, but not in the others. According to the latter, or correct dates, in July, 1686, the Chinese attacked Yaksa with 8,000 men and 40 guns; the siege lasted until May, 1687, and in the course of it Alexei Tolbuzin was killed. A German exile named Beuthen, who was managing the engineering works for Tolbuzin, then took over charge. Then suddenly there arrived an order from the Chinese Emperor to raise the siege, and Langtan accordingly withdrew in the tenth moon (about Christmas). The Russians have, moreover, been able to obtain a few exact Chinese dates from the Manchu biography of Langtan. It appears from this that, on the third day of the fifth moon in 1686, the Manchu troops arrived at Sahalien Ula (Aigun), and on the twenty-eighth at Yaksa. Alexei was killed subsequently to this date. Langtan withdrew, and, on the eleventh day of the eleventh moon, Pei-tun (Beuthen) sent to request a supply of provisions. The Chinese who took the provisions reported that there were only twenty Russians left, and that even these were sick. As to the two advance messengers sent from Russia, it is easy to identify the first with Nicephorus Wenyukoff; it is to be presumed that his companion must have borne a name something like Vagorova. Between their arrival and that of the delimitation envoy, one Stephanus Lozinoff was sent to inquire at what place the Chinese Emperor desired the envoys to meet, and the Emperor decided for the Selenga River (apparently modern Kiachta).

Early in the year 1687 the Emperor is distressed to hear that the Manchu troops are suffering much from sickness,

and he therefore despatches two doctors with a store of medicines. He adds: "Though the Russians are our enemies, offer them medicines, too, so that they may go home cured, and tell their friends how good we are." In the late summer he says: "Let Sabsu withdraw his troops to recruit and refit at Hêh-lung Kiang and Merguen, explaining at the same time to the Russians that we only do so because a special envoy from Russia is coming, whose approach has been heralded to us by the Tushetu Khan of the Kalkas." Dr. Dudgeon mentions that Beuthen withdrew in the winter of 1688; and that the Russians were suffering from scurvy, but declined the medicines offered to them by the Chinese Emperor. It is quite certain, however, that he ought to have said "the winter of 1687," for the biography of Langtan states that, in the fourth moon of the twenty-sixth year (May-June, 1687), Pei-tun was refused permission to cultivate the land around Yaksa, and that, on the twenty-first day of the seventh moon, Langtan withdrew to Ninguta.

In the fifth moon of 1688 the Emperor recites to the special envoys charged with the frontier delimitation the various grounds of dispute: (1) The Russian raids upon the Humar and Sungari Rivers; (2) the occupation of Nipchu and Yaksa belonging to China; (3) the harbouring of Gantimur and the other two military chiefs. "Apart from the Amur, Sungari, Nonni, and Hurka (which, of course, are ours on account of Kirin, Ninguta, and the Sibe, Korchin, Solon, and Daour tribes), we must lay claim to the mouth of the Amur; and such tributaries as the Omogun, Niumen, Chinkiri, etc., are also required for us in the interests of the Orochons, Kilors, Pilars, Hechés, and Fiyarkas, all our kinsmen: we must have every tributary on both sides of the Amur from Nipchu to the sea. If our deserters are surrendered, we surrender their prisoners and deserters, arrange a frontier, and grant trade."

A few days after the mission had started, it was

announced that the road was blocked on account of the war then raging between the Kalmucks and the Kalkas ; but the envoys sent on the Emperor's ultimatum (as above) by a special messenger. Meanwhile the Kalkas were thanked by the Emperor for arranging to supply fodder and provisions for the mission. It was not until the fourth moon of 1689 that news came of the arrival at Nipchu of the Russian envoy Fei-yao-to-lo. On this the Chinese mission, under Sogedu as the chief envoy, received orders to hasten to Nipchu at once, instead of proceeding to the Selenga.

All the above events, from 1682 onwards, took place during the precarious regency of Peter's elder sister Sophia, and hence it is not to be wondered at that there was delay in Russian diplomacy. The envoy who took so long to arrive was Feodor Golovin, believed to have been the son of Alexei Golovin, Governor-General of Siberia, who in 1697 was one of Peter's ambassadors to Holland, Peter himself forming one of the suite. According to the Jesuit accounts, the Chinese mission included the priests Pereira and Gerbillon (who, like Langtan, probably to all intents conducted the negotiations, but were officially ignored). The Russian accounts are to the effect that they left Peking on May 29, 1688, but failed to reach the Selenga on account of the war going on in Mongolia. They set out a second time on June 13, 1689, and took six weeks to reach Nipchu, where they had to wait a fortnight for Feodor's arrival ; the irrepressible Langtan was with them (though he is not even mentioned in the Imperial Chinese decrees). It is difficult to guess who the "Dutch envoy" can be who so kindly undertook to hurry up the Czar ; for, although in 1685 the Manchu annals do incidentally allude to the "treatment accorded to Dutch and other missions," neither Western nor Chinese records mention any Dutch mission subsequent to Van Hoorn's of 1665. As the Jesuit Verbiest was a Dutchman, and as he assisted K'ang-hi with his artillery, it is just possible that he may

be meant—the more so in that Pereira may be the man from Western Ocean State who received a copy of the message, as above related. “Western Ocean State” was for a long time the name for Portugal. Pereira, the Superior, had recommended as attendants upon the Emperor Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, who had newly arrived in Peking in March, 1688, a few days after Verbiest died.

In the twelfth moon of the twenty-eighth year (January-February, 1690), the Emperor received Sogedu's report. He says: “Feodor at first claimed both Nipchu and Yaksa as legitimate Russian extensions. In reply to this the Chinese put in a claim for the old Maomingan Mongol territory, extending from the Onon up to Nipchu. They also pointed out that Yaksa was the original residence of their own hunting chief Albazi. At last the Russians joyfully gave way. Maps were produced, and a treaty of seven articles was drawn up in Manchu, Chinese, Latin, Russian, and Mongol.” There is a small tributary of the Shilka called the Gorbitsa. The treaty defines it as being near the Ch'orna (= Russian *Tchernaya*—“Black”) or Ulunmu (= Manchu *Uronon*) River, and says that the frontier shall be “from the source of the Gorbitsa, along the line of the Stony Hing-an Range to the sea, all tributaries of the Amur taking their rise south of that range belonging to China.” The second frontier line is the Argun, the streams on the north bank of which were ceded to Russia. Yaksa was to be immediately destroyed, and trespassers were on both sides to be rigorously dealt with. Neither side had to surrender anybody already in their keeping. Merchants provided with passports were allowed to trade, and no further fugitives were to be harboured.

The Russians have little, if anything, to add to these important particulars; in fact, the only authentic full text of the treaty seems to survive in the Chinese. August 27, 1689, is the date of its signature (according to Western calculation), and the term “Stone Mountains even unto the

sea" is admitted by the Russian account of 1899, which recognises that "the Amur became the possession of China," and that the present Usuri province was "usually supposed to belong to China." It was in this year (1689) that Peter put his intriguing sister Sophia in a convent, and became absolute ruler on his own account. The Russians record, however, that in May, 1690, Langtan set out to erect stones at the junction of the Shilka with the Argun. This inscription was in four languages, and cited parts of the treaty. As we shall see, the Chinese had no record of this in 1853.

In the tenth moon of 1693 the White Khan of Russia sends an envoy with tribute, and his "memorial" is translated for the Emperor, who observes that "the Russians are of robust material, but their disposition is as perverse as their ideas of right are inelastic. From the Kia-yüeh Pass it is eleven or twelve days to Hami, whence twelve or thirteen again to Turfan, where five different sorts of men congregate. Beyond Turfan are the frontiers of Russia. It is said their State is over 20,000 li [6,000 miles] in extent, and possibly Chang K'ien (discoverer of the Oxus and Pamir region B.C. 140) got thus far. The Ming dynasty Emperor Yung-loh (1402-1424) certainly never got more than 1,000 li from this place, but General Hoh K'ü-ping (B.C. 123) is said to have been 5,000 *li* beyond our frontiers, and possibly that is true, for he left records on stone. Though it may be a glorious thing to receive the tribute of foreign vassals, I fear that the business may yet cause trouble to our descendants. Still, if China keeps peaceful and strong within herself, foreign quarrels are not likely to arise." The mission above alluded to is that under the Schleswig-Holsteiner Ysbrands Ides, which left Moscow on March 14, 1692, and reached Peking November 5, 1693. Ides had been one of Peter's tutors or advisers before he became independent Czar, and Peter was now bent on improving the commerce of Russia. Gerbillon, again, and two Portuguese as well, acted as interpreters for the mission, which had audience on Novem-

ber 15, and was entertained at a banquet on November 19. It is believed that Ides had to *kotow*, and also to sit cross-legged on the ground in Manchu style when at the banquet ; but, as he wrote his account of the expedition under the Czar's orders, there is little doubt that Peter must have concealed the various snubs he received. His presents and his too independent letter were returned, and no favours whatever were conceded. The Emperor's remarks about Yung-loh seem inaccurate, for in 1410 that monarch appears to have reached the Kerulon, if not the Onon, too ; and, indeed, it is stated on Russian authority that he it was who first founded the city later (1684) called Aigun. Hoh K'ü-ping never reached anything like a distance of 5,000 li beyond the frontier, but several other Chinese Generals did reach the Kerulon region towards the beginning of our era, during the Hiung-nu wars. The Huns, Avars, Hiung-nu, Scythians, Hephthalites, Turks, and Ouigours are all one and the same people in effect—*i.e.*, they were different ruling tribes of *Turks*.

The Kalmuck-Kalka war had driven many Kalka refugees into Russia, but after K'ang-hi had taken the field in person against the Kalmuck ruler Galdan, who had tried to frighten China with the threat of borrowing Russian troops, the Kalkas were only too glad to seek Manchu hospitality. After his defeat in 1695, on the banks of the Tola River (not very far from Kiachta), Galdan would gladly have fled to Russia ; but, unfortunately for his plans, his own nephew, Tsevang Rabtan, was hostile to his interests ; and Ayuki, the Khan of the Turgut branch of the Kalmucks at Tarbagatai, had given his daughter in marriage to Tsevang Rabtan. After casting his eyes vainly in the sole remaining direction of escape—*i.e.*, Tibet—and being refused asylum by the Russians, the unhappy Galdan in 1697 poisoned himself. Tsevang Rabtan surrendered the body, and in gratitude for this complaisance China recognised as Kalmuck territory everything lying west of the Altaï Mountains. Tsevang Rabtan's ambition to reunite

the four Kalmuck branches into one great State led to the migration of Ayuki, with 50,000 tents, into Russian territory, and then to the conquest of Tibet by Tsewang Rabtan. The immediate reasons for this important episode were that Rabtan had forcibly incorporated Ayuki's son Sanchab's horde, with 15,000 tents, and had forbidden Ayuki himself to "boil tea" at the periodical Tibetan festivals. Meanwhile the Chinese Emperor began to grow anxious about the Buriats and Uriangkai Mongols, who were gradually being absorbed by Russia; the latter, at least, seem to have been ultimately preserved to China. Towards the end of 1705 he incidentally mentions a Russian "trading envoy's letter, written in Latin, Kalmuck, and Russian," and early in 1710 he appoints an officer to "go and manage Russian trade affairs." According to Russian accounts, caravans were sent in 1705, 1711, and 1713; but the drunkenness and riotous behaviour of those in charge resulted in the stoppage of all trade at Peking. In 1713 the Emperor K'ang-hi issues a decree announcing his latest discoveries about Russia: "Both China and Europe are north of the equator; but, whilst we speak of 'stretches,' they talk of 'degrees.' From Europe you go south 80 'degrees' to the Great Wolf Mountain (? the Cape), whence north to Canton. You can also go by land; but Russia's being between the two extremes makes that inconvenient. Russia's capital is about 12,000 li from ours. West Ocean (Europe) and T'u-r-hu-t both border on Russia. Russia depends on Turhut for horses, and Turhut on Russia for hides. Some years ago Russia and Süeh West Ocean were at war, but Turhut assisted Russia to completely defeat Süeh West Ocean."

Now, all this is very quaint and interesting. It is a fact that so early as 1705 Peter employed a number of Kalmucks in preparing the new site for St. Petersburg. Charles XII. of Sweden was defeated at Pultowa in June, 1709, and took refuge with the Turks, who defeated Peter on the Pruth in 1711; Peter was obliged to surrender Azov,

which he had taken from the Crimean Tartars in 1696. It seems quite certain that "Süeh" is intended for "Sweden," and "Turhut" for "Turkey"; for, as we shall shortly see, the word "Turgut" had uniformly been written with quite different characters. No imperial Russian envoy went to China in 1705. "Turkey" is mentioned by the Ming dynasty historians in the year 1526 under the name of Lu-mi (Roum).

In the summer of 1715, on account of Rabtan having attacked Hami, it became necessary to request the Russian officials at a certain city to prevent his followers from escaping over the frontier. The Emperor says: "When Tulishên went on his mission to the Turguts, he proceeded *viâ* Russia, and knows the Governor of that town. Let Tulishên go on this business." The true facts, as gathered from miscellaneous Chinese, Russian, and other sources, seem to be these: In 1711 the Turgut branch of the Kalmucks sent an envoy to Peking by way of Russia, and in 1712 Tulishên had been sent by K'ang-hi to try and induce Ayuki Khan to assist in crushing the Dzungar branch of the Kalmucks. Prince Gagarin was then Governor-General of Siberia, and he gave Tulishên a very handsome reception. Three Jesuit priests (acting as spies in the interests of China) are said to have been with the mission; which, however, was not received by Peter, who was just then busy with Swedish affairs. On its return to China, it was accompanied by Hilarion and ten other priests, who were sent to take the place of Vassily Leontyeff and others who had recently died; these priests had spiritual charge of the Albazin guards, which were kept up, at least in name, until the Boxer troubles of 1900, when most of them were massacred. Gagarin was Governor-General of other provinces besides Siberia at different times; hence some Chinese authorities in mentioning him have concluded that *ko-ko-lin* meant "Governor" in Russian.

Nothing more of importance touching Russian affairs is recorded during the rest of K'ang-hi's reign; but, according

to Dr. Dudgeon, the old Emperor applied to Gagarin (probably through Tulishên) for some tonics or aphrodisiacs wherewith to revive his drooping years. (Many Chinese mandarins have made similar applications to me.) In consequence of this application, an English surgeon named Garwin, or Harvin, accompanied the Swedish engineer, Laurence Lange, on a mission to China. They left St. Petersburg on August 18, 1715, and reached Peking on November 11, 1716. The Emperor sent two Jesuits named Stumpf and Parrenin to visit the Russians, and appears to have personally busied himself with Peter's request for a Russian stove to be made out of Chinese porcelain, but there is no word of a return mission, or of the stove having ever been sent. Lange returned in 1717, but went on a second mission in 1719, along with the Scotch doctor, Bell of Antermony, who has left us such an interesting account of his travels. Or, rather, both of them accompanied Ismailoff's mission, which reached Peking on November 29, 1720, and left on March 2, 1721. So far as can be ascertained, both Lange and Ismailoff performed the *kotow*. Lange was allowed to remain as Agent or Consul—Vice-Consuls were sanctioned at other points—and arrangements were made for the regular establishment in Peking of a Russian church. K'ang-hi died early in 1722, and towards the end of that year his son and successor, the Emperor Yung-chêng, issued a decree extolling his late father's sagacity in firmly but kindly preventing Russian encroachments on Kalka territory; but absolutely nothing is said of Russian trade, missions, residents, or politics. In his declining years K'ang-hi had begun a mild persecution of the missionaries on account of the disastrous squabble with the Popes about ancestor-worship and the proper word for "God." In their distress the Jesuits had appealed for good offices both to Peter and to Charles VI., the "Roman" Emperor of Germany. Clement XI. in 1719 sent Mezzobarba to Peking, where he arrived in 1721, but the Emperor would make no concessions to him. There

are traces in the Manchu annals of Russian and Jesuit intrigues with more than one Manchu Prince at Peking about this time. Meanwhile Peter had found it necessary to hang Gagarin for conspiring with the Tartars to rob the Russian caravans he was supposed to protect. This led to a personally-conducted expedition to the Caspian by Peter "the Great," who had in 1721 accepted that title. He seems to have had on his way an interview with Ayuki Khan on the Volga, and Ayuki placed 5,000 Kalmucks at his disposal in order to punish the Usbeg powers. But the Turks of Constantinople objected to Peter's presence so near their frontiers, and he had to go back. Lange left Peking a second time in July, 1722, in which year Peter, by way of counterpoise to Tulishên's mission to Ayuki, despatched Unkovsky on a mission to Tsevang Rabtân, who was "located" in the mountains west of Kuldja, near the Khorgos River, south of the Ili River.

About February or March, 1726, an edict appears announcing that the Russians have sent envoys to delimitate the Kalka frontiers. In appointing a disgraced officer to conduct the negotiations, the Emperor says: "You may possibly regain my favour if you behave prudently, but you will get into serious trouble if you raise any quarrels with either the Russians or Tsevang Rabtân." Meanwhile the Uriangkai hunting tribes "near the frontiers of Russia and Tsevang Rabtân" were directed to keep a sharp look-out for Russian encroachments in the Upper Yenisei or Kemchik Valley, and to report any events at once. In the spring of 1727 "the envoy Sah-wa of the White Khan of Russia" presents tribute and an address. During the summer Tulishên is mentioned as being on the Russian frontier staff. This Sah-wa cannot well be other than Count Vladi-slavitch, with whom in 1726 Lange made his third voyage to Peking. Peter was now dead, and it was his relict Catherine who sent this mission. She herself died in 1727, and was succeeded by Peter II., son of Peter the Great's heir, Alexis, who had been judicially done to

death in 1718. (After this Alexis the Czar Nicholas II. has named his heir.)

In the eighth moon of 1727 the Emperor's son-in-law, the Kalka Mongol governing the frontier, reported the settlement, with Sah-wa, of the Russo-Kalka frontier, running from the Upper Argun (north of Hurun Pir) to a point near modern Kiachta. All important details are given; but as there has never been any dispute about this line, and few of the Chinese names appear on even Russian maps, I refrain from details. The Buriats and Uriangkais both signified their consent. The Chinese sent an officer with the Russian Secretary of Legation, I-fan I-fan-no-fei-ch'i (Ivan Ivanovitch), to lay down the stones as (it is presumed) they stand now. The Manchurian and Kalka authorities were strictly enjoined by the Emperor to tolerate no encroachments on the part of the Chinese, and an officer from the Colonial Board was ordered to select a site for the Kiachta market. Only 200 traders were to come at once. The Russian hotel at Peking was to be repaired for the envoys' and students' accommodation. They were to receive allowances, and had freedom to return to Russia when they chose. Towards Christmas the Russian "head-eye Lang-k'ê" (Lange) obtained permission to leave the animals of the caravan outside Kalgan to graze, on condition of his placing steady men in charge, and the Chahar Mongols were held responsible for any quarrels or thefts of Russian property; for "Russia is a small State amongst the outer vassals, and is therefore entitled to protection." According to Russian accounts, Tulishên went on a special mission to Russia in 1727, and Lange made a fourth journey to China in 1737. This was in K'ien-lung's time, during the reign of Anne, niece of Peter the Great. Nothing is said by the Chinese historians of these two alleged missions. However, in 1740 the Emperor, in addressing the Dzungar Kalmucks of Ili, says: "If your envoys come on the same dates as the Russians, it becomes less advantageous to you:

better come on the third, fourth, and eighth years of each decade to Peking, and on the first, fifth, and ninth to Suh Chou [in Kan Suh Province].”

The Emperor K'tien-lung was far and away the “smartest man” who ever sat on the Chinese throne. The Dzungar power became so threatening and insolent under Amursana that, in 1755, K'tien-lung determined to break up the whole quadruple Kalmuck organization. This brought China into close contact with a new nation styled the Kazaks (Kirghiz), whose chief, Abulai, was inclined to trim between Russia and China. Though new under that name, the Kazaks had for many centuries been known to the earlier Chinese by the name Khiakiz (Kirghiz). On this occasion the Kazak ruler endeavoured to curry favour with China by offering to capture Amursana, who subsequently escaped to Russia. The Emperor was very determined in this matter. Besides quoting the treaty rule about not harbouring any fresh deserters, he made a very strong demonstration on the Russo-Kazak frontier, and directed the Peking Board to address the Senate of Russia (founded by Peter the Great in 1711). Meanwhile, “on the eighteenth day of the sixth moon, 1757, the Russian frontier *k'a-p'ei-t'an* (captain) took off his hat and inquired after the Emperor's health. He said it was true that Amursana had sent envoys to Russia, but these had been sent on to the White Khan (Peter's daughter Elizabeth), and nothing was known of Amursana's own movements. The captain gave a written statement to this effect.” On the twenty-seventh day Abulai sent to say that he had all but seen Amursana, but that Amursana got alarmed and made off, saying, “If I go to Russia, I shall be as good as a slave all my life. If the Kazaks will not take me in, then I am indeed a lost man.” In the eighth moon the Emperor refused an application from Russia to convey stores by way of the Amur (which looks as though Russia wanted a *quid pro quo*). In the ninth moon the Emperor ascertained for certain that Amursana and eight attendants had escaped to Russia.

The Emperor said: "This news is confirmed by Kalmuck reports. The Russians tried to make us believe that Amursana had been drowned, but I felt sure he would have to choose between the Russian and the Kazak. Send a messenger to the Russian frontier town, and say that China has always hitherto considered Russia to be a great power, and no cheat, but that present conditions point to another conclusion." Early in 1758 the Kalka Prince reports that the Russian Pi-r-ko-ti-r (? Brigadier) has sent one Pishler, the *t'u-lê-ma-ch'i* (? *dolmetcher*, or interpreter), with an official despatch, stating that Amursana had been rescued from drowning, but that he had since died of small-pox, and that his body was on view at Kiachta. The Emperor said: "I had already informed the Senate that they were welcome to Amursana if only they would guarantee to keep him for ever. We must assume that Russia is telling the truth, and you had better go, even to Selenga city (Selenginsk), if necessary, to view the corpse. If it is a sham, then Russia will be in the wrong, and therefore to blame for any war that may take place. In any case, no one will be able to say that I have let a man's spittle dry on *my* face. The corpse must not only be seen, but must be got hold of and brought to Peking to be drawn and quartered." As a matter of fact, Amursana is well known to have died in 1757 at Tobolsk. The frontier officials declined to give up the body on the ground that no specific orders to that effect had come from the Senate; but as persons in Chinese employ were able clearly to identify the features, the Emperor wisely allowed the matter to drop. The conquest of the Dzungars opened up a very awkward Kazak question, for the Kazaks had hitherto paid tribute to the Dzungars, and it was now necessary to choose between China and Russia; the Emperor declared that he did not care much which way they inclined. Meanwhile another leading Kalmuck, named Shereng, had murdered a Manchu or Mongol officer named Tangkalu, who had been endeavouring to block Amursana's escape in the direction

of the river Irtysh. Shereng escaped to Russia; the Russians declined to give him up, and partly in consequence of this the trade at Kiachta was stopped; but the excessive duties levied by the Russians on Chinese traders also contributed to this result.

In the spring of 1759 the Emperor sent the following letter to Abulai, Abulbambid, and Abulpiz, the chiefs of the three Kazak *yus*, or divisions: "The Military Governor says you have sent a Russian named Sultung to pay respects on your behalf. A Russian despatch declares that you have belonged to Russia for some time. We have replied to Russia that, when we conquered Dzungaria, we treated the Kazaks with consideration, and not in a hectoring spirit like Russia, which always extorts oaths of allegiance and tribute; nor did we forbid the Kazaks to become part of any other State, should they so elect. This is our reply to Russia, and you are at liberty to please yourselves." Abu-lai is the Abul-khair Khan of Russian history, and "Sultung" is evidently the title of "Sultan" taken by the Russian Khirgiz.

China was now obliged to continue her conquests into Kashgaria, which had also been for a long time tributary to the Dzungars. When the *khodjo* Buran'uddin effected his escape, China naturally suspected Russia once more; but it was Badakshan who harboured the refugee this time. Towards the end of 1761 the Kalka Prince reported that a Russian *Ma-yü-r* (? Major) had announced the receipt of instructions from the "Chi-na-r *yamêu*" (? Chinese Department) to surrender over 100 Mongol refugees with their arms and horses. These Mongols had also killed some Chinese officials in Kashgaria, and they were sent to Peking for execution. In the spring of 1762 the Emperor wrote to "Shaniyas Sultung Khan" and the other two *yus* chiefs in order to boast of this, adding the vainglorious gloss: "after we had pursued the said murderers into Russia." In 1765 the Mongol superintendent at Kalgan was detected in an illicit trade in

hides with Russia. Like his erring colleague Gagarin, he was a Prince; but he, more lucky, escaped with his life. This year the Emperor was rather pleased when one of the Russian lamas, with all his tents and followers, expressed a desire to desert to China. The reason for this delight was that, Russia having refused to deliver up Shereng, China could now safely give a tit-for-tat. This year, too, the Emperor ordered a systematic survey of all the chief rivers between the boundary (*i.e.*, the Stony Hing-an Range, or Daurian watershed) and the Amur. The geographical details are interesting: roughly, the boundary ran near parallel, 54° N., to the river Zea, and thence north-east to Nikolaievsk. In 1768 the watchful Emperor discovered that the Kazaks were being utilized in order to trade off surreptitiously to China certain Russian goods. This *ballon d'essai* was at once pulled down. But a little later the Colonial Office communicated to the Russian *Kwo-mi-sa-r* (Commissary) thirteen articles under which legitimate trade might be conducted at Kiachta.

In 1770 a very important event occurred. The escaped Kalmuck murderer Shereng seems to have utilized his Russian experiences in order to persuade the 100,000 Russian Kalmucks to forsake the Volga and return to Ili. The first thing the Emperor heard of it was in the summer of 1771, when word was brought that Ubasi Khan, great-grandson of Ayuki, had actually arrived. He had secretly and suddenly left the Volga, which the Chinese call the Echil (Theophylactus' "river Til"; Haithon of Armenia's "Ethil" in 1254—*i.e.*, *etil*, "a river"), near the end of 1770 arriving in the sixth moon of 1771 at Saribel in Ili, after travelling by way of the Kazaks, Ak-kum Desert, Balkash Nor, and the Gobi Desert. Timid advisers tried to persuade the Emperor that it was all a Russian "dodge" of some sort; but K'ien-lung, whilst taking every precaution against treachery, and making careful preparations to massacre the whole nation should they play false, stuck bravely to his own opinion, which was that the Buddhistic

Kalmucks hated the Russian religion, detested the inquisitorial and rapacious Russian system, and objected to the incessant military services demanded from them, and to their Princes being treated as hostages. "The original Turguts," explains the Emperor, "who went to Russia under Ayuki rather than accept Dzungar hegemony, differed from the other Eleuths (or Kalmucks) in many ways; but Ubasi's father had already some years ago brought back 10,000 tents to the Dzungars; and, now that the Dzungars have been destroyed, Ubasi with his 80,000 or 90,000 tents naturally longs for his native land; it is a case of reverting to an old allegiance, not of accepting a new allegiance. Let us by all means forgive Shereng, if he also trusts himself in our hands; for it will be a fine revenge on Russia to decline to surrender the very man they first declined to give up to us." Only 33,000 tents, or 70,000 souls, survived the terrible journey, and they were at once presented by the Emperor with over 200,000 animals, besides tea, grain, skins, and cloth.

During the rest of K'ien-lung's reign Russian events were few: the escape and execution of Russian slaves; the stoppage and re-opening of trade in tea and rhubarb; the inspection of the frontier in such a way as not to excite Russian suspicions; etc. The old Emperor abdicated in 1796, and died in 1799, when his successor forthwith announced his intention of preserving the *status quo*, "if only Russia would also keep quiet." In 1802 the Emperor Kia-k'ing (1796-1820) gave renewed instructions to be prudent in periodically watching the frontier: "Always send word beforehand to the *Ku-pei-r-na-do-r*" (Governor). Early in 1806 some Russian ships appeared at Canton. The Viceroy and Hoppo were both censured for allowing trade there: "Kiachta is their proper sphere." (There is some reason to believe that either this or a land caravan, also this year, was a mission of some sort which was dismissed on account of some question of form. It is well known that in the autumn of 1806 two Russian men-of-war,

under Davidoff and Khwostoff, raided the Japanese settlements in Sahalien Island and the Kuriles, in order to force on trade. In the winter of 1804 a Russian ship had taken some shipwrecked Japanese to Nagasaki, but had received in return a *non possumus* when they applied for permission to trade with Japan.) In 1809 the Gubernador writes to suggest a meeting at Kiachta. The Emperor gently chides the Kalka Prince: "When the Russian Khan last time asked permission to send envoys with tribute, the Urga authorities were too unaccommodating on the *kotow* question, and the envoy was sent back. Apparently the Khan (Alexander I.) is once more anxious to send tribute. If the question be again mooted, say the Emperor permits the requested meeting, and don't be too stickling. If they are respectful, then report their presence, for they will scarcely dare to decline the *kotow* at Peking. If the suite of the mission is too large, reduce it."

In 1813 some trade squabbles are signalized between the Kazak ruler Hanbar and the Russians. The Manchu Military Governor of Ili incurred a censure on account of his excessive zeal in this matter; it appears that he summoned before him the headman of the Russian Andijans, and compelled him to pay compensation to Hanbar.—Nothing appears in the Manchu annals of Timkowski's "relief expedition" to Peking in 1821.

In 1824 a later Military Governor showed more activity than the new Emperor (1821-1850) cared about in connection with some Kazak rulers of doubtful allegiance; like his successors, Tao-kwang took as his cue: "If they ask for anything, treat them kindly; if their relations with Russia are doubtful, give them a wide birth."

In 1848 some Russian ships desirous of trading at Shanghai were sent away; the British Consul, A-li-kwo (Alcock), was invited by the local authorities to exercise a persuasive influence on the misguided Russians. "Good," says the Emperor; "always act so!" The following year some more Russian trespasses, under one Pa-lan (? Brandt),

are reported in the Kazak quarter, and it was necessary for China to write to the Russian Senate for explanations. It appears from the correspondence that both the Russian and the Chinese Kirghiz were in the habit of paying "horse-rents," by which, I suppose, "taxes on horses owned" are meant. The Senate took the opportunity to hint that "in view of the increasing population, trade at Kiachta is now insufficient; we want trade at Ili, Tarbagatai, and Kashgar too." The Emperor promptly ordered secret inquiry to be made as to how far this request could be granted. Yikshan (of Anglo-French war notoriety) was one of the officials who reported; he said there was no harm in the proposition, so far as the two first-named places were concerned, but that to open Kashgar would be inconvenient. In 1851 the reply of the Senate put quite a different complexion on the Russian trespass charges; according to the Russian account, the Chinese Ili officials had complained of robberies by Russian Kirghiz, and the Russians had now directed the Kirghiz Su-lê-t'an (Sultan) to restore 150 horses and six camels, adding: "As the Kazaks are our subjects, of course we restore property stolen by them." The Emperor winced under this unexpected turning of the tables against him, suspected his own officials of blundering and "hanky-panky," and called for fuller explanations. In reply Yikshan specified his objections to trading at Kashgar; he said: "As the Russians have for a long time been in the habit of collecting Kazak horse-rents, and making use of their animals for travelling stages; moreover, as their road to Kashgar will lie through Ili, and through the Kazaks south-west of it—it seems likely that the neighbouring Buruts (Kara-Kirghiz) and the Kazaks (Kirghiz) will soon be paying horse-rents and doing this stage duty for Russia too." He also showed that the Russian statement sent by the Senate to Peking was false, and that the "finding and surrender of the stolen horses" was only a "dodge" in order to get in the claim to ownership of the Kazaks. "All right," says the Emperor, "don't let out that we know the truth; keep

dark about it, and be very careful as to that 'compensation after Kiachta precedent' of which they seem to speak." Yikshan now sends a copy of his reply to the Russian frontier authorities: "China takes no notice of robberies of horses, etc., which may take place beyond her own frontier posts, but she will promptly punish any thefts which may take place within Chinese territory." "Capital!" says the Emperor; "and, by-the-by, is the trade at Ili and Tarbagatai to be from late spring to early winter, or how? And see that our officials in charge of it are not squeezers. I notice the Russian negotiator is firm on not granting the point of 'life for life' in murder cases, and was able to point to a Kiachta precedent in 1792, which was our own proposal. We ought never to have suggested life for life. If Russians are killed, I see you propose that the Viceroy of Shen Si and Kan Suh, should deal with the case: but surely he is too far off? Better let the Military Governor of Ili convict, and then send the prisoners to the Viceroy for execution or punishment." Meanwhile the Mongol General Shêngpao (the same who was executed about twelve years later for malversation in connection with the T'ai-p'ing rebellion) strongly recommended the strict closing of Ili and Tarbagatai trade during winter; and that, as at Kiachta, Russian women should only be allowed during the trade season, and even then only within the palisaded limits. Later on the question of taxing tea at Ili was mooted. But nothing is said of the Treaty of Kuldja of 1851, article 13 of which regulated the conditions of the Ili and Tarbagatai trade. A little later the Emperor says: "It is reported to me that the Russians have now permanently stationed their Gubernator at the north palisaded part of Kiachta. It is no business of ours; but find out the reasons for this move, keep an eye on him, and always report changes."

In the summer of 1852 it was reported that Russian troops had been observed marching eastwards on the other side of the Amur. The new Emperor (1850-1861) showed great nervousness lest the Manchu outposts watching these

movements should excite Russian susceptibilities. The matter was indeed serious, for, as is well known, Muravieff, Governor-General of East Siberia, had in 1851-1852 made an investigation of the Pacific Coast, and had ordered Nevelsky to take possession of the Amur mouth. Moreover, the surveys of Colonel Achte showed that ever since the Treaty of Nipchu in 1689 the territory between the "Stony Hing-an" boundary-line and the Amur River had remained both undefined and unoccupied by the Chinese; subject, however, to the cursory surveys which, as I have shown, were made in 1765.

In the autumn of 1853 the cloven foot of the Gubernator appears more fully: "The Military Governor says he wants to know how it is that there are no stones at the Gorbitsa boundary and near the sea-coast. The Colonial Office tells me we have no record of any. Send an officer at once to the mountains north and south of the Gorbitsa River to the eastwards, and report how the division was originally marked; also to see whether we ought to have boundary stones near the sea." This was done, but the setting up of stones was postponed till the spring of 1854. That very year the Czar, Nicholas, authorized Muravieff to sail down the Amur and open negotiations with China about the east frontier; Muravieff at once sailed from the Shilka down the whole Amur to Mariinsk, and in 1855 finally and formally took the river into Russian occupation.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1854, the Military Governor reported that Russian men-of-war were sailing on the Amur; their explanation was: "We are going east to compete with England for possession of the islands." The timid Emperor could do nothing but enjoin watchfulness and non-interference, but the Manchu authorities at Potuna and Altchuk (near Harbin) were ordered to keep a weather-eye open. In 1855 money was sanctioned for setting up the required stones, but it seems that in the summer the question of once more postponing this work till the following spring was still under academical discussion. Meanwhile the

Russian envoy (presumably Muravieff) was waiting at the Sungari junction; so the Chinese deputies on their way from Urga and Gorbitsa were directed to assemble before the third day of the eighth month at the Amur mouth, and then meet the Russians at the Sungari junction. In the spring of 1857 a colonization project, which had been checked in 1854 by the threatened encroachments of the Russians, was once more placed on the tapis. It was proposed to cultivate about 1,500,000 (English) acres of waste land, north of Potuna, in the Hulan Valley, lying away from the customary ginseng and sable preserves: terms, a pepper-corn rent, and free supplies of timber and stone, hunting and fishing.

But unlucky China was now in the throes of the Allied War. In the spring of 1858, after the English and French had "rebelled" at Canton, they proceeded to Tientsin (May 20), along with the Russians and Americans, "to frighten us." The Nanking Viceroy reported the presence of a Russian man-of-war at the Shanghai Bar. "Well, then," says the Emperor, "as the English and French will not come, there is no need to make a treaty with them. Send word to them by the Russians and Americans." Accordingly, "Russia at Tientsin puts forward the French demands," and in recognition of her efforts "she also was allowed to trade at the five ports. As to the Hêh-lung Kiang frontier, do your best at Tientsin to arrange that fairly with P'u-t'i-ya-t'ing (Count Poutiatine)." The result of this was that "pacific" Russia obtained her treaty the very first of all, on June 13, America on the 18th, England and France a few days later. But already, by the Treaty of Aigun, on May 16, the Russians had comfortably settled the Gorbitsa stone question by stipulating that from the Argun junction to the mouth the whole left bank of the Amur should be Russian, except that the hunters of Manchu blood, living on the left bank, from the river Zea south to the village of Khormolchin, were to remain for ever unmolested under Chinese protection. (After the

massacre of Blagoveschtschensk, in 1900, most of these, according to Leo Deutsch, were butchered by the Russians.) The right bank from the Argun to the Usuri junction was to belong to China, except that (says the Russian account) "beyond the Usuri junction China and Russia were to have combined rights, as now, until a frontier should be traced. Trading, in Russian and Chinese vessels only, was to be both allowed and protected on the Amur, Sungari, and Usuri." In the fifth moon we find the Chinese recording that the good offices of the Russians had been sought once more to coax over the British obstinacy upon the point of residence in Peking; but in the sixth moon (August) the French and English ships left Tientsin.

In the same month it is reported that the Acting Governor, Fei-ya-to-lo-fei-chi (? Feodorovitch), proposes that both States should henceforth cease to provide sheep and other supplies for each other's missions in future. The Emperor, evidently vaguely suspecting another devious "dodge," replies: "Say you have submitted the proposal to the Emperor, who is of opinion that it would be an unkindly act on his part to refuse supplies." Later on in the same year, there are several allusions to the compensation due to Russia for the burning of her factory at Tarbagatai; but there is nothing to show when or why this burning took place; however, it was arranged to pay up in annual instalments, partly in tea. The Chinese were evidently most anxious to get rid of the Russian troops then "demonstrating" just outside of the frontier posts.

In the early summer of 1859 it is recited that Yikshan had been instructed to prevent the Russians from navigating the Usuri if possible; but Yikshan said that, as their boats now habitually plied on the Amur, it would cause ill-feeling to stop them. The Emperor adds: "As Yikshan has lent the left bank of the Amur to the Russians, of course they cannot be prevented from navigating that and the Sungari, but we must really keep them out of the Usuri, Suifên (Vladivostock River), and San-sing (Upper

Sungari). The two first are within Kirin bounds, and are included in the area we have lent. Keep officers there to turn them back by force if they come, and point this out to them." Yikshan returns to the charge in the sixth moon with a horrible report that the Russians are actually building on the south bank just below the Usuri mouth (Khabarovsk), and also at Kukta-susu (? Susu below Khabarovsk). One K'i-sa-lo-fu (? Kysaloff) and an interpreter have also applied to survey the whole Usuri River up to its source at Lake Hing-k'ai (Khanka). "This is all owing to Yikshan having lent the left bank to Russia. Yikshan now tries to wriggle out of it by suggesting that the Military Governor of Kirin should deal with the case. Let Mu-li-fei-yo-fu (Muravieff) be instructed by the Sansing authorities that it was kind enough of us in all conscience to lend the left bank ; that Kirin is the place whence we derive our ginseng and pearls, so that we cannot admit you. The Hanka Lake does not border on Russia, so you cannot survey it." Two months later the Russian surveyors of the lake are reported to have forced their way to Hunch'un (opposite Vladivostock) by water, besides building and cultivating on the Usuri banks. The Emperor says : "After I-kê-na-t'i-ye-fu's (Ignatieff) arrival at Peking, he said he was desirous of having a joint inspection of the east and west frontier lines. On the sixteenth day of this moon (August) four Russians brought an important despatch for Ignatieff *via* Tientsin. It is also said that Muravieff will soon be at Tientsin. The Military Governor must shift as he best can. We are too far off here at Peking. Try at least to stop navigation on the Usuri. Really, Yikshan is much to blame for not having headed off Muravieff when he was up there. Let all unite to drive the builders and cultivators from the south bank if possible." But the miserable Yikshan reports his failure in the attempt to delimitate ; the Emperor resigns himself to the dismal prospect, and orders the two Military Governors to "arrange a new treaty with Russia."

In the seventh moon the Shan-hai Kwan authorities report the presence of Russian ships there, manned by Chinese, and masquerading as English. No one had been allowed to purchase food or to trade. "Ignatieff, questioned about this, replies that most decidedly no Russian ships ever make use of English flags, and all Russian ships have standing instructions to visit open treaty ports only. He encloses specimens of the flags of different nations, which must be at once sent on to Shan-hai Kwan."

During the spring of 1860 the Manchu authorities were occupied in rescuing as many Orochons, Kumars, Pilars, and other Tungusic hunting tribes as they possibly could, from contact with the Russians, and in the eleventh moon an officer was sent from Peking to Kirin to assist the Military Governor in defining the frontier. The actual delimitation was not completed for another seven months, and full geographical particulars, with details of the Russian "tries-on," are given. The Tsung-li Yamên, just then established, was ordered to take cognizance. All this is evidently in connection with the Treaty of Peking, concluded by Count Ignatieff in November, 1860, and—to use the Russian words of 1899—"defining the Manchu frontier as it now is from north to east." Of course, the investment and convention of Peking and the flight of the Emperor in October, 1860, had given Russia further opportunities for putting the screw on *avec sagesse*.

No sooner was China rid of this business than the Tarbagatai questions pop up again. The Military Governor of Uliassutai was despatched thither in the spring to assist the local administration. During the summer the Emperor learns for the first time that the Kirghiz ruler, Altan Shala, and his son, had gone over to Russia, and that it was necessary to communicate on this point with the West Si-pi-r *yamên* (the Governor-General of Western Siberia). The frontier delimitation had been fixed for the thirteenth day of the fourth moon of the twelfth year; but the Emperor Hien-fêng never saw a twelfth year; he died

on the seventeenth day of the sixth moon (August 21) of his eleventh year, and the next Emperor did not finally adopt a reign style until November 7. During this interval the Russian envoy at Peking seems to have tried to compete with the English and French for favour with China by offering to present her with guns and cannon. During the ninth moon some of them arrived at Kiachta in charge of an expert named Fei-li-pien-kwo (? Filipinkoff). Of 2,000 muskets and six guns actually received there, nearly all were sent on to Peking, only a few being retained for local use. But it seems to have been a case of *do ut des*. In the eleventh moon illicit Russian trading with Urga was reported, besides surreptitious attempts to rent houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cheptsun-tamba Saints' palace, etc. "The Russians themselves proposed to give us guns and rifles," say the Regents in the child Emperor's name; "we never asked for them. If the Consul at Urga shows any shiftiness about the balance, it will be more dignified for us to let the matter drop."

Early in 1862 more Russian trespasses, thefts of straw, etc., are reported from Hurun Pir (near the source of the Argun). But on the credit side of the Russians it is gratefully noted that some Russian soldiers fought during the third moon under the brave American adventurer Ward at the Battle of Wang-kia Sz (April 3). Later on some Russian gunboats offered their services at Shanghai. In the fifth moon a report comes that the *obos*, or frontier cairns, have been duly erected on the north and south frontiers of Tarbagatai Province. With regard to the Kirghiz ruler, Altan Shala, and his son, the Russians claim them as subjects, and assert that they are entitled to be styled "Sultan." However, "on hunting up the archives of 1860, we find that in 1855-1856 Altan Shala twice sent his son Tchakhal Ahmed with horses, and according to the translated Mussulman letter he brought then, he styled himself 'Khan.' Moreover, he brought with him his father's hereditary Chinese patent to exhibit. Hence,"

say the Regents. "it is clear that in 1855-1856 Altan Shala still regarded himself as our Kazak Khan. How, then, is it possible for Russia to claim that so far back as 1738 Abulai Khan swore allegiance to her? The Russian despatch now received says Russia does not in the least mind if he calls himself a Khan when he goes to China. When he goes back to Russia he will be treated, as usual, like a kinsman. If this is really so, then Altan Shala need not be counted a Khan of ours any more, and we need not insist on his son Chotan inheriting the title. Let our Kazaks elect another. But, as a matter of fact, are you sure Altan Shala knows what the Russians are telling us? Is it not a pure Russian invention?" In the seventh moon a report is received from the Military Governor of Ili, stating that Altan Shala has been living for a long time in Russia now, and that he is like "a rat furtively looking both ways." The *K'wang-su-lêh* (Consul) mandarin Tsa-ha-lao (? Zakharoff) has been establishing various pickets around Nimar and Shala-tologai, interfering with our patrols, and claiming all the Kazaks and Buruts there as his. There have also been robberies of cattle at Orkot-chul. The Regents say: "We must ask the Russian Minister about Zakharoff's strange behaviour. Try and find out what Russia is driving at. We know she has long coveted the Kazak and Burut land, and no doubt Altan Shala is privy to it all. See that another man is elected to be our Kazak Khan." In the eighth moon a report arrives that the Russians have been clandestinely erecting seventeen *obos* at Moto-Barluk (? Manitu) and two other places beyond our pickets to the south of Tarbagatai, "but that the envoy (? Russian Commissary) had agreed to have them pulled up, as also others similarly set down to the north of Tarbagatai." Later on a report comes that Ili territory has been invaded by a party of armed Russians, Kazaks, and Buruts. "The lakes of Temud Nor and Dzaisang Nor are certainly within our Ili-Tarbagatai bounds, and if we give these up to the Russians we shall also be abandoning

several old picket posts to them; moreover, the spot invaded is only thirty [English] miles from our Solon and Sibé camps, and scarcely half that distance from Tarbagatai." Finally, an uncanny report comes that a number of Russian Kazaks and Buruts near our frontier posts have applied to be given pasture-lands in China, as the Russian administration is found to be too harassing. "The Military Governor tempted them with presents in order to test their feelings, and found they were much more eager for this transfer to them of our property than for a transfer by them of their allegiance to us." The Regents at once suspected another Russian "dodge" to get them into *our* territory, and then claim *our* territory because *their* Kazaks and Buruts were there! Or possibly Russia wished to raise deserter questions. "Quite right to send them back. See that *all* go back, but don't be too harsh about it, in case the poor fellows really *do* want to come back to us." There are various other frontier points contested. The Treaty of Tchuguchak (Tarbagatai) was not concluded until 1864; the Land Trade Treaty of February 20, 1862, was for some reason abandoned.

Towards the end of 1862 a captured prisoner reports what is going on in Kokand (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1899, for Kokand affairs up to 1861). Malla Beg (of Tashkend) had been murdered, and his brother (? cousin Shah Murad) Shah Mu-la-t had been elected, who, however, had soon resigned in favour of Khudayar (of Khokand). But the Hi-p'i-ch'a-k and Burut (Kipchaks and Kara-Kirghiz), aided by Ai-lien-mu K'u-r (the Usbeg Alim-kul), were contesting Khudayar's claims. The hand of Russia was suspected to be in these intrigues.—The Chinese were not far wrong, for Tchernaiëff took Khokand in 1864, leaving Khudayar unmolested in charge, until his flight to Tashkend in 1875.

In consequence of certain extortions at Urga, the Kiachta tea-trade regulations were now put on a more satisfactory basis. The Chinese were suspicious of Russia's motives in

offering further naval assistance against the T'ai-p'ing rebels, and after some discussion with M. Popoff it was arranged that their men-of-war should not go farther up the river than Chinkiang. Zakharoff continued to exhibit bad temper in connection with the western frontier negotiations, but the "Tangnu, the Uriangkai, the Mongols, and the Kazaks were all delighted at China's firmness in not handing them over to the Russians." China remitted the compensation fees due from the Tarbagatai Eleuths in lieu of cattle taxes, and in the east the plans for colonizing Tsitsihar were approved.

In the spring of 1863 the Governor-General of Western Siberia made desperate efforts to intimidate China into accepting Zakharoff's views, but the Regents remained firm, more especially in view of the Mussulman rebellion which was now breaking out in Shen Si, and which, as we know, led to the rise of Yakub Beg, and Russia's temporary occupation of Ili. Meanwhile the Tarbagatai Mussulmans were carefully conciliated. In the summer a force of 400 Russians with guns and muskets was signalled near Tarbagatai and Baktu, "evidently bent on encroachment." The Military Governor had at once complained to the Governor-General of Western Siberia. Several thousand Russians were also reported at Dzaisang Nor, building, cultivating, and calling upon the local Kirghiz to submit. The Emperor ordered a close watch to be kept.

I have not yet examined the voluminous documents covering the period 1863-1874, but I may perhaps give their purport in a short supplementary paper.

THE PROGRESS OF THE PANJĀB.

BY SIR W. MACKWORTH YOUNG, K.C.S.I.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE progress of the Panjāb during the past decade is the subject of this paper. I must make a selection if I would avoid wearying you or obscuring the points of greatest interest, and my object in such selection will be to exhibit any important new departure or development, always bearing in mind that what this Association wants to know is how far we are dealing with our great trust in the East so as to serve the interests and welfare of its inhabitants. If my remarks appear fragmentary, I would ask you to admit the difficulty of being comprehensive within the limits of our time.

SEPARATION OF THE FRONTIER.

It seems natural that I should begin with the great territorial change, the separation of the frontier, which, after years of discussion between the Indian and home Governments, was carried out by Lord Curzon, with the approval of the Secretary of State, in November, 1901, shortly before I left the province. I refrain from saying anything in regard to the desirability or otherwise of the change, or of the manner in which it was effected. Nor shall I attempt on this occasion any justification of the administration of the frontier by the Panjāb Government during the concluding chapters of its authority. That history will, I hope, be written, both because it is full of interest and instruction, and because Lord Curzon's minute embodying his proposals, which was, perhaps, somewhat unfortunately given to the world, contained an indictment against the successive rulers and administrators of the Panjāb which has little foundation in the facts of the case. When these facts are fully given, a just judgment will no doubt be formed on them. I will not anticipate the verdict which

* Paper read at a meeting of the East India Association on December 13, 1904. For discussion, see elsewhere in this number.

will then be passed, but I must say a few words about the slice of territory which, after having been administered for fifty-two years as part of the Panjāb, and having shared its fortunes and its gradual growth, has now been handed over to an officer whose primary duty will be that of Warden of the Indian North-West Frontier. This aspect of the question has not received much attention. It is one which is fraught with anxiety, and will require to be carefully watched.

THE NEW PROVINCE TOO SMALL FOR AN ADMINISTRATIVE
UNIT.

The tract which has been separated from the Panjāb to form the new province comprises the whole of the Peshawar, Hazara, and Kohat Districts, and the Trans-Indus Tahsils of the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts, with the exception of thirty-three villages of the latter, transferred to the Dera Ghazi Khan District. In respect of total area, cultivated area, land revenue, and population, this tract is less than one-tenth of the Panjāb, and is far smaller than any other separate administration with a service of its own; it forms, in fact, a miniature province, and as such will be very difficult to manage properly. It is an axiom of our rule in India that the machine of the administration cannot be efficiently run on a very small scale. We have hitherto recognised this principle in the construction of our provinces. The amalgamation of Oudh with the North-West Provinces in 1877 was due to its recognition. The separation of Assam from Bengal in 1874 was a precedent in the other direction. But the small size of the Assam administration has been a source of some difficulty, though Assam is three times as large as the North-West Frontier Province, and another partition of Bengal is now contemplated which will still further enlarge it. The only way of enlarging the new Frontier Province is to annex more of the tribal territory, which so far is deprecated, I am glad to say, by all authorities.

TRIBAL TERRITORY WILL OCCUPY TOO MUCH ATTENTION.

The political charge which, in addition to this diminutive administration, vests in the same officer extends over all the neighbouring tribes lying between the British and Afghan borders. The degree of interference with these tribes varies greatly, according to circumstances. With the more distant and inaccessible we have little to do so long as they abstain from raiding. With some, especially those which frequent British territory and have relations with our own subjects, we are called upon to exercise from time to time a quasi-jurisdiction, though the methods of British administration cannot always be used as the basis of such interference. The tract over which this political authority is exercised is twice as large as the fragment of British territory with which it is associated, though it consists mainly of barren and stony hills, and has a very meagre population. But this political charge will be the most anxious part of the duties of the new administration, and, in the eyes of the Foreign Office, the most important; and I have not the least expectation that the internal administration of the segregated districts will be so carefully maintained as when they formed part of the provincial organization.

SMALLNESS OF THE CADRE.

The difficulty of properly recruiting and maintaining so small a service is another real obstacle. The new Commission employed in the administration of the North-West Frontier Province consists of twenty-seven members only. These officers have been brought upon the graded list of the Political Department of the Government of India; but that department has no training-ground for administrative experience, and cannot supply it otherwise than by systematically drawing upon other provinces. It is, indeed, contemplated to draw largely upon the Panjāb for filling up special appointments in the new province; but such an arrangement is objectionable for a permanence, and has

been found impossible in other cases. The difficulty of maintaining a standard of efficiency in the staff of the new province will not be acute for some years, as Lord Curzon has taken from the Provincial Commission able junior officers for the important posts, passing over all the generation of frontier officers who seemed by their standing and services to be marked out for them, and securing thereby continuity of administration for some years; but as the generation of officers who have been reared in the Panjāb, and have learnt their frontier experience under the shadow of a thoroughly supervised provincial organization, passes away, this drawback will become apparent.

CONCLUSION.

I think it is inevitable that there should be some down-grading in the standard of administration of the districts which have lost their connection with the Panjāb, and this cannot but be matter of regret to those who have watched their gradual pacification and development under British rule. Viewed solely as an administrative measure, affecting British subjects, the separation of the frontier has been the greatest mistake of the past decade.

THE MERITS OF THE CASE HAVE NEVER BEEN DISCUSSED.

Whether there was any political necessity for the change will always be a debatable question, and there is no object to be gained in threshing it out now. No Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb has ever been invited to offer an opinion on the subject, and the only call for information regarding the manner in which the Panjāb Government had discharged its duties in this respect, which resulted in Sir Lepel Griffin's famous Memorandum of 1876, was couched in a form which precluded any discussion of the merits of the system under which the Panjāb Government had administered frontier affairs. There is plenty to be said on this subject, and, as I have already remarked, I cannot help hoping that some day it may be said.

NATIVE STATES.

From the Frontier Question I pass to the Native States, which are subject to the political control of the Panjāb Government. Twenty-eight per cent. of the area of the Panjāb and its dependencies, and 18 per cent. of its population, pertain to the thirty-four States, varying in size and importance from the principalities of Patiala and Bahāwalpur, with areas of 5,400 and 20,000 square miles, and populations of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million and $\frac{3}{4}$ million, and ruled by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny state of Darkuti, with an area of 8 square miles and a total population of 518 souls, whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

PERSONALITY AND TRAINING OF RULERS.

Looking back over the last decade, it must be admitted that, though there have been fine specimens of native administrators, such as the late Raja Shamsheer Parkash of Nahan, and the present chief of Nabha, Raja Hira Singh, we have not succeeded as yet in establishing a high personal standard among the rulers of Native States, though there have been several long minorities, which have afforded a full opportunity for trying our own system of training and education. The difficulty consists in the transitional state of native feeling and development. If we leave a minor chief to be educated under the directions of the State authorities, he will be turned out at the age of eighteen with much notion of dignity, with much regard for the traditions and old families of the State, and with some prospect of carrying on, in the old grooves, the time-honoured system of administration and customs. But the march of ideas, even in Native States, has been of late years so rapid that it is almost impossible for native Ministers of a past generation to equip the young chief with the necessary qualities for keeping straight when he gets his head; and, in the second place, self-interest is so strong and intrigue so common among the hereditary

officials of a Native State that they are the worst people to bring him up. In a Native State there is no family in the wholesome atmosphere of which the young chief can be disciplined and trained, with the help of tutors, under control of the head of the family; so if the Government does not make the chief its ward, he will rarely have any disinterested and capable guardian. Hence it has come about that the British Government has generally accepted the position of being responsible for the training of a minor chief, and in the more important States has appointed tutors, or governors, or guardians, for their education and preparation. But here the danger has been recognised of so far separating the minor chief from his family and from the circle of his future Ministers and dependents as to alienate him from his State, and disincline him to accept the responsibilities connected with it when he comes of age. And so, in appointing a guardian or tutor, native or European, the Government has been careful to impress upon him that the chief should be kept in touch with the hereditary officials and people of the State, and that the tutor should accommodate himself so far as possible to their ideas in carrying out his charge.

CASE OF THE PHULKIAN STATES.

Such is the position which the Government in most cases has assumed with regard to a minor chief's training and education. But until recently there has been a tendency in the case of the Phulkian States of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha, for the Government to devolve its responsibility in this matter to the Council of Regency, which, under the terms of the requests made in 1858 by the Phulkian chiefs, and granted by Lord Canning, administers these States during a minority. The tutor was regarded as subordinate to the Council of Regency, and direct communication between him and the Government was not recognised. He was never able to insist upon anything to which the Council were opposed. His plans were at any time liable

to be upset by the Council, and to the young chief he appeared to be their servant and subject to their orders. Hence the standard of discipline was never really higher than that conceived by the Council, and a very indifferent one it was. Now, there is nothing in the paper of requests about the training and education of a minor chief, and nothing to preclude the Government from assuming full responsibility for them, and this principle was with the concurrence of the Government of India fully asserted in 1897, and is now acted upon. From this measure I cannot but think much benefit will result as regards the personnel of some of the most important chiefs under the political control of the Panjāb Government. The very best men available should be selected as tutors in these cases, for a minority presents unique opportunities for an elevation of the standard of Government in Native States.

POLITICAL AGENT OF PHULKIAN STATES.

Another important step in regard to the political relations of the Sikh States with the Panjāb Government has been the appointment of a Political Agent for the Phulkian brotherhood of Patiala, Jind and Nabha. The functions of such an Agent from the annexation of the Panjāb to the year 1870 were performed by the Commissioner of Ambāla. In the latter year, as a consequence of some complications, these States were brought into direct political relation with the Panjāb Government. The experience of thirty years has fully established the necessity for a reversion to the system of closer contact with the chiefs than could be maintained by the Local Government, and a more personal influence over their proceedings. Especially is such a change necessary in cases of a chief's minority, in view of the more direct responsibility for his training assumed by the Government, as already explained. The measure was carried out in 1901 with the full concurrence of the Panjāb Government. I confess I should have been disposed personally to exempt the fine old Chief of Nabha from the

arrangement during his lifetime, but I believe he has, with his usual loyalty, cordially accepted the situation, and that the change has already been accompanied with the best possible results in all three States.

PROPOSAL TO REMOVE THEM FROM THE POLITICAL CONTROL
OF THE PANJĀB GOVERNMENT.

In connection with this subject, however, there was a further proposal which, I venture to think, would have most unfortunate consequences—to place the Political Agent under the orders of the Foreign Office, and so remove the three States from the political control of the Panjāb Government.

OBJECTIONS TO THIS PROPOSAL.

Though the execution of this proposal has been postponed, it may be revived at any time, and I therefore think it worth while to note the arguments against it.

(1) HISTORICAL.

The historical argument is the least important, though it is anything but unimportant. The connection with the Panjāb Government has existed since annexation, and during that connection the States have never wavered in their loyalty to the British Government. They rendered conspicuous service in the Mutiny, for which they received liberal rewards, and they have to such an extent imbibed the provincial feeling, and partaken in the provincial progress, that they have become part and parcel of the province as an Imperial unit.

(2) RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS.

The argument from race and religion is stronger. The Phulkian chiefs are Jats of the great Sidhu Barar clan, which is prevalent in adjoining British districts. They are regarded by the Sikhs of the province as their racial heads. The Sikh community, the importance of which is

not to be gauged by its numbers, has 586,000 of its members—more than one-fourth of the whole—in the Sikh States. Amritsar is the Mecca of the whole Sikh community. To cut asunder the ties which unite the Local Government with the Phulkian chiefs would be to deprive the Lieutenant-Governor of a most valuable source of influence over the $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Sikhs within his charge, comprising the most important military element and one of the best agricultural agencies in the province; and, on the other hand, would weaken the hold of the British Government on the Sikh States, and introduce a dual control into the management of a sect possessing marked features and requiring uniform treatment.

(3) GEOGRAPHICAL.

Stronger still is the geographical objection to the separation. The territories of the Phulkian chiefs and of the adjoining Panjāb districts are curiously intermingled. Thirty-six estates of the Mahraj Ilaka of the Ferozepore District are completely surrounded by native territory. Villages of the Ludhiana District are scattered in the most extraordinary way among the States; forty-two estates of that district are divided into twelve separate blocks, hemmed in by native territory. Several of these blocks consist of a single village. Five blocks, embracing thirty-four Patiala estates, are included in the boundaries of the Ludhiana District. In the Ambāla District there are two small groups of Patiala villages, and, similarly, there are Ambāla villages enveloped by Patiala territory. The Karnal District has some thirty estates scattered among Phulkian villages, and several of them are only a mile or two distant from Patiala. The Budhlada Ilaqa of Hissar, which is mostly held in jagir by the Sardar of Siddhuwal, is an island surrounded by Jind and Patiala territory. This remarkable interlacing of jurisdiction involves serious administrative complications. The irrigation from the Western Jamna and Sirhind Canals, as well as from the Ghaggar and

Sarusati streams, gives rise to frequent differences between the villages of the States and of the British Government, requiring prompt adjustment, and this can only be secured by the authority of the Local Government acting through its Irrigation Department. Excise arrangements require an amount of co-operation between Panjāb officers and those of the States which it would be much more difficult to obtain if, in cases of disagreement, an appeal lay to the Government of India. Police efficiency, nowhere more urgently required than on the boundaries of British and State territory, would suffer grievously by the lengthening of the chain of ultimate authority.

CONCLUSION.

If the attempt to sever the Phulkian States from the political control of the Panjāb Government is ever renewed, I earnestly hope that these considerations, which might be amplified to any extent, will not be lost sight of. The measure would result in constant friction and disorganization, as anyone having the slightest acquaintance with the actual facts will testify.

THE IMPERIAL IDEA.

While upon the subject of Native States, I wish to say a few words on the growth of the Imperial idea. Lord Lytton's pageant in 1877 evoked some criticisms at the time, but few will now dispute the wisdom of the policy represented by it. It was the embodiment of an ideal exactly suited to the circumstances. The relations of the native chiefs to the paramount power have been by this most happy object-lesson affirmed and defined without opposition or offence. The structure of which the foundation was then laid has grown by degrees into a stately edifice, proclaiming the unity of our Indian Empire on the basis of a good understanding with its principalities. The accession of the King was a fitting occasion for a further illustration of this most important fact, and a further develop-

ment of its consequences, and attacks on Lord Curzon in respect of his Darbār betray ignorance of the great problem of British Rule in India.

THE IMPERIAL SERVICE TROOPS.

Again, an important stone in the Imperial temple has been the creation of the Imperial Service contingents. This was another happy inspiration, seizing upon the palpable facts of the situation, and identifying the great Native States with the Imperial interests with marvellous fitness and success. Lord Dufferin's great measure was previous to the past decade, but its development belongs to our period, as it is only of recent years that the Imperial Service troops have taken their place in the first line of Imperial warfare; and the Native States of the Panjāb, which were foremost to accept the duty of furnishing troops for the defence of the Empire, have by this means found the opportunity of reviving their martial ardour, which was becoming atrophied through disuse, and of rendering services to the British Crown at once honourable to themselves and useful to the Empire. Infructuous expenditure on undisciplined militia has been abandoned for the maintenance of a reduced number of troops, many of whom will bear comparison with the flower of our native army, and a generous rivalry has taken the place of contempt on the one hand, and jealousy on the other. The Tirah campaign of 1897-1898 attests their valour, and their discipline is scarcely less conspicuous. This confederacy for Imperial defence is fraught with the most important results. Nothing will contribute more to the consolidation of the Empire if the policy is worked with tact and sympathy. Hitherto the attitude of the Panjāb States in regard to this matter has been wholly satisfactory. There are no more loyal chiefs than those who have political relations with the Panjāb Government, and these relations have been further cemented by the service thus undertaken by them.

COMMISSIONS IN THE ARMY FOR NATIVE GENTLEMEN.

And as a result of this federation of the Native States for purposes of Imperial defence, another step has now at length been taken by Lord Curzon—a step often recommended by successive Lieutenant-Governors of the Panjāb, and eagerly desired by its noble families: I allude to the grant of commissions in the army to cadets of good family belonging to the fighting races. The circumspection needed in admitting Indians to an important share in the government of the country is also needed in opening out to them positions of authority in the army, but it is no more necessary in the one than in the other to exclude them entirely, and the concession is one which will be cordially appreciated by the fighting tribes of the Panjāb.

THE AITCHISON COLLEGE.

A few words here about the chiefs' college at Lahore will not be out of place. That college is doing extremely well. It has not filled quite the same place as the Mayo college at Ajmir or the Raj-Kumār College in Kattiāwar. The number of ruling chiefs in the Panjāb is not sufficient to justify its being exclusively reserved for them, and so other youths of good family, but not tinged with the purple, have been admitted. But there are sufficient facilities for differentiating between the status of the different classes, and the present Nawab of Bahāwalpur was educated there, a house being specially constructed in the precincts for his accommodation at the expense of the State. I believe that this college has a great future before it.

ABOLITION OF THE GOVERNOR.

I am concerned to learn that among the changes which Lord Curzon is introducing is the abolition of the Governor, and the committal of the final executive authority to an educationalist. I do not think the Panjāb is ripe for this change. It has been greatly to the advantage of the

college in its early years to have at its head a retired officer of Government fully acquainted with the feelings and customs of the chiefs, whose services, owing to his being a Government pensioner, have been secured for a very moderate amount of remuneration considering his position and experience. Nothing has contributed so much to establish confidence in the institution during this period of its growth, and the foresight of its founder, Sir C. Aitchison, in devising its constitution has already been amply justified. It will be hard to find the necessary qualifications in anyone who has had no political experience. A Chester Macnaghten would no doubt succeed in time, but such men are hard to find, and at the present stage of education among Panjāb chiefs, a Principal of even his calibre would need a considerable time to enlist the confidence of the chiefs, and acquire the instinct whereby their prejudices may be met and their objections overcome. I hope that the change may still be averted, or, if it is carried out, that some means will be found of associating with the college the experience which is so essential to its welfare.

DESCENT OF JAGIRS.

Before speaking of measures affecting the mass of the people, I wish to allude to one other subject bearing upon the condition of the Panjāb aristocracy. The grants in perpetuity of assignments of land revenue made or confirmed to the principal Panjab Jagirdars after annexation and up to the year 1859 may be divided into three classes.

I. Those in the portions of the old Delhi and Hissar Divisions which were formerly under the Government of the North-West Provinces.

II. The Jagirs of the Cis-Satlaj territory.

III. Those of the Panjāb proper.

Those of the first class were transferable by sale, gift, or otherwise under the provisions of Clause 15 of Regula-

tion XXXVI. of 1803. The revenue assignment of this regulation was an estate independent of Government. No attempt was made to preserve any trace of the circumstances of its origin, or to attach its holder for the time being to the British Government by means of any feudal relation. The idea of service, if ever contemplated, was lost, and subdivision of the property among numerous heirs has caused deterioration of the family status, and consequent loss of all advantage to the State from the relinquishment of its claim.

The Cis-Satlaj jagirs were the remnants of the actual sovereignty originally enjoyed by the ancestors of the Jagirdars at the time when the protection of the British Government was extended to the territory situated between the dominions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and our own frontier. Their origin was the same as that of the Phulkian States. That they were not recognised by us as States was due partly to their weakness, partly to their number. Had not circumstances led to the extinction of their political powers, their impartible character would have been preserved as in the case of the Phulkians. As it was, Government reserved the right to lay down rules regarding succession and other matters. The principle upon which such rules were based was that of customary right and usage. But, unfortunately, though power to alienate was withheld, it was presumed that such usage would in most respects conform to the customary law of private property. And the Delhi precedent was at hand to confirm this view. So in course of time these jagirs came to be partitioned like landed property.

In regard to the third class, though by right of conquest the British Government acquired absolute authority in regard to all such jagirs (and as a matter of fact every grant made was declared to be a free gift of the British Government, which might have imposed any rule of succession it pleased), the precedent of the Cis-Satlaj Jagirs was in the main followed. The right of succession was confined to

direct male heirs of the grantee, but no order of devolution amongst the descendants of the grant *inter se* was prescribed. The matter was left for settlement according to the customary law of the land. Here, too, therefore, the subdivision of jagirs has in most cases been freely taking place.

SUBDIVISION OF JAGIRS.

As long ago as 1860 the evils which might be expected from this subdivision were foreseen by Lord Canning. "It is," he wrote, "politically desirable that primogeniture should be encouraged. The Governor-General believes that a more unfortunate prospect cannot be before a people—especially a people among whom society is of a feudal form—than that of the gradual dissolution of all their wealthy and influential families into numerous poor and proud descendants. His Excellency also believes that the task of governing such a people in contentment becomes more and more difficult as this change progresses." These remarks refer to an order which had been passed in the previous November by the Government of India, ruling that all assignments granted in perpetuity after that date should descend integrally to a single heir. And it was Lord Canning's wish that the same principle should be extended to existing grants, but it was considered that the opportunity for prescribing such a principle was past, and that the rule of primogeniture could only be introduced with the consent of the holder. An attempt was made to act upon this basis, but it failed, except in a few cases, mainly because the consent of the actual holder could not bind the reversioners. And for forty years there was little to stay the subdivision of perpetual jagirs and deterioration of the status of Jagirdars. In some jagirs the process has gone so far that some of the existing shares are less than one rupee each. One hundred and twenty-nine jagirs, with an annual revenue of five lakhs, originally held by single persons, are now shared by 9,943 assignees.

ACT OF LEGISLATURE.

To stay this process of subdivision, an Act was passed by the Panjāb Legislative Council in 1900 offering to existing holders some inducements to accept the rule of primogeniture for their jagirs, and making their assent sufficient authority for the change. It is much to be hoped that this measure may have some effect in checking the process of disintegration. I could have wished it were possible to take a stronger line, and assert the right of Government even at this late stage to impose a rule which would have commended itself to the people and been in every sense beneficial. But it was held that legal and equitable considerations precluded this course, and the principle affirmed in the Act is the utmost that could be done. Owing to the cutting down of the Annual Report, I am unable to ascertain what has been done under the Act since 1900; but the matter will not be lost sight of by the authorities, and some good results are sure to be obtained.

THE PANJĀB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

As I have mentioned the Panjāb Legislative Council, I will say a few words here on this new and important feature of provincial progress, as well as on the legislation of the last ten years. The Provincial Legislative Council was established in 1897, thirty-six years after the passing of the Indian Councils Act, which distinctly contemplated the establishment of a Local Legislature, but left the time to the Governor-General in Council. It was mainly due to the strong opinion recorded in 1891 by our chairman that I found myself called upon to preside at the first meeting of the Council eight months after I had taken over charge of the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Sir James Lyall's reasons for his recommendation were : (1) That there was a general feeling among the educated classes in favour of the measure ; (2) that a free discussion of the measures of Government, especially in regard to financial matters, would

be politic and useful ; and (3) that provincial legislation, of which there was considerable need, would be promoted. The last of these anticipations has certainly been realized. It has been found a much simpler business to get the Government of India to agree to the passing of a measure by the Local Legislature than to prevail upon it to pass the measure itself, and already several Acts have been brought on to the Statute-Book which may be expected to have a beneficial effect. In addition to the Descent of Jagirs Act, to which I have alluded, the following are among the measures which have been passed.

REVIEW OF ACTS PASSED.

The Panjāb Riverain Boundaries Act provides the means for introducing a system of fixed boundaries between estates subject to river action, in regard to which that most perplexing rule of following the deep stream had become a stereotyped source of never-ending confusion and litigation. The Act has already been brought into force on several of the Panjāb rivers, to the immense advantage of the riverside agricultural population.

The Panjāb Land Preservation Act provides the means of doing whatever is still possible in the direction of limiting and repairing the damage done by our old enemy the Hoshiārpur Cho, who for many years had worked his wicked will on the fertile sub-Himalayan district of that name. For the benefit of the uninitiated, I had better explain that the Cho is a sandy torrent which brings down from the Siwaliks a detritus of sand sufficient to devastate huge areas of cultivation, and has flooded the public offices of the province with almost an equal amount of unproductive literature.

Another measure of provincial importance is the Sind Sagar Doāb Colonization Act, designed to facilitate the acquisition by Government of large tracts of waste land formerly held to be of little value to the State, but which, in view of the unparalleled success of the Chenāb coloniza-

tion, have now to be reckoned as an important factor in the scheme for a canal from the Indus, the last and largest of the great irrigation works of the Panjāb. We did not know, when this waste was parcelled out to the sparse village communities of the Great Thull, which forms the Doāb between the Indus and the Jhelum, how important it was to preserve the title of the State in these lands, with a view to settling immigrants from the densely populated tracts on the great canal of the future. We did not even know whether the Panjāb agriculturist would consent to be transported wholesale from his own village to "pastures new." When the Indus Canal comes to be made, this small piece of legislation undertaken in the second year of the Provincial Council will be fully appreciated. Without its aid the construction of the canal could not have been contemplated at all in the near future.

The Act for the Registration of Transport Animals, which was introduced in 1902, and has been passed since I left the province, is designed to mitigate the hardship resulting from the requisitions of the State for carriage in times of military preparation, by regularizing and systematizing those requisitions. No one who has any experience of the needs of the State on the one hand, and the inconvenience experienced by the people on the other, in regard to the impressment of carriage in the Panjāb, will fail to welcome this attempt to grapple with a difficulty which has too long been allowed to drift.

Now, these measures, each of them, I venture to think, in the highest degree conducive to the welfare of the people of the Panjāb, all passed the Legislative Council during the first five years of its existence. Though I am not prepared to say that none of them would have been passed had there been no Local Legislature, they have been greatly facilitated by its constitution, and they may be taken as an earnest of the benefit that will result in future years from its labours.

RIGHT OF INTERPELLATION.

The right of interpellation has for the present been withheld. I hope it may be conceded before long. The Panjāb is more ready for it than it was five years ago. The native press shows growing intelligence and good feeling, though the standard of press criticism is not such as one would be willing to introduce into Council debates. There is nothing more important in the political life of a province than a sound, healthy, strong public opinion, if only it be genuine, and there is nothing more wholesome for our Indian bureaucracies than that they should have to face criticism. There is more to be feared from undue postponement of the privilege than from its premature inception, and I am inclined to think that the time has perhaps come when it may be safely conferred.

ALIENATION OF LAND ACT.

The most important Act of the Imperial Legislature affecting the Panjāb which has been placed on the Statute-Book during the past decade is the Panjāb Land Alienation Act of 1900. If it is a success, the whole credit must rest with the Government of India, from whom it originated, for the Panjāb proposals for dealing with the matter were set aside, and the more drastic measure imposed from above. It is early as yet to judge of its working. The reports for the first two years show a considerable decrease in transfers, accompanied by a sensible contraction of the agriculturists' credit and decrease in the price of land.

OBJECTIONS.

I hope the measure may do good, but I am not a convert to it for the following reasons : First and foremost, because the thrifty agriculturists who constitute the great majority have held their own without it, and increased in prosperity. The legislation which has been undertaken in the interests of the few, and those few the less sturdy of our land-holders, interferes with the liberty and self-reliance of the robust

agriculturist. The wealth and the credit of the latter is impaired, and will suffer serious diminution in the future. This will not fit in with the inelasticity of our revenue demand, and the revenue-payers' need for cash when seasons fail or cattle die. The political danger of land transfers has been, I think, exaggerated. The expropriated owners generally remained upon the land as tenants at will, and the picture sometimes drawn of such men wandering about in search of employment is an imaginary one. The expenditure of capital on the land will suffer a considerable check. The agriculture of the province will *pro tanto* become impoverished, and, as always happens when man is hampered by restrictions which appear to him unnecessary and unreasonable, he will do his best to evade them, and will probably succeed. I do not like the measure, and do not believe in it. If I am mistaken, and the welfare of the Panjāb peasant is promoted by the Act, no one will more heartily rejoice than myself. But I much fear that in the long-run it will work to his disadvantage.

THE PEOPLE.

Now for a few words about the people generally. I shall include the New Frontier Province in the remarks which follow, because until quite recently it has been part of the Panjāb ; at the same time I shall exclude the Native States, because they are much less subject to the influences which we are specially considering.

POPULATION.

The population in British territory, according to the census of 1901, had increased by $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. during the previous decade. The total increase since annexation amounts to 48 per cent. Of the entire population, 57 per cent. are agricultural. This constitutes a majority, so we may consider them first. The condition of the Indian agriculturist is a much-controverted theme, and, so far as I know, there is but one reliable test of that condition.

AGRICULTURE.

If agriculture is a good business, if it can be made to pay, the condition of the agriculturist must be described as solvent, though there may be bad exceptions. If it is so good a business that people who have not embarked in it are extremely desirous of doing so, and those who have embarked in it are extremely desirous of extending their interest in it, then the position of the agriculturist must be described as very good. Now, two things are universally acknowledged as regards Panjāb agriculture : one is, that there is an earth-hunger among all classes which has become proverbial ; and the other is that the price of land has steadily risen since annexation from about twenty years' purchase of the land revenue to eighty-nine years' purchase, or more than fourfold. It will hardly be denied, in view of this remarkable fact, that agriculture in the Panjāb is a very good business, and that the Panjāb assessments have been in fact, as has been always claimed for them, extremely moderate. But this, of course, is a different thing from saying that all who are connected with agriculture are in "prosperous circumstances." The profits may go into the pockets of one class, and that class may not be the most deserving.

DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION.

The high price of land may be, and undoubtedly is in many cases, due to the density of the population dependent upon it, and when we find that the density of the rural population is for the whole Panjāb 455 per square mile of cultivated area, and that for the districts of the Jallandar Doāb and old Amritsar Division it ranges from 659 to 815 per square mile, as compared with a density for the same districts twenty years ago ranging from 555 to 738 per square mile, the seriousness of the problems arising from the increase of the population at once makes itself felt.

ENTERPRISE OF PANJABIS.

Fortunately, the enterprise of the Panjābi and his readiness to emigrate comes here to his aid. Several years ago I found, in touring in the Taran Taran Tahsil of the Amritsar District, that in the course of one year four lakhs of rupees, equal to the whole revenue demand of the Tahsil, had been remitted by soldiers and policemen and others on foreign service in China, the Straits, Africa, and elsewhere, through the Tahsil post-offices to their homes. This spirit of enterprise has been invaluable in connection with the grand schemes of colonization which constitute the principal feature of Panjāb administration during the past ten years. On these I must now say a few words.

COLONIZATION.

Until the construction of the Sidhnai Canal from the Ravi, in the Multan District, in 1886, the Government had no experience as to the possibility of a colonization scheme. Whether the Panjāb cultivator would leave his homestead, and bring his cattle and his family to new lands newly irrigated, was a problem. At one time the Sidhnai project seemed to flag, but it eventually proved a success, and the immigrants settled down comfortably and prospered. With a good hope of success, but amid some misgivings, the great Chenāb scheme was launched. In the Rechna Doāb, a tract of 4,420 square miles, consisting of soil of excellent quality, which, owing to deficient rainfall, was practically unculturable, and provided scanty grazing for the herds of a few thousand nomads, there now exists a Panjāb in miniature, with 792,000 sturdy souls gathered from the best cultivators of the province, whose paternal acres have been too narrow for them, and who have accepted their transplantation with the utmost complaisance. The success of the Jhelum project is in course of realization. Two other tracts remain for conquest by the Irrigation Department: the lower portion of the Bari Doāb, and the Sindh

Sagar Doāb, of which I have already spoken. I cannot resist the temptation of giving the following brief statement of facts, though it goes back before the period we are considering.

IRRIGATION STATISTICS.

The area irrigated from canals under the control of the Irrigation Department has been, in round numbers, as follows :

In 1864-65	...	...	...	650,000 acres.
„ 1874-75	...	...	...	1,200,000 „
„ 1884-85	...	...	...	1,600,000 „
„ 1894-95	...	...	...	2,700,000 „
„ 1902-03	...	...	...	5,680,000 „

The capital account has increased during this period from 150 lakhs to 1,034 lakhs, and the value of the annual produce, at a rough estimate, from 162 lakhs to 1,500 lakhs. Produce of the value of nearly 9 millions sterling has thus been added to the annual wealth of the country owing to the operations of the Panjāb Irrigation Department during the past thirty-eight years. The area of irrigation has more than doubled during the last eight years, for which I have been able to obtain figures ; and to this I am able to add two important facts : first, that the density of population in the sub-Himalayan districts of Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hashiārpur, and Ambāla, from which colonists were mainly taken for the Chenāb colonization, has actually fallen between the years 1891 and 1901 ; and, second, that the extension of cultivation generally during this period has more than kept pace with the growth of the population. The latter was, as I have stated, $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. ; cultivation during the same period increased $7\frac{3}{8}$ per cent. With extensive areas still to be colonized, the outlook of the rural population of the Panjāb is, I think, hopeful. At all events, the record of progress in respect of what has been done for them seems a creditable one.

TOWNS.

The urban population are less interesting, but perhaps not less important. It is from the towns that all movements tending towards moral or social progress take their rise. The strength of the country lies in the villages, but the brains to use it are city-bred. There is no general movement of the population to the towns, though there is a perceptible movement towards the large cities. Amritsar and Lahore both show an increase of 18 per cent. in the decade, and Delhi of 9 per cent. Multan, Peshāwar, Rawal Pindi, and Siālkot, show increases from 15 to 31 per cent. The population on the whole of towns of 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants has been stationary, though the previous decade showed an increase of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The population of small towns, which showed a decrease of 8 per cent. between 1881 and 1891, shows a further decrease of nearly 1 per cent. in the last decade. It is not difficult to account for this.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

Many of the small country towns have been left on one side by the railways, and have lost their through trade, which has been diverted to centres on the line of rail. Recent years have witnessed a great development in mill industries. The old hand industries are being gradually killed by the introduction of steam-power and establishment of factories at the great centres of trade. I see that Mr. Rose, in his Census Report, says that, in competition with village industries, the factory system is at present making but little headway, and that the latter will die hard; but he admits that it is inevitable that industries will be gradually concentrated more and more in the large towns and cities.

WATER-POWER.

One of the great needs of the Panjāb at the present time is the application of the water-power available in the rivers

and canals for commercial purposes. Mysore has shown us how this is to be done, and I hope and believe that similar enterprise will soon be shown in a province possessing all the facilities for its application.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN TOWNS.

It is also in the towns that the lesson of self-government is being slowly and surely learnt. Party feeling and faction are for the most part giving way to a common interest and to public spirit. It is remarkable that not one of the large cities of the Panjāb has been seriously attacked by plague, and this is very probably due, under Providence, to the sanitary improvements which have been made in recent years. The appointment of a sanitary engineer (in 1902) is likely to promote further efficiency and activity in this direction.

EDUCATION.

It is, moreover, in the towns that we are beginning to see the results of fifty years of educational progress. These results, as evidenced by statistics, are sufficiently startling. For three consecutive periods of five years each, ending with 1898, the numbers of graduates in arts from the province were 101, 196, and 562. And the last report gives 249 as the outturn of B.A.'s for one year only, so the rate of progress seems likely to be maintained. At the beginning of the decade there were two technical schools in the province, both at Lahore; there are now, besides these, industrial schools for boys at Amritsar, Delhi, and Ludhiāna, and for girls at Gujrāt; a Hindu Technical Institute at Lahore; clerical and commercial classes at Amritsar, Ludhiāna, Hoshiārpur, and Rawal Pindi; an engineering class at Lahore, and industrial classes at Clarkabad, Ludhiāna and Lahore. The increase of literary societies is one of the most remarkable indications of the spread of education; Anjumans, Sabhas and Samajes abound. Most of the colleges have literary or debating societies of their own. In the Central Training

College there is a Shakespeare Society, and three colleges have their respective graduates or old students' associations.

ATHLETICS.

The development of athletics would greatly strike anyone who had not seen the Panjāb for twenty years. The cricket and football and hockey teams of the Lahore colleges are composed of fine, stalwart young men, beflannelled and booted like English public school-boys, and with thews and muscles in no way inferior to theirs. This infusion of manliness into the curriculum is priceless. It gives new possibilities to the educational development, which had begun to loom like a Frankenstein's monster, whose imperious and distorted demands almost caused us to shrink from the work of our hands and fear that we had made a gigantic mistake. In the good feeling and fellowship, the generous appreciation and wholesome rivalry, the discipline and courage called out by the practice of manly sports among the rising youth of the Panjāb, lies a cure for much of the indigestion resulting from the startling change of diet offered by our educational system. And this has begun to make itself felt in the professions and services.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Coupled with much higher academical standards for entering the professions, we find a more wholesome moral tone, more public spirit, more loyalty to the Government, in their ranks. It is true that ancient landmarks and restraints are being removed, and no one can say what will be the outcome of the unsettlement which was inevitable from the contact of East and West, of the supple Indian and the dogmatic European ; but two things are certain : first, that our policy has been entirely disinterested, and, secondly, that it was our simple duty. We have opened our stores of knowledge to all comers, we have put into the hands of the people weapons which may be used

against ourselves ; but no other course than that of freely extending what we had to give could ever have found favour with men reared under the shadow of British Empire and enlightenment.

FEELING OF PEOPLE.

And this, I believe, is recognised by the thinking portion of the Panjāb races, which was never more genuinely attached to British rule than at the present time. Of the multitudes who are inarticulate, and who are more affected by what immediately touches their own comfort than by higher considerations, I cannot venture to speak with much confidence. But for one subject I should have little hesitation in saying that they are fully convinced of our good intentions. That subject is plague.

If any proof were needed of the difficulty of our position in India, it would be found at once in the attitude of the people towards our plague policy. Our measures for warding off or fighting that fell disease are quite as distasteful to the common people as were in former times the suppression of *sati* or female infanticide. In this analogy I recognise an element of hope. What was then regarded as high-handed action and undue interference with religion and caste is now a large asset to our credit. The most adverse critics of our rule bestow ungrudging admiration on our courage in repressing such barbarism, and in time it will be recognised that the Government played a noble part when it strained every nerve to grapple with plague, only to encounter opposition and obloquy. I think myself it was a mistake to make the doctrine of non-interference of such general application when the people threw us off. It was with mortification that I received the mandate of "hands off" in the Panjāb at a time when our measures were undoubtedly being worked with a large degree of success, and since the people have had their own way, and the bill of mortality reached a maximum of 40,000 in a single week, there are indications that the people are beginning to

lament the policy of helpless inactivity, and to blame Government for yielding to a childish clamour. At all events, I have no doubt that in the Panjāb the ordeal will result ultimately in cementing, not in weakening, the ties between the Government and the people.

FAMINE POLICY.

I will close this already too long paper by a mention of the policy which more than any other act of the British Government has won the hearts of the people of the Panjāb, and, I believe, of India generally—I mean the policy pursued by the State in dealing with famine. That policy may be briefly described as a determination not to allow a single soul in time of famine to die of starvation, and to employ the whole resources of the State so far as may be necessary to secure this end. It is a noble policy which has been slowly framed, deliberately announced, and persistently followed, during the recent famines. And with a wondering surprise the Panjāb peasant has waked to the fact that the Government, whose normal function it is to be relentless and exacting, possesses a strain of compassion of the existence of which he never dreamed. For a time he marvelled if it could be true, and could hardly believe his ears; then came another piece of intelligence, which was no less astounding, that the heart of England and America had been opened to his sufferings, and that, with the full assent of Government, their generosity had taken the shape of replacing the bullocks which had died in the drought, or relieving the respectable poor of his village. The truth sank into his heart that the great Government cared for him at least as much as for the revenue which he was unable to pay, and that England's Queen and people were his friends. And when the news of the Queen's death was passed over the land, the outburst of grief which came from millions of throats in India was the spontaneous tribute of as many hearts to the beneficence of the last great act done in her name—the relief of the famine-stricken in their

necessity. It was the translation into official language of the great law of love, the lever which moves the world, of which some idea had dawned on the minds of the people from the self-sacrificing labours of Christian missionaries, but of which there had never before been so vivid an exemplification in the proceedings of the Government ; and in the Panjāb it has done more to attach the hearts of the people to the Crown than half a century of beneficent government, of which England may well be proud, and which constitutes in the eyes of her rivals one of the most undeniable proofs of her greatness.

PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY IN MYSORE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE genius of Lord Lytton, ill-appreciated and misunderstood even by many of his friends during his lifetime, has left enduring results in India, the value and importance of which become more and more apparent as time rolls on. We owe to him—of course aided by many fellow-workers—our methods of famine administration, which are the admiration of the world. We owe to him the security of our Indian frontier, that has enabled us, on many occasions of late years—and never more than during recent events—to treat with the utmost equanimity the threats and bluster of the Anglophobe press of Russia. And we owe to him, jointly with his friend and colleague the late Lord Salisbury, the highly satisfactory condition of the relations between the supreme Government of India and the great feudatories of the Empire, exemplified, better than anywhere else, in the progress and prosperity of the typical State of Mysore under the rule of the dynasty that was restored to it by Lord Lytton's own act.

Last year, on the important occasion of the first annual meeting of the Mysore Representative Assembly under the auspices of the recently-installed successor to the throne of Mysore, the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* drew the attention of its readers to the happy circumstances of this model State, the benign character of the rule of the young Maharaja—who is closely following in the footsteps of my old friend his illustrious father—and the able administration of his Dewan, Sir P. N. Krishna Murti. No part of India had suffered more from the ravages both of famine and of pestilence—indeed, it was only in the preceding year, 1902, that the meeting of the Representative Assembly had been indefinitely postponed, owing to the severity of the plague—and yet His Highness the Maharaja, when addressing the representatives for the first time in October, 1903, was able

to congratulate them, and the country at large, on the general success which had attended his efforts, and those of his Minister, to combat these dire enemies. And the Dewan, in his address, after calling attention to the remarkable assiduity with which the young Maharaja had personally taken on himself a large share in the active administration of his State, was able to unfold a tale of prosperity, of financial stability, and of moral and material progress, that would have delighted Lord Lytton's heart if he had lived to hear it, and that must have been eminently gratifying to Lord Curzon and to every well-wisher of India.

During the past year Mysore has sustained a heavy loss in the retirement of Sir Donald Robertson, the able and experienced Resident, who has done so much for the State. But happily Sir Donald's place is admirably filled by one of the ablest and most distinguished civilians of the younger generation in the person of my old and valued friend Sir James Bourdillon.

Now another year has passed, and it is not too much to say that the address of the Dewan, and the subsequent discussions in the Representative Assembly, are even more encouraging than last year, and reflect no less credit on the young ruler, who has inherited such great responsibilities with his great heritage, and on the Government of Mysore.

Whilst the high administrative standard of the past has been well maintained in every department of the State, the reforms and improvements foreshadowed last year are already bearing fruit, and further advances in the path of enlightened progress are being made, and are sympathetically treated of in the address of the Dewan.

Last year the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* spoke of the administration of Mysore as "an object-lesson in Indian government." It is interesting to note in passing that attention is being paid to this object-lesson in various other parts of India, with every promise of valuable results. Down South, in the important State of Travancore, the Maharaja has instituted an annual popular gathering on

the model of the Mysore Representative Assembly, which held its first meeting on October 22 last. The social system of Travancore is based on somewhat more conservative lines than that of Mysore; but notwithstanding a good many initial difficulties, the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly of Travancore has met at Trivandrum, and seems to have justified the Maharaja's hopes. I doubt not that in years to come, when its members have attained more experience, it will serve the same useful purpose—that of bringing the Prince and his official advisers into closer touch with the people of his State—that has long been served by the Representative Assembly of Mysore.

This year, as last year, the Dewan laid much stress, in his address, on the active part that the Maharaja of Mysore most usefully takes in the actual work of the State. During the twelve months His Highness personally dealt with no fewer than 1,100 separate cases, or files, of State administration. He takes extended tours through the rural districts, so as personally to know, and become known to, large numbers to whom otherwise his personality would be little more than *nominis umbra*. As the Dewan aptly observed, the affectionate regard in which the Royal Family of Mysore is held by the Mysoreans was shown last year by the genuine anxiety manifested everywhere during the serious illness of the Maharaja's brother, the young Yuvaraja, at Ajmere, and by the genuine outburst of popular joy which attended his recovery and return to Mysore.

Under the Dewan's fostering care the finances of the State continue to improve, even on the high standard of last year. The revenues derived from the gold-mines, as also those from the Cauvery Falls electric power enterprise, have continued to increase in the most gratifying manner, showing a net improvement of over six lakhs, notwithstanding great liberality of administration. In every direction, and under almost every head, the elasticity of the resources of the State is shown to be greater than even the Dewan's own most sanguine forecasts.

And the benefits flowing from this happy financial condition are shown by the Dewan to be threefold. In the first place, it confirms and justifies the Dewan in the cautious financial policy that has produced this prosperity ; in the second place, it permits of a sensible remission of the burdens imposed on the subjects ; and, thirdly, it enables the Dewan to continue and extend those valuable schemes of technical education and of industrial and agricultural reforms and improvements with which his name will always be associated.

One interesting remission of taxation that will be very popular in the Mulnaad districts of Shimoga and Kadur—the latter district is commonly known as the coffee-planting district—was referred to in the Dewan's address of last year, and was this year discussed at length both in the Dewan's address and in the subsequent speeches of the planting and other members. It relates to the old excise-tax of twelve annas levied on every maund of areca-nut produced in the State. A revenue amounting to something like four lakhs per annum, almost entirely derived from these two districts, has been drawn from this source—and this, of course, is in addition to the ordinary land revenue, the assessment of which in Shimoga and Kadur is on an average about Rs. 14 per acre. The two taxes taken together form a very heavy impost of something like Rs. 25 per acre on the lands planted with betel-nut. Moreover, the procedure for collecting this excise is, and must be from the very nature of the case, distinctly annoying and vexatious, for there is necessarily Government interference at almost every stage of the production. Thus, the village officials must be present when the fruits are cut. They must come again to watch the peeling, again for the boiling, again for the drying. All these occasions may obviously afford opportunities for mischievous interference, for oppression, and for corruption. The Dewan, himself an hereditary Mysore noble, is fortunately able to appreciate the mischief of such a state of things, and to sympathize with those who are annoyed and made to suffer by it ; and though the

sacrifice of revenue involved in the total abolition of this supari tax is so large as to make it a matter of very serious difficulty, the remarks of the Dewan (which are printed at p. 8 of the address) show that he is determined to deal with it without further delay.

The agricultural experiments and improvements introduced by the Dewan are shown to be producing most excellent results in numerous directions. Practical agriculture is now efficiently taught in the Normal School at Mysore. Model farms, as object-lessons for the raiyats, are being established on selected holdings in each taluk, the principle being that of private enterprise supported and guided by the Government. The farmers of these model farms are aided by the Deputy Commissioners in procuring the best and most suitable seeds, manures, and implements, and receive the help of the scientific officers of the Government—European experts, as the agricultural chemist, the cryptogamic botanist, and others. Classes of students in agricultural chemical analysis, in bacteriology, and in other developments of modern applied science, have been set up by the Government. And in the actual cultivation and improvement of numerous important products—rubber, coffee, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, cotton, and castor—the Government of Mysore has shown a spirit of philanthropic energy and of far-sighted enterprise that is worthy of all praise.

Many of these admirable reforms and improvements would hardly be known beyond the limits of the Mysore State, but for the publicity afforded by the annual meeting of the Representative Assembly and the annual address of the Dewan. Not the least valuable results of these meetings of statesmen and practical men of business—so much better than mere academic conferences—may perhaps be found to be in this very publicity; for, as we have already seen in the case of Travancore, the admirable example of the Mysore Government may in this way be communicated to every part of India.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE INDIAN TOBACCO INDUSTRY.*

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SINCE I have been connected with the East India Association I have noticed that one principle almost invariably characterizes the papers read and the discussions which take place at its meetings, and it is this: the main object is not to awaken a merely academic interest, but to ensure a practical result, whether it be the redress of some legitimate grievance of our Indian fellow-subjects, or the removal of some obstacle to the prosperity of an Indian craft or industry. The title of the present paper shows, I trust, that I am endeavouring to act upon this principle.

I must explain that I have no special claim to discuss the prospects of this industry arising from expert knowledge, or any practical acquaintance with tobacco-growing. I have written, to use the current phrase, from the point of view of "the man in the street," and, however empirical and even erroneous my arguments and suggestions may be, I shall be fully satisfied if I can direct public attention, and especially that of experts, to the latent possibilities of the trade. I have studied the available statistics, and have been struck by the fact that, notwithstanding improvement in some directions, the Indian tobacco trade is still in its infancy, is not materially increasing its operations, and is still ineffectually struggling in the markets of the United Kingdom, and even in its own markets, with imported tobacco from foreign countries. An interesting and suggestive paper was read before the East India Association not long ago by Mr. Frank Birdwood, which dealt at large with the problem of attracting English capital into India in order to exploit her industries. I propose to discuss this question as regards the industry I have selected, and to

* For discussion on this paper see Report of the "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this *Review*.

consider what practical steps can be taken to induce English capitalists to embark in the trade. I shall also endeavour to show that Indian tobacco labours under certain fiscal disabilities that must be removed or ameliorated before any improvement in the outlook can be expected. In the present essay I confine myself mainly to those varieties of manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco which are suitable for Europeans and others of European habits. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to devote any space to those numerous forms and preparations of tobacco which are used by the masses in India, and which have no mercantile value in Western markets, or, indeed, beyond the confines of the Indian bazaar. Neither have I dealt with the intercoastal traffic of India and Burma, nor with exports to other Asiatic countries which lie outside the limits of my subject. I must add, that I should not have ventured to publish the present article had I not supplemented the sources of knowledge contained in Government reports and other literary materials by facts which I have ascertained from those engaged in the trade, and who have practical experience of many of the details discussed. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Messrs. Spencer and Co., Oakes and Co., Bewlay and Co., and other firms, for valuable information which I could have obtained in no other way.

The tables on pp. 84 and 85 show (1) the tobacco trade of India with the United Kingdom, and (2) the entire tobacco trade of India for the years 1899-1900 to 1903-1904.

These figures will be considered hereafter, but at the outset a few general observations are desirable on the main elements of successful tobacco-growing. On this branch of the subject I have been much indebted to an article published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for 1896, by Mr. C. Tripp, on the tobacco industry of Sumatra, which has been extraordinarily successful, and the large profits earned by the various companies in that island have

naturally led to an inquiry why, with almost similar natural advantages, the tobacco industry of India lags so far behind. A comparison of the methods respectively pursued in two countries which possess a climate and soil almost identical cannot fail to be instructive. The three essentials for success are suitable soil and climate, and skilled labour. Where these three special factors co-exist, the finest tobacco can be produced, and these conditions are all satisfied in the Deli and Langkat districts of Sumatra. A few details of the Sumatran planter's methods may fittingly find a place in this paper, if only to point a contrast. Only one tobacco

THE TOBACCO TRADE OF INDIA, 1899-1904.

		1899-1900.	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	1902-1903.	1903-1904.
Exports :						
Unmanufactured	lbs.	8,337,285	5,493,318	18,615,915	14,574,961	11,368,011
Cigars ...	lbs.	759,333	812,882	1,298,876	974,495	783,447
Other sorts ...	lbs.	239,797	256,589	284,974	229,009	247,774
Total ...	lbs.	9,336,415	6,562,789	20,199,765	15,778,465	12,399,232
Value ...	Rs.	1,817,895	1,549,101	3,468,999	2,733,259	2,096,704
Imports :						
Unmanufactured	lbs.	832,672	513,839	927,011	505,191	—
Cigars ...	lbs.	142,596	60,157	78,826	84,666	108,073
Cigarettes ...	lbs.	195,217*	1,165,399	1,510,287	1,724,050	2,240,179
Other sorts ...	lbs.	2,219,093	2,008,614	1,900,564	1,885,803	1,787,854
Total ...	lbs.	3,389,578	3,748,009	4,416,688	4,199,710	4,694,132
Value ...	Rs.	3,339,625	3,804,760	4,502,359	4,465,211	4,969,076
Total exports and imports	Rs.	5,157,510	5,353,861	7,971,358	7,198,470	7,065,780

crop is grown on a particular piece of land every seven years, and to this a grain crop succeeds, which, in the opinion of experts, restores to the soil certain conditions which are essential to the growth of the plant. After this the ground is re-afforested. Avoiding the technicalities inseparable from any description of the chemical properties of the suitable soil, the climate required is a warm, humid temperature, with regular seasons of sunshine and rain. Now, it is beyond question that the climate of many parts

* From January, 1900.

of India fulfils these conditions. It is equally certain that soil exists in India capable of producing tobacco of excellent quality, in some respects almost as good as the finest Sumatran growths. These facts are amply demonstrated by inquiries and experiments set on foot by the Indian Government at various times, to which I shall refer later on. But

THE TOBACCO TRADE OF INDIA WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM,
1899-1903.*

	1899-1900.	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	1902-1903.
Exports to the United Kingdom :				
Unmanufactured lbs.	2,338	664	8,932	19,611
Cigars from—				
Bombay lbs.	29,357	25,701	44,485	30,252
Madras lbs.	57,740	136,027	93,223	104,577
Bengal lbs.	35,652	65,299	42,224	40,046
Burma lbs.	10,377	11,599	13,166	14,928
Other sorts lbs.	1,613	1,845	200	33
Total lbs.	134,895	241,016	194,396	191,527
Value £	29,483	48,809	38,110	37,465
Imports from the United Kingdom :				
Unmanufactured lbs.	68,788	61,441	39,588	40,544
Cigars lbs.	1,953	2,359	3,006	9,990
Manufactured lbs.	256,975	177,943	213,472	199,380
Cigarettes lbs.	—	—	15	1,857
Other sorts lbs.	68,977	104,258	76,410	17,045
Manufactured Cavendish, etc., into—				
Bombay lbs.	160,966	200,076	277,857	336,916
Madras lbs.	417,134	274,946	175,396	157,386
Bengal lbs.	582,423	550,204	514,621	523,498
Burma lbs.	90,150	44,354	116,593	100,333
Total lbs.	1,469,581	1,261,212	1,263,920	1,258,037
Value £	115,883	110,596	118,932	118,619
Total exports and im- ports £	145,366	159,405	157,042	156,084

the success of the Sumatran as compared with the Indian tobacco grower depends to a large extent on his satisfactory solution of the skilled labour problem. It has been recognised that to ensure the best results the planting and curing operations must remain under the direct and minute supervision of experts. In these estates the European planter and his assistants, who direct and instruct the

* The separate figures for 1903-1904 are not available.

labourers, are held responsible for the selection and preparation of the soil, the sowing of the seed, and the still more delicate operations of sorting, fermenting, and preparing the tobacco for the European market. The manual and mechanical labour is also brought to a high point of efficiency, and until recently was entirely in the hands of Chinamen, imported to perform the whole of the subordinate work of cultivation and manufacture. The Chinaman is found to be docile, tractable, and submissive to authority, while physically he possesses a muscular vigour and endurance, and, above all, perseverance, which are lacking in the Javanese, whose labour turned out a costly failure. A still more important element than the nationality of the coolie is the method of co-operation which is adopted on these estates—a system said to exist nowhere else in the world. Immediately on the Chinaman contracting to serve a particular estate a cash advance is given to him, which, I may incidently observe, often disappears in one night's gambling. He then settles down to a year's hard work. Each coolie is allotted a plot $1\frac{1}{3}$ acres in extent. In the dry season he lops the branches of the trees, piles them up and sets fire to them, the ashes constituting a valuable manure. Then follow the stages of hoeing, planting, topping, reaping, and gathering. During all this time the Chinaman is furnished with cash advances, which are placed to the debit of his account, and the tobacco raised under European supervision is bought from him at prices varying from one to eight dollars, according to quality, for 1,000 plants. The balance at his credit is paid to him. This system of co-operation or payment by results gives him a vital pecuniary interest in the quality of his work, and secures results unattainable when the labourer is paid fixed wages irrespective of the out-turn or quality of the crop. It is however an interesting and suggestive fact that Klings from Kalingapatam in Madras have been of late years employed with satisfactory results, thus proving once for all that Indian coolies when subjected

to European control are just as capable of disciplined work as Chinamen. No better means could be adopted of correcting the vicious methods of the unassisted Indian cultivator described on p. 91 than that of engaging the services of these well-instructed Indians upon the tobacco plantations of Southern India.

The tobacco industry commenced in 1864 with 50 bales, which realized £330. In 1874 13,000 bales produced £237,000. In the next decade the number of bales had increased to 125,000, realizing £2,295,000; and in 1894 to 192,000, yielding no less than £3,000,000 gross profit. The figures for 1903 show a crop of 254,168 bales, valued at £3,118,000.

The net profits of tobacco-planting, where all the conditions are as favourable as in Sumatra, and where the estates are well managed, are very great. Some of the companies, especially those which conduct operations on a large scale—a point on which I wish to lay emphasis—in some cases with capital amounting to £250,000, pay as much as 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. dividends. To sum up, the Sumatran industry has pre-eminent advantages in soil and climate, in its system of supervision of native labour both in the fields and in the curing-house, a supply of the best-equipped coolies in the world, and a sympathetic alliance between capital and labour, which promotes both efficiency and perseverance. Thus, that indispensable agency to the success of all mercantile operations, the introduction of capital on a large scale, is assured, with the astonishing success above specified. Consultations with some of the principal tobacco importers in London have led me to the conclusion that on all the oldest and best-managed estates the system above described exists at the present day, with such results that the best grades of Sumatra tobacco now fetch a higher price in the Amsterdam market than any other imported tobacco.

Is not this an object-lesson from which India has much to learn? The slow growth and arrested development of

the trade in India is in pointed contrast to the thriving and growing industries of Sumatra and Borneo, where similar methods are practised. But though the soil of India can, perhaps, never produce the fine wrapper leaf of Sumatra, the improvement in the only branch of the industry which has established itself in European markets—for the export of leaf to Europe is hardly worth considering—that of Trichinopoly cigars, is recognised by all who have resided for long in the East; and a still greater advance may be expected with the advent of fresh capital and more European supervision. Those who have read the article on Indian tobacco in the *Anglo-Indian Review* for January, 1904, may perhaps think I am overstating the case. The writer speaks of the “large proportions” of the industry in South India, of the twenty-four factories in existence, and of the excellent system adopted in Messrs. Spencer and Co.’s Dindigul factory. The last directory for India shows only thirteen factories in existence, all but one or two in native hands; and I have it on the indisputable authority of importers in London, that the methods employed in the majority of these so-called factories render successful tobacco-planting an impossibility. Any optimistic feeling that may exist as to the future of Indian tobacco under present conditions will be entirely dispelled by a brief comparison between the value of the exports of Indian cigars to European markets and the imports of foreign tobacco into India, shown on p. 85.

How different from the careful and skilful manipulation of the leaf which is carried out in Sumatra are the means adopted by the unsupervised tobacco-growers of India may be gleaned from many treatises and Government reports. As regards labour, if the introduction of the hard-working and persevering Chinaman is not to be recommended, a system of payment by piece-work for tobacco cultivated under European management, which is, in fact, already partly in force in one at least of the factories owned by the English firms in South India, might, one would think, be

adopted more generally and on a larger scale, with similarly happy results to those obtained in Sumatra.

Mr. O'Connor, one of the highest authorities on the subject, in his "Report on the Production of Tobacco in India" (1873), remarks in his general summary (p. 89): "The truth is that Indian tobacco is so badly prepared that English dealers will not look at it. There are many parts of India where tobacco can be and is produced at least equal naturally to other Asiatic tobaccos, but no attention has been given to the improvement of its quality by careful cultivation and preparation; and as long as there is no demand for Indian tobacco in the European market, so long may we expect to find India produce nothing superior to the coarse, rank, ill-flavoured tobacco for which it has already acquired an unfortunate reputation." Except with regard to the production of Trichinopoly cigars, these remarks are as true to-day as when they were written thirty years ago. The improvement in the cigars of Southern India commences, I believe, from 1885, when the Sumatra leaf was first utilized for the covering of Indian cigars. The Sumatra cover is almost tasteless, and this modifies and corrects the stronger Indian growth which forms the filler of the cigar. It is, however, the fact that it is not indispensable, and many Indian cigars are still manufactured under the old system with a native wrapper.

It was not until 1897 that working at tables according to the American and English methods was introduced into one or two factories. All experts, however, agree that the Indian cigar is capable of still further improvement. Much injury is, it should be observed, however, caused to the Indian cigar trade in England by the sale in London of cigars manufactured in India by native merchants in which, by the neglect of the most ordinary precautions, fermentation has taken place after the cigars have been rolled. Such specimens have been shown to me, and the aroma is quite unmistakable when compared with that of

a good Indian cigar. Unfortunately the brands of Indian cigars are so little understood by the English public that mouldy cigars of this kind are often bought by mistake for the genuine article, and the victim of the imposition naturally makes no further experiment in Indian tobacco.

There is, it is believed, an area of at least 5,000,000 acres of land in India capable of growing tobacco, and at least a probability that much of this is suitable for tobacco of the superior varieties. This fact at once places India in a favourable position for competing with countries where the area is limited, and consequently the land available for growing tobacco has to be used repeatedly for the same crop. No matter what scientific precautions are taken to recuperate the exhausted soil, virgin land, if otherwise suitable, will always produce tobacco of a finer quality than seasoned soil, however heavily manured. I am assured on indisputable authority that the famous tobacco plantations of the world which produce brands of cigars that have once been the delight of the epicure are deteriorating year by year.

The best proof of what virgin soil can do—and by this I mean land where the rank undergrowth of centuries has been burned, and the land tilled and sown—is the amazing story of North Borneo. Darvel Bay was unheard of until 1885 when the tobacco exports were worth £8,000. In 1891 they had increased in value to £350,000.

One variety of such soil, the rich alluvial deposits thrown up in the beds of the great rivers of India owing to the constant shifting of the channel, afford a unique opportunity for the cultivation of tobacco under conditions which can be found nowhere else in the world. According to Sir W. Hunter, the alluvial islands in the Godáveri River are already utilized for tobacco, and the produce is manufactured into Cocanada cigars.

But the natives of India, when left to themselves, are fully 100 years behind the practice of modern tobacco culture in other countries. Mr. O'Connor summarizes the

prevalent defects in a passage too long for quotation. I may, however, instance the cutting down of every plant in the field without reserving one for seed ; the neglect of manure, for tobacco is the most exhausting of crops, which requires not only the heaviest but the most carefully devised system of manuring that modern agricultural science can teach ; the continual impoverishment of land by too frequent use ; and ignorance of a proper rotation of crops, a practical knowledge of which is all-important. The deficiencies of the Indian cultivator in the drying and curing processes are even more marked, and are equally fatal to the possibilities of turning out a marketable article. When I mention that the tobacco-leaves are invariably dried in the air, exposed to the vicissitudes of the climate, instead of this process being carried out in carefully prepared sheds at a uniform temperature, that the fermentation and curing processes involve no precautions against overheating, and that the proper assortment of the leaf into bundles by colour and texture is quite ignored, the result can easily be imagined. The regulation of the moisture allowed to remain in the leaf is considered in Sumatra a most important factor, and a uniform system exists there of retaining exactly 85 per cent. of the original weight. When the Indian cultivator undertakes to cure his own tobacco he makes no attempt to regulate the moisture. In Southern India I am informed tobacco leaves are sold by the ryots by measure irrespective of weight. The best-grown tobacco is fit for nothing, if not scientifically dried, fermented, and packed.

The one essential condition for the successful production of marketable Indian tobacco is an adequate supply of capital in European hands, and worked under European supervision, and this will only be forthcoming if there is a reasonable prospect of ultimate profit to attract private enterprise. Before considering certain obvious drawbacks which have hitherto discouraged any such investment, it will be convenient at this point to examine what Govern-

ment has done, apart from and occasionally in conjunction with private trade, to foster the industry. Mr. O'Connor has suggested model farms as a means of showing by practical experiment with skilled curers what can be done with the tobacco plant, and what improvement in quality, and therefore in value, can be effected under favourable conditions. This, it was hoped, might induce the cultivators to abandon the imperfections in cultivation and curing, some of which have been mentioned above, and to conquer their inveterate dislike to the new scientific methods. It is obviously unnecessary to give a complete history of the various attempts made by the Government of India and the Local Administrations in this direction. It will be sufficient to give some account of what appear to have been the most successful.

A tobacco farm was projected in 1875 on the stud lands at Gazipur in the United Provinces, containing about 1,200 acres of suitable land. The farm was first divided into blocks, its irrigation improved, cultivators settled on it, and manure collected. An arrangement was then effected with Messrs. Begg, Sutherland and Co., of Calcutta, under which they were to lease the farm, on condition of their bringing over a skilled curer from America to carry on the cultivation of tobacco. The first attempts were not successful, the plant having been grown without skilled supervision, and dried without proper curing houses. Even under these untoward circumstances the results were sufficiently encouraging to justify further experiment, and samples of leaf sent to England in 1878 were valued at prices which, though exceedingly low, compared with foreign leaf, held out hopes of remunerative business. The Gazipur experiment appeared, in short, to indicate that tobacco can be grown so as to be saleable at a profit in the Dutch and English markets. Accordingly the Government of Bengal established at Poosa a similar farm, where the climatic conditions were somewhat more favourable, and the amount of land assigned to it, some 40,000 acres, allowed of operations on a larger

scale; the results were consequently more favourable. But so far the salutary action of Government has not been followed by the intended result—the attraction of private enterprise into a new and promising field of industry.

Many of the Indian cigar importers whom I have consulted are, it must be admitted, doubtful as to the capacity of India to produce marketable pipe and cigarette tobacco. They are, however, conversant only with the Madras product, which is too impregnated with saltpetre to be utilized for pipes or cigarettes. Other experts, nevertheless, are convinced that in Upper India, on a farm where the soil has been specially tested and selected, tobacco cultivation undertaken with proper regard to the rotation of crops, and with suitable drying and fermenting sheds under the supervision of a Virginian expert, could not possibly result in absolute loss, and might give developments of immense importance to India.

According to Sir W. Hunter (*"Gazetteer of India,"* second edition, 1886), the rudiments of an industry did exist in 1880, when the larger portion of the tobacco cured at those farms was put upon the Indian market in the form of *"Manufactured Smoking Mixture,"* and was for some time in demand at regimental messes. I can find no confirmation of this statement.

A difficult problem arises at this point as to what, consistently with the principles on which India is governed, is the proper limit of State effort to exploit the tobacco industry. Apart from undertaking the exclusive manufacture of tobacco, as in France, Government could no doubt carry on its cultivation on a farm as a mercantile speculation on a sufficiently large scale to put the matter beyond conjecture as to whether the Indian product can, under the most favourable conditions, be grown so as to suit the palate of Europeans. The venture, in order to ensure the best chances of success, would have to be on an extensive footing, and the capital risked proportionately large. In my opinion this would be unwarrantable.

However promising an enterprise may appear—however legitimate as a field for private capitalists, the element of uncertainty in all new commercial speculations debars the State, consistently with sound public policy, from hazarding capital derived from the taxation of the community. The legitimate limits of Government initiative have been reached when State-aided experiments have proved that there is some probability of a lucrative trade in any industry being created. But what would be unjustifiable recklessness on the part of a Government dealing with public funds, is a sound and legitimate speculation when undertaken by a private company or firm. It is not a little singular that, while millions of money are forthcoming from the public for gold-mining, with its 90 per cent. of failures, the Indian tobacco industry has hitherto tempted the investment of so little capital. Until the object-lesson of Sumatra has been assimilated and companies are formed with abundant capital, the Indian tobacco industry can never obtain a hold of European markets.

Other parts of the Empire have shown more enterprise. In Rhodesia the recently issued report of the British South Africa Company states that most encouraging results have been secured by the cultivation of tobacco. Capital has been embarked in the venture, experts have been engaged; and good pipe and cigarette tobaccos have already been produced in the Melsellar district, and a tobacco factory has been established.

The various reports of Bengal officials show that experiments with samples of acclimatized Virginia seed had promising results, but defective processes of fermenting have invariably nullified the good effect of more careful cultivation. Several efforts have been made to obtain a valuation by English brokers of samples of tobacco grown from various acclimatized foreign leaves, and, among others, 800 pounds of tobacco grown on the Gazipur estate. The leaf was valued at 5d. to 6d. a pound in bond. This is a

great improvement on the 1d. or 2d. per pound which had been hitherto the usual appraisement of Indian leaf. The Gazipur experiment shows that 800 pounds of fairly delicate leaf can be produced per acre at a cost of 4d. to 5d. a pound—and 1d. a pound profit yields £150 or £200 on 50 acres.

Sir Edward Buck, in his "Note on Tobacco Culture and Curing," wrote in 1878: "The Ghazipur experiments have succeeded in showing that Indian tobacco can approach American tobacco in quality, and is so valued in the English market, and also show that if an export trade can be established, the profits will be sufficiently good to prosecute the industry." Twenty-six years have elapsed since these too sanguine words were penned, but this promising industry is still non-existent. The stimulus of capital is still lacking, and Government is apparently weary of the effort of organizing experiments which point the road to success—a road that is indeed paved with good intentions, but which no capitalist has hitherto followed. It is, however, gratifying to be able to announce that the Government of Madras are on the eve of inaugurating another experiment in tobacco manufacture, which appears to avoid some of the errors of the past. After reciting the defects in cultivation and curing that I have described, it is suggested that the startling variations in quality and colour of the leaf may be due to such factors as the "character of the soil, the well-water, or of the plant itself." A scientific inquiry is to be set on foot "in the fields of the ryots engaged in the cultivation of tobacco near Dindigul." The ryots are to carry on, for the first time in the history of British India, cultivation under the supervision of the Agricultural Department; the harvesting and drying are to be effected on "the best Departmental advice," and the curing and fermentation under the direct superintendence of Messrs. Spencer and Co. The ryots will be allowed to appropriate all the profits, and the Director of Agriculture will provide them with such varieties of seed as are suitable for experiment. It will be interesting to watch the develop-

ment of this scheme, which appears in some respects more promising than earlier efforts in the same direction. It is to be regretted, however, that, although the Board considered the appointment of an agricultural chemist to be necessary for the success of the scheme, in order that expert analysis of the varieties of soil might be effected, no such appointment has yet been made.

The most recent valuations of which I can find any record were in 1890 and 1896. In the former year three cases of tobacco were received from the Government of Madras to ascertain its commercial value in England. It was grown in Madras, and cured by an expert in Government employment. Three varieties were sent, and though all three cases had suffered from defective packing, some of the tobacco was found to have been carefully cured. The quality and value were appraised by the different firms among whom it had been distributed. Extraordinary diversity existed among the estimates, the appraisement varying between 1d. and 4d. per pound. They concurred, however, in considering that the specimens sent were not suitable for the English market, but many of the firms suggested that a better criterion of its value could have been obtained if it had been sent in strips—*i.e.*, without the mid-rib. It is unfortunate that a practical attempt to place the tobacco upon a mercantile basis should have failed from causes so easily preventable, and that defective curing and bad packing should have deprived the experiment of value. The only other comparatively recent appraisement has been brought to my notice by the kindness of Mr. Rose, of the Indian Trade Inquiry Office. It is a report on a package of bright leaf tobacco grown at the Pioneer Factory, Tirhut, and sent to London for valuation in October, 1896. Here, again, the estimates of its value widely differed, but the seven brokers consulted agreed that most of the specimens sent had been packed in a moist condition, and showed signs of fermentation, a fatal defect in the eyes of manufacturers. They also found fault with

the size of the mid-rib, showing that the error of sending the leaf unstripped had been repeated. The 429 pounds sent were actually sold for $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, an encouraging fact, considering that the defects above noted were all preventable, the small quantity offered, and the fact that hitherto Indian tobacco had practically no marketable value in London at all.

Tobacco brokers in England assert that there is no chance of Indian leaf, even if of good quality, establishing itself in the market unless a regular supply of large shipments is despatched from India, and that in order to secure adequate attention, it is essential that the various consignments should be authenticated by proper trade-marks. It is well understood that no article of commerce stands a fair chance in the market unless it is classified with a mark which indicates to brokers a definite standard of flavour and quality, which gradually gains commercial recognition. I am informed that in the analogous case of tea, when the brand is well known, the valuation of the chest is almost a matter of routine. The samples of Indian tobacco hitherto despatched to London, far from bearing a trade-mark, were not even sorted or classified for the purpose for which they were intended. Until, therefore, it is imported regularly and in sufficient bulk to allow of trade-marks being attached to the different parcels, its commercial value can never be fairly brought to the test.

I proceed to consider the question from another aspect, that of the fiscal conditions, which affect the Indian tobacco industry both in the United Kingdom and in India, a branch of the inquiry which I believe to be even more important than the preceding one. In almost every civilized country in the world tobacco is taxed for revenue rather than for protective purposes. In many respects it constitutes an ideal subject for taxation, especially when, as in some European countries, it is not immoderately heavy.

It must, however, be borne in mind that in its less expensive forms it is a comfort rather than a luxury, and in the form of pipe-tobacco is the solace of the rich and poor alike. Its abuse, unlike that of alcohol, is restrained by natural causes. Its use by adults is never demoralizing, except in the opinion of such chimerical associations as the "English Anti-Smoking Society and Anti-Narcotic League." Were this the occasion for a general review of fiscal policy in relation to tobacco, it would, I think, be easy to show that the tax in England on the raw material, though quite justifiable in principle, is altogether exorbitant in its extent. For the year ending December 31, 1903, the importation of unmanufactured tobacco into the United Kingdom aggregated about 85,500,000 pounds, valued at about £2,500,000, or an average price per pound in bond of 7d. Every pound of tobacco sold in the United Kingdom has to bear the crushing impost of 3s. or 3s. 3d. if stripped, which is more than five times the original cost—a larger tax than is levied anywhere else in Europe. In France, Italy, Spain, Turkey, and Roumania, the importation of manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco is prohibited, the trade in tobacco being a Government monopoly. In Germany the duty, though substantial, is not oppressive. On unmanufactured tobacco it is £2 3s. 2d. per cwt., and this tax of about 4½d. a pound enables German manufacturers to sell cigars of excellent quality at 1½d. or 2d. each. In the United States of America, itself to a large extent a tobacco-producing country, the duty is 35 cents a pound on ordinary leaf, and 50 cents on stripped tobacco. The case of Holland is quite exceptional, and the policy adopted, that of levying only a nominal registration duty of 7d. a cwt. on unmanufactured tobacco, has led to Amsterdam being the greatest emporium of tobacco-leaf in the world.

It is now necessary to consider the proportionate incidence of the specific duty of 3s. or 3s. 3d. a pound on the cheaper kinds of tobacco. The average value per pound of all imported tobacco is, as stated above, about 7d. In the case

of tobaccos which are highly priced, such as the produce of Borneo and Sumatra, the incidence is comparatively light. Indian tobacco, so far as can be gathered from the very small quantities that have been valued in London, may in the present condition of the product be estimated at 3d. or 3½d. a pound; in other words, its valuation is about half the average of all imported tobacco. The economic effect of the duty is therefore doubly disadvantageous when compared with the average incidence. An impost which is somewhat oppressive as regards all but the highest-priced tobacco imposes so crushing a burden upon the Indian product that it is not surprising that cigars are not manufactured in London from Indian growths, and that an industry which might become a promising one is strangled before it is born. That such a trade could be established in London under different fiscal conditions is evident from the fact that during the last five years the value of the average export of Indian unmanufactured tobacco into Holland amounts to £9,000. In England the Board of Trade returns give an absolute blank.

I now turn to the fiscal question as it affects the importation of Indian cigars. The trade in unmanufactured tobacco being practically non-existent, except in Asiatic countries which do not fall within the scope of this paper, the incidence of the duty and its presumed effect in preventing the establishment of any such trade is, no doubt, to some extent an academic question. But the case is far different with cigars, for in this case the impost attacks and restricts an existent struggling industry. The duty in England up to the date of the last Budget was 5s. 6d. a pound, a heavier impost than prevails anywhere else in Europe or America. Thus the tax on cigars in Germany is 1s. 2d. per pound, and in the United States \$3 per 1,000, which is about equivalent to 1s. per pound. The effect of the incidence of the tax upon Indian cigars is unfair in the extreme. One thousand cigars of moderate quality can, I am informed, be landed in

London for 25s., and the duty in England until recently would have been £5 on the weight of approximately 20 pounds. As though this burden were not sufficient, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has recently raised the duty to 6s. a pound, and it is undoubtedly true that this increase has already seriously affected the Indian cigar trade. Of course my criticism as to the exorbitant character of the duty on tobacco is not entirely applicable to the case of cigars. The delicate produce of Cuba is an expensive luxury, and the tax of 5s., or even 6s., per pound on these cigars, instead of being many multiples of their value, may only add 10 per cent. to their price. But what is a comparatively light burden on a 1s. or 1s. 6d. cigar is oppressive on one costing 2d. or 3d. Indian cigars are sold in England at about 2d. apiece, and the severity of the duty on specific weight can be at once appreciated, amounting to three or four times their natural price. Considering the inequality of treatment in taxing articles of such widely different value by a specific duty, it is, perhaps, remarkable that an industry so heavily handicapped in the commercial race should have achieved even the modest success it has obtained in the London market, and that the trade should have reached the average dimensions of £38,000 in the last five years. It is, however, still more extraordinary that this unfairness of treatment has not hitherto attracted the attention it deserves from that increasing section of the English public who interest themselves in the welfare of our greatest Dependency, or that of the still larger public who are possessed of the conviction that the future safety of the Empire depends in a great measure on our ability to supply its commercial requirements from within the limits of the Empire itself. It can hardly be doubted—and in this view I am supported by the opinion of importers—that were this fiscal inequality remedied, or even somewhat modified, a largely increased trade could be done in Indian cigars, and this reform could be carried out without the smallest infraction of the principles of Free Trade. Until

some remedy is provided, the perhaps unique spectacle is afforded for the amusement of the cynic, of a great country so adjusting its fiscal burdens as to cripple one branch of a promising industry of its greatest Dependency, and effectually preventing another branch from coming into existence at all, without the faintest scintilla of benefit to itself.

It is distinctly of good omen that considerations such as the foregoing have lately attracted the attention of the Indian executive authorities. In the interesting Blue Book [Cd. 1,931], "Views of the Government of India on the Question of Preferential Tariffs," recently published, the Government of Lord Curzon expressed themselves as follows (p. 8): "Indian tobacco is at present very unfavourably treated in the United Kingdom, being subject to the same specific duty as the higher valued American article. If the two were placed on a footing of equality, and still more if the Indian article were accorded preferential treatment, our trade should receive a considerable stimulus. . . ." The separate minute of the financial Member of Council, Sir E. Law, emphasizes still more strongly the anomalous treatment of the Indian article. He observes (p. 21): "To the above" (*i.e.*, the export trade, which "includes many categories of first-class importance") "should perhaps be added manufactured tobacco, because although the exports to-day are very small . . . there is good reason for looking on this as a growing trade, which, under more favourable conditions than those now existing, might develop great importance. . . . The importation of Indian tobacco might easily be encouraged by charging duty on tobacco at *ad valorem* instead of specific rates." May it not reasonably be inferred from this weighty and unanimous expression of opinion of the Government of India incorporated in an important State paper, that if suitable representations were made by growers and manufacturers of Indian tobacco, the Government of Lord Curzon would lend them its powerful support towards the removal of a grievance so fully recognised?

It is hardly necessary to observe that an alteration in the incidence of the duty will not alone suffice either for the creation of the tobacco industry, or even for a great stride in the cigar trade. Unlike the palace of Aladdin, built in a single night, no beneficent Genius will produce miraculous results by a stroke of the pen. To achieve success will no doubt require years of unremitting effort, and involve, as in the case of Sumatra, much wasted capital and loss of fortune before the Indian trade can be expected to attain respectable dimensions.

I now proceed to consider what alteration can be effected in the incidence of the duty satisfactory to all the interests involved. The suggestion of Lord Curzon's Government of an alteration of the system of collecting the entire tobacco duty from a specific to an *ad valorem* basis, equitable as it appears, is for various reasons an impossible remedy. The question has already been considered by the Treasury authorities in connection with the enhanced duty on stripped tobacco, and the dislocation of the existing machinery would be so great, and the disorganization of an immense trade so serious, that no Chancellor of the Exchequer would consent to such a formidable alteration. In the second place, such a course would seriously injure the enormous British-made cigar industry. A moment's consideration will show that, strange as it may appear, the principle of the specific duty on unmanufactured tobacco being about half that imposed on a similar weight of imported cigars, acts as a protection to the British cigar industry. These cigars are manufactured in London from various tobaccos imported from Sumatra, Borneo, and other places. The higher grade and more expensive tobaccos are used for cigar-making purposes, but under the specific duty system this is of no importance. With an *ad valorem* basis the English market would be flooded with cheap Manilla, Dutch, and German cigars, to the great detriment of the British cigar trade. Whether

the protection of the British cigar trade by the present specific system is strictly defensible or not, this is not the place to inquire, for I am not writing from the point of view of Tariff Reform. But its dimensions are so immense—although it is impossible to estimate them, because when once unmanufactured tobacco has paid its quota to the Treasury in bond its destination is no longer ear-marked—that no Government could attempt to disturb it by a vital alteration of its fiscal system. And it must also be remembered that the tobacco of a British possession, that of North Borneo, largely enters into the manufacture of the British cigar. I have been shown by one of the principal cigar manufacturers in London masses of Borneo tobacco which were actually being used at the time for the production of British cigars. Lastly, even if the change were effected, it would not benefit the Indian cigar trade in the very least. Instead of the one formidable competitor which exists at present—the British cigar industry—it would be swamped by the competition of the other foreign cheap cigars already mentioned.

Is there, then, no remedy for the unjust treatment of Indian cigars and tobacco pointed out by the Government of India? I believe I shall be able to show that relief can be granted by an alteration which is alike simple, effectual, not subversive of great commercial interests, and which would be regarded as equitable even by its rivals. It violates none of the accepted canons of the fiscal system of the present moment. It is based upon the fact which is admitted by all experts in the tobacco trade that the intrinsic weight of Indian tobacco, and therefore of Indian cigars, is very much heavier than that of all other tobacco and cigars which are now in the market. One of the leading retailers in London informs me that a box of Indian cigars weighs on an average 2 pounds, whereas the weight of other varieties of cigars of the same size and appearance is about 25 per cent. less, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. This is principally owing to the thicker character of the leaf and the greater

size of the midrib. The remedy, then, which I venture to propose is to grant a drawback of a quarter of the duty levied on Indian cigars to compensate the importer for the extra weight, from which he obtains, I ought to observe, no other compensating advantage. This rebate, while it would be equitable from every point of view, would give an effective stimulus to the Indian cigar trade, and for many years to come would involve so small a loss to the Treasury that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could regard it as a *quantité négligeable*. This proposal is the only one which appears to me alike feasible and just.

There is, however, another disability which prejudices the success of the tobacco industry in India itself, to which public attention should be drawn. India is, with the exception of Holland, the only civilized country in the world, so far as I am aware, which admits unmanufactured tobacco entirely free of duty, and which imposes on manufactured tobacco so low a duty as 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. It is an interesting though perplexing study to note the curiously divergent views on this subject which appear to have been held by the financial authorities in India at different periods. At one time a suggestion was put forward to establish a Government monopoly in tobacco. As to such a proposal as this, no one can withhold assent from the views of Sir John and General Strachey, expressed in their work on "Finances and Public Works of India," published in 1882. They observe (p. 368): "We may put aside as impracticable, except under the pressure of some financial catastrophe, so great that it would justify almost any experiment, the idea of establishing a Government monopoly of sale of tobacco throughout India. Such a monopoly might, doubtless, if it were possible, yield a large revenue—perhaps £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 a year—but no approach has hitherto been made as to the suggestion of a scheme by which this could be done." For the sake of completeness, I may add that the question

of placing a special tax upon the cultivation of the plant was formerly a favourite project among Anglo-Indian administrators. As to this, the Right Hon. W. N. Massey stated in 1868 : "The possibility of levying a tax on tobacco is out of the question. It would be a tax extremely oppressive in its incidence ; it would be collected at an enormous cost, and it would fall entirely on the poorest classes."

Although there is now a settled conviction upon these two points, the question of the taxation of imports of tobacco has produced a great conflict of opinion and practice. Thus, in 1859 there was a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all imported tobacco ; in 1860, owing to the financial pressure of the Mutiny, the duty was a specific one of half a rupee per seer (about 2 pounds) on unmanufactured tobacco, and one rupee on manufactured tobacco. In 1862 the Financial Member, in his Budget statement, observed : "The duty on tobacco is so absurdly high that it is clear we are driving all but the superior sorts out of the market, and losing revenue. The duty of 1 rupee per lb. is fully 100 per cent. on ordinary American tobacco, and its effect has been to reduce the importation in three years from 1,200,000 pounds to about 369,000 pounds, a striking proof of the impolicy of excessive import duties. I propose to reduce the duty to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, which, I have no doubt, will cause a slight gain rather than a loss of revenue." The duty was accordingly fixed at 20 per cent. *ad valorem* on all tobacco unmanufactured and manufactured. In successive years, the policy of gradually freeing imports from duty has led to a continuous reduction of the duty. Thus, in 1864 it dropped to 10 per cent., and in 1875 to 5 per cent. on all tobacco, but by the operation of the Indian Tariff Act of 1894, the tax was fixed, and remains now, at 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on manufactured tobacco, and leaf of every kind is admitted free. I have referred to most of the speeches made at the introduction of the financial statements during these years, and cannot find that there was any serious discussion of the principle

to be adopted in taxing foreign tobacco, except that in 1864 the observation fell from the Financial Member of Council that as foreign tobacco had to compete with the untaxed produce of this country, "it is thought right to reduce the duty from 20 per cent. to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*." If this argument is to hold good, I should have thought that the only logical outcome would have been to admit foreign tobacco duty free. Since the Indian Tariff Act, the amount of duty levied on foreign tobacco has been so small as fully to account for the neglect of the subject in the financial debates. Indeed, the revenue from this source is so insignificant that it has recently not been separately shown in the returns.

However the financial circumstances of India may have justified these remarkable alterations, both in the amount and the character of the tax, the uncertainty arising from the constantly shifting duty must have seriously hampered traders in the past. I am now, however, concerned with the present, and I wish to point out that, while in England Indian trade is handicapped by having to pay relatively a heavier duty than any other kind of tobacco, in India a struggling native industry is overweighted and restricted by having to compete with foreign manufactured tobaccos, which have to pay so small a duty as to be almost inappreciable. It is, of course, the fact that there is no excise on Indian tobacco, but the Indian product is more effectually disqualified from successful competition with her foreign rival by want of capital and by antiquated methods than such a trifling additional disadvantage as a 5 per cent. excise would impose. When a man whose only weapons are a bow and arrow has to fight a duel with a soldier equipped with modern arms of precision, it is little comfort or encouragement to him to be told that in the conflict his hands will not be tied behind his back.

The accumulated wisdom of centuries has, as already observed, in nearly all countries detected in tobacco an object specially fitted for moderate and sometimes heavy

taxation for revenue purposes. The Indian exchequer foregoes a considerable sum which might well allow of the reduction of taxation in other directions, and the Indian tobacco trade—the Cinderella of commerce—is flouted by her wealthier sisters. No step could have been devised more effectually to cripple the home trade for the benefit of the importer. The imports of unmanufactured tobacco in 1903-1904, as will be seen from the table at p. 84, amounted to about 350,000 pounds, valued at about Rs. 3,00,000, and of manufactured tobacco to a total of 4,690,000 pounds, valued at about Rs. 49,60,000. There can be no doubt, I think, that a moderate tax should be levied on this trade. It may be argued that 64·6 per cent. of the imports come from the United Kingdom. This is perfectly true, but so far from being an objection, it strengthens my argument. I think, therefore, that a return should be made to the duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* on manufactured tobacco.

It may next be argued that logically and following the English analogy, I ought to recommend a tax of 10 per cent. on imported unmanufactured tobacco. If, it may be urged, it be right for the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, while levying substantial duties on tobacco of all kinds, to protect the home manufacturer of British cigars by assessing twice the duty on cigars that is chargeable on the raw leaf, equity demands that in India the home industry should be protected by a duty of a similar proportion on the imported leaf. But this argument, though plausible, will not commend itself to those who are conversant with the facts connected with the Indian cigar manufacture. In the first place, the only Indian cigar that enjoys a limited popularity is covered with the Sumatra leaf. In the second place, other brands of foreign tobacco, especially that imported from Borneo, a British possession, are extensively used as a blend for mixing with the Indian tobacco for the filler of the cigar. In fact, the weight of foreign tobacco used in the making of 1,000 of the best Indian cigars weighing,

say, 20 pounds, is no less than 11 pounds. It would therefore seriously increase the cost of manufacture, which in this instance would fall, I imagine, entirely on the producer if a tax of 10 per cent. were levied on one moiety of the tobacco which constitutes the best Indian cigar. Were India itself the principal market for the article these considerations might have less weight. The market in India for cigars is exclusively that of the classes and not of the masses. Those who have been in the habit of smoking Indian cigars, and whose taste will tolerate no other, would not dream of abandoning the solace to which they have been accustomed because of a trifling addition to the cost. But it must be remembered that nine-tenths of the Indian trade in cigars is foreign, and the addition of 10 per cent. to the cost of production, whether borne by the producer or the consumer, would be a great disadvantage in competition with the German, Mexican, or British-made cigar in the United Kingdom. Possibly, moreover, a drawback could be claimed on cigars exported, or the manufacture could be carried out in bond, and in either case the product of the tax would be insignificant. No import duty on the raw leaf is economically possible.

Throughout this article I have endeavoured to avoid both the Scylla of Free Trade and the Charybdis of Protection. I have tried to navigate my bark clear of either rock on the principle of the motto "*In medio tutissimus ibis*," and if it be objected that the 20 per cent. import duty on manufactured tobacco will protect the Indian industry, I take my stand on the undoubted fact that a tax on imported tobacco in India is a tax on a luxury, and that, as will presently appear, its proceeds can be utilized in diminishing a tax on a necessity. If it has the incidental effect of helping to create an industry in India which at present is non-existent, this ought not to be a drawback in the eyes of all well-wishers of our greatest Dependency.

The levying of a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on manufactured tobacco—*i.e.*, on cigars, pipe tobacco, and cigarettes

—would provide a sum of nearly Rs. 10,00,000 to the Indian exchequer, and would at the same time give a considerable stimulus to the Indian producer. The Indian grower and manufacturer of cigars and cigarettes would be able to compete more successfully with the imported article, and the necessary impetus would be given to English capitalists to turn their attention to the production of pipe and cigarette tobacco, which we know can be produced in India if sufficient capital, skill, and organized labour are utilized in a scientific manner.

The next question is whether the moderate tax which I propose would seriously injure the foreign trade. From the Board of Trade returns at p. 84, it will be seen that in 1903-1904 the trade in imported tobacco increased by 11·3 per cent. to Rs. 49·7 lacs. The chief item was cigarettes, which increased in quantity by 30 per cent., and in value by 25 per cent. The relative cheapness of the cigarette is ousting the cigar from all the markets of the world, and India is no exception. The increase in the cigarette trade during the four years in which it has been separately registered is no less than 90 per cent. So prosperous is the trade that quite recently Messrs. Oakes and Messrs. McDowell have begun manufacturing cigarettes themselves at Guindy from imported Virginia leaf, and two varieties are sold in India at 4s. 8d. per 1,000 and 3s. per 1,000 respectively. Does anyone believe that this trade, which, as the Government of India remark in their review of Indian trade, "has undoubtedly the capacity of very great expansion," will be ruined or seriously jeopardized by the addition of 1s. and 9d. respectively to the prices I have just quoted? The foreign importer with the prestige of a long-established business, and with his produce accurately adapted from generations of experience to the taste of his clients, can afford to give a much larger handicap to the new and tentative trade of India than this trifling impost. I cannot suppose that objections such as I have mentioned can weigh for a moment with the immense advantage to

India of a stimulus to this industry, which may provide additional employment for thousands in the cigar and cigarette-making trades. This argument is greatly strengthened by the fact just mentioned, that cigarette manufacture has actually commenced in India, although at present with the Virginia leaf. I feel some confidence that before long Indian tobacco will to some extent replace Virginian.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss what measure of relief could be effected by the Government for lightening the taxation of the people through the re-adoption of an impost which appears to have been abandoned just at the time when it was most needed. But I may be pardoned if I refer in one or two sentences to Mr. Brodrick's last Budget speech, in which he describes the recent reduction of the Salt Tax: "There is, it appears, a consensus of opinion throughout India that in most places the retail prices were favourably affected within a month after the reduction of the duty. But there is an unimpeachable proof that the reduction did actually reach the pockets of the peasantry. In the very first year after the remission the increase in receipts from the Salt Tax, owing to the larger consumption, brought down the loss to the Exchequer by nearly a quarter of a million." We need not seek further for the destination of the product of this tax on luxury, which, small though it would be at present, would at any rate go some little way in enabling the Government to relieve the peasantry of India by a further remission of the salt duty.

It is not so very many years ago that the Indian tea trade occupied the rather humiliating position of the Indian tobacco industry at the present moment. The flavour was considered peculiar—too coarse and rank ever to vie with the delicate produce of China. That within the last decade Indian tea should not only prove a formidable rival, but actually drive the China product out of the English market, would have been scouted as an absurdity. But

the tea industry did not attain its present proud position without a hard struggle. The processes of manufacture and the secrets of drying and blending had first to be learned from Chinese experts. Many fortunes were lost before the lessons of economy were taught by bitter experience. The faults now found with Indian tobacco are almost an exact reproduction of the criticism passed on Indian tea during the early stages of its importation. The future of Indian tobacco is "on the knees of the gods," but surely the analogy of Indian tea gives some ground for hoping that Indian tobacco will yet achieve a triumph in Continental and English markets.

The fact is being realized, as it has never been realized before, that the development of Indian industries is of vital importance to the prosperity of the country. The problem of preserving financial equilibrium in a country where the people allow no prudential consideration to limit the teeming population, while the experienced beneficence of Government more and more successfully combats the ancient and natural remedies of death by plague and famine, is one that can only be successfully solved by the exploitation of every feasible commercial enterprise. The recent decision of Lord Curzon's Government to form a separate Department of Industry and Commerce indicates, let us hope, that a new era has dawned in India. The multifarious duties of the hard-worked officials have hitherto left them little time for more than spasmodic efforts to stimulate private enterprise. An official of rank will now be appointed who can devote the whole of his time and energies to the many complex problems which await his attention, and the appointment involves an assurance that any promising scheme for the development of the industrial resources of the country will receive support and encouragement.

THE FOUNDATION OF PENANG—CAPTAIN LIGHT AND THE NONYAH.

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

CAPTAIN ELISHA TRAPAUD, of the Engineers, who was one of the pioneers present at the foundation of the Settlement of Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, brought out in 1788 at London a tract* (now very scarce) on the subject; and I therefore give a long quotation from it here, as it is perhaps not amiss sometimes to remind the dwellers in the Far East what they owe, not only to the pioneer founders, but to the alliances these founders frequently made with the Native Princes, which, as in this case, won frequently whole territories to the British flag. Trapaud writes: "The island (Penang) is between thirty and forty miles in circumference, and was given by the King of Quedah to Captain Light, a gentleman in the India Marine Service, who has resided a long time amongst the Malays, and speaks their language perfectly. He had assisted the above Prince in quelling some troubles in his dominions, who in return bestowed on him a Princess of the blood in marriage, together with this island as her dower. Captain Light, who is extremely well beloved amongst the Malays, chose to marry the Princess according to the fashions of her own country.

"As these are somewhat curious, it may not be amiss to say a word or two concerning the mode of courtship and marriage used in general amongst the Malays of Quedah. Marriage here, contrary to the customs of most other nations in the East, is a regular treaty between the parties, on the footing of equality. There is, however, a present made to the girl's friends, which is usually twelve dollars. The marriage compact stipulates that all effects, gains, or earnings are to be equally the property of both, and in case of divorce

* "A Short Account of the Prince of Wales Island, or Pulo Peenang, in the East Indies, given to Captain Light by the King of Quedah," by Elisha Trapaud. (London, 1788.)

by mutual consent the stock, debts, and credits are to be equally divided. If the man insists on the divorce, he gives the woman her half of the effects, and loses the twelve dollars. If the woman only claims the divorce, she forfeits her right to half the effects, but is entitled to keep her paraphernalia, and her relations are to pay back the twelve dollars if demanded.

“ On the wedding day the friends, slaves, and domestics of the parties are richly habited, and set before the houses of the bride and bridegroom many pikes with fringes of white cotton and red, and discharge several guns. In the afternoon the bridegroom goes from his own house to the bride’s in the following manner : Four men walk first with several sticks fastened to a pole, which others strike with little sticks. These are followed again by others, who carry long drums, which they beat either with sticks or their hands. After these others strike against sticks tied about their necks, and of them there are often sixty, eighty, or an hundred, according to the condition of the bridegroom. Then you see others, again, with peacocks’ feathers and horses’ tails ; and they are followed by thirty or forty armed with darts, swords, and shields, who from time to time stop in the streets to strike together, or dance, for the diversion of the spectators.

“ There are others with drums and sticks, followed by thirty young women richly drest, some carrying flowers, others pictures, little gilt boxes, moveables, and habits of all sorts as presents from the bridegroom to the bride. The women follow immediately, who likewise carry divers pieces of household stuff. The bridegroom is on horseback, richly drest, having two of his most intimate friends riding on each side of him, and a great number of persons invited to the wedding conclude the show. When they are come to the bride’s house, all the drums stay for the bridegroom at the door, and the men that carry the arms make a lane for the women that have the furniture ; after whom the bridegroom arriving, he dismounts, and then the bride appears with a vessel of water, who on her knees washes

his feet, and, taking him by the hand, leads him into the house, where they continue some time together. Then he, leading her by the hand, goes out with all the company, and in the same order as before they go to his house, where the bridegroom enters first, then all the guests, who are entertained with marriage feasts for three days together.

“Whether these were precisely the ceremonies that took place on the marriage of Captain Light with the Malay Princess we will not pretend to determine; this, however, is certain, that the island of Pulo Peenang, which was given with her in dowry, he, as a subject of Great Britain, took possession of, in the name of His Britannick Majesty, for the use of the English East India Company.

“This was about three or four years ago. The island, however, continued without a name to mark it as an appendage to the British Empire until August 11, 1786, which, being the eve of the Prince of Wales's birthday, the island was then named after His Royal Highness by Captain Light, the Governor, the following officers and gentlemen being present at the hoisting of the flag, viz.:

“Captain Light, the Governor.

“Lieutenant Gray, commanding one hundred native Bengal Marines. (These two gentlemen had landed on the island about a fortnight before, and were living in tents.)

“Captain-Lieutenant Trapaud, of the Engineers; Captain Richard Lewin, commanding the *Vansittart*; Captain Thomas Wall, commanding the *Valentine*; Captain Glass, commanding a country ship; Captain Howell, Bengal Artillery; a passenger; Mr. George Smith, merchant, a passenger; Mr. John Beatson, merchant, a passenger. . . . Captain Light had some idea of building a temporary fort, with fascines, gabions, etc.; but we are informed that, as it is meant to make a permanent settlement on the island, they have built, or are building, a brick fort, which whether it is to have a name distinct from the island is not yet ascertained.

“On the day that the island received its name there were one hundred Bengal sepoys encamped on it, who were

commanded by Lieutenant Gray ; but since that time the command has been given to Lieutenant Glass, and two companies of sepoy and some European artillery have been added. They had then six guns of different calibres, which have probably been augmented since.

“ Captain Light expected a great number of families from Quedah and its environs to people his new Government ; and as he is extremely well liked amongst the Malays, we may reasonably conclude, when the fort is built, and they are not afraid of being molested by the Dutch, whose vicinity at Malacca makes them very jealous of this new establishment, that five or six hundred families (Malays) are now resident in the island, besides considerable numbers of Chinese, more of whom are coming over every day.”

There is nothing the least impossible in this contemporary account ; it is borne out by the belief of all Captain Light's immediate descendants ; and we know, moreover, that Malay Princes frequently made grants of their lands to foreigners. Raja James Brooke obtained Sarawak from the Sultan of Brunei by grant in 1841, and as far back as 1703 Captain Alexander Hamilton writes : * “ I called at Johore ”—where he had special influence with the Sultan—“ in my way to China, and he treated me very kindly, and made me a present of the island of Sincapure ; but I told him it could be of no use to a private person, tho' a proper place for a company to settle on,” which the British did not do until induced by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819. In this way the island of Penang might easily also have been made over to Captain Light titularly as dowry ; but the fact has been often disputed, and we are still in doubt whether it was the truth or not. Crawford, a well-informed writer, writing about 1820, † says : “ A romantic story had long obtained currency that Mr. Light married the daughter of the Rajah of Quedah, and received with her as dowry the island of Penang. There was

* “ Hamilton's Account of the East Indies,” vol. ii., p. 97 (London, 1744).

† “ Dictionary of the Indian Archipelago.” He writes much the same in earlier works also.

no foundation of truth in this tale. The wife of the enterprising adventurer was neither a princess nor a Malay, but a Mesizo Portuguese of Siam, and the Rajah of Queda did not give his desert island to anyone, but sold it to the British Government for the payment of a quit rent of 10,000 hard Spanish dollars a year." Another writer (also well informed) writes : * " It has been long and confidently believed that this Captain Light having married the daughter of the King (or Rajah) of Quedah (Keddah) obtained possession of the island of Pinang as his wife's dowry, and that he subsequently sold it to the East India Company for a sum of ready money and the appointment of Chief of the Settlement. This story, though widely circulated and fondly cherished by the descendants of that gentleman, has unfortunately no foundation in truth." If these later authorities are correct, was there, then, no truth in Elisha Trapaud's contemporary account ? Into this we must try carefully to inquire, though no authority is very definitely conclusive, and each seems to war with the other.

Captain Light's will shows that during the year 1772 he allied himself with a lady whom he names then (in 1794) as *Martinha Rozells*, and it is our suggestion that along with this Portuguese name she may have also borne contemporaneously the Malay style of the *Nonyah* or lady ; † and if she did so, is most probably the "*Nonyah Yeen*, a daughter of the King of Quedah," whom Light's son-in-law mentioned when visiting Penang in 1818, and to whom we shall refer later. Why she should have received this Malay appellation it is difficult to show, unless as Trapaud says ; and the late Mr. Skinner, C.M.G., Resident Councillor of Penang, believed she was, though nominally (at least after 1788) a Christian, yet in some way a "*Princess of the blood*" of the Keddah royal family. Certain it is that Captain Light was not married to her by any Christian rite, but by a

* " *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*," vol. iv., p. 633.

† A tradition in Penang tells that she had both a Malay and a Portuguese title (" *Letters of F. Light Perak* ").

Mahommedan "Nikah" marriage;* and though he dared not describe her therefore as his wife in his will, he made ample provision for her there as his relict.

Alliance with "The Nonyah" in 1772 was the foundation of his career, however, as the founder of a British Settlement, for in that year she acted as his mediatrix with the Raja of Keddah. Captain Light wrote to Warren Hastings June 17, 1772, from there: "The old King puts no confidence now in any one of his Ministers; he has declared before them all that he will give his country to the English rather than the Bugesses shall have it, and if they will not take it he will send to the Dutch.

"The offer he made me upon my first arrival I thought so advantageous that not to have accepted it would have seemed downright folly. The purport of the contract is as follows:

"In the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-five named Ze, in the ninth day of the moon, Moharram, the Nonia, brought here Francis Light, who said he lived with Mr. Harrop in Acheen, Joint Agent for Mr. Francis Jourdain,† Merchant, at Madras. The Nonia presented herself to the King, and told him that she went to Acheen, and with his licence she had asked assistance, and promised in his name and licence to trade in Queda, for which they promised and sent two vessels with guns, powder, arms, and sepoy with Captain Light; and if the King granted their master licence to trade and keep a house in Queda, they would furnish him with one hundred sepoy to keep out any enemy whatever." This bears out to some extent Trapaud's account: "The Nonia prayed that the King would give a licence for the whole trade of Europeans, Bugesses Prows, Acheen and Batta Bars, with all vessels and for all merchandize which the King was used to trade in, and that the profits shall be divided into three parts, one part to be

* Cameron's "Our Indian Tropical Possessions."

† "Francis Jourdan, Esq.," died at Madras, November 15, 1784. A "João Harrop menino de Jdade" (sic) was buried in the Catholic church in Cuddalore in May, 1776 ("Monumental Inscriptions," Madras).

given to the King, one part to be sent to Madras, and one part to Captain Light to pay the expence of the sepoy and all other expences attending the Factory." The King was well pleased with this arrangement, ordered the copies to be made out, requested Light to hoist the English colours, which he did, and presented him with "two Siam slaves" to be sent to Mr. Hastings.

But though Penang had been two years under British occupation, it was not until December, 1788, that we find the name (her importance indicated by following immediately upon the few Catholic clergy) "Martinha" appearing in the Penang census.* She is there described as from "Siam," and her son William from "Queda." She had with her three female servants and one "boy," all from Keddah also.

In 1791 an important event in the early history of Penang took place, namely, a "war" between Captain Light and the Raja of Keddah. The latter found his revenues falling off in a marked way, the trading prahus now going to Penang, and so escaping his extortions. He at once demanded an increased subsidy of \$4,000 to compensate him. Captain Light had no power to grant the demand, and the King with an army of 1,000 men and twenty Lanoon (pirate) boats menaced the island. He fortified Prya on the mainland, and made ready for the attack. But Captain Light did not wait for the attack; he assumed the offensive, and captured the fort on the night of April 12, and destroyed the prahus in the river on the 16th, losing only four native artillery, eleven being wounded, and ten native infantry wounded. The majority of the prahus were destroyed, and the Raja made an advantageous peace, obtaining an increased grant of \$10,000. This it will be seen Crawford thought he had from the first cession of the island.

Captain Light was very proud of this victory, and named the son that Martinha bore him about this time Francis Lanoon Light in commemoration of it. The Raja of

* She is not here named as "Rozells." There were, however, some Portuguese of that name among the early colonists in Penang.

Keddah declared after the rout that he was ashamed of having ever been a friend of the people who fought in the night without giving fair warning, and "The Flight of Praya, a Malay Dirge," was thus sung by John Leyden : *

"Warriors ! Champions of Malaya !

You shall live in endless light,

Though you vanished in the night—

Perish'd in the fight of Praya.

"Foot to foot and man to man,

When beneath the burning beam

Burnished lances brightest gleam,

Yet the contest still began.

"Shouts of battle heard afar

Bade your foes the steel prepare.

Give the winds their coal-black hair,

March to meet the coming war.

"Not a breeze convey'd the tale

When the whites began the fray :

Save they feared the eye of day

Should see their faces ghastly pale.

"Now in forms of finer air,

While these grassy graves you view,

Scent the flowerets that we strew,

List the vengeance that we swear.

"Warriors ! O'er each ridgy tomb

The mournful marjoram shall grow,

And the grave-flowers pale shall blow,

Sad memorials of your doom.

"On your long-lamented clay

The unrelenting blood shall blow

Of the vengeful buffalo,

And his frontlets broad decay.

"Chieftains ! Warriors of Malaya !

You shall be avenged in light,

Though you perished in the night—

Perish'd in the fight of Praya."

Captain Light died, to the grief of all the island settlers, of fever, October 21, 1794. The day before he died he was able to sign a will leaving his affairs in order. His last thoughts were for Martinha Rozells and his children. He

* "Poetical Works," Edinburgh, 1875.

left the latter his whole estate, excluding legacies to the personal friends who were his executors, and excluding what he left to Martinha herself, namely: "The Paddy field situated in Nibong plain, and containing one hundred orlongs of land or thereabouts, together with the houses, plantations, implements of husbandry, and forty buffaloes," as well as "the pepper gardens with my garden house, plantations, and all the land by me cleared in that part of the island called Suffolk, as also the pepper garden and plantation farming by Chee Hong in Orange Valley," and his bungalow in George Town with its furniture. He added: "I give also unto the said Martina Rozells four of my best cows and one bull." In addition he left her his Malay bonds, his Batta shares (if she wished), and one slave Esan ("she remains with Martina"), but his other slaves he released from further bondage. It is difficult to trace the further history of his estate. In 1796 Major Macdonald (Light's successor, and somewhat hostile) wrote: * "To read Mr. Light's and Mr. Scott's account of the Malays a stranger would be led to doubt that those gentlemen had written of the same people, that both for several years resided amongst them, spoke their language, and in many respects assimilated themselves to their dress, manners, and customs," adding: "Mr. Light's estate, from the bequest, is running fast into jungle, to the certain loss of his heirs and of the Company, who ought to expect from it, were it in active and industrious hands, an handsome revenue."

In 1810 the administration had gone completely into confusion, and a lawsuit ensued.† The decision shows that Martinha Rozells, "one of the devisees," had received from James Scott, a trustee, the annuity of 850 Spanish dollars, but that the annuity was in arrear, and the Suffolk estates were then in the hands of James Scott's trustees. Later, her son-in-law, General Welsh, writes in 1818 of Prince of Wales Island, "once the property of my deceased father-in-

* "Penang Records," November 12, 1796.

† "Prince of Wales Island Gazette," November 10, 1810.

law, Mr. Francis Light,* the first Governor, whose offspring, then in infancy, have lived to see every inch of ground and even his houses alienated from them," thus showing his belief in the statement that the island was received originally as a dowry.

In 1804 we get, it is believed, a glimpse of Martinha under her Malay title in another of John Leyden's poems, "Christmas in Penang," which, it is said, was addressed to her,† and was assuredly not dedicated to a European. It is a very pleasing link, therefore, between the East and the West :

"Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far
To seek us near the Eastern star,
But wears not in this Orient clime
Her wintry wreaths and ancient thyme.
What flowerets must we strew to thee
For glossy bay or rosemary?

"Champaca flowers for thee we strew
To drink the merry Christmas dew.
Though hailed in such Malayan grove
The saffron-tinted flower of love
Its tulip buds adorn the hair
Of none more loved amid the fair.

"Banana leaves their ample screen
Shall spread to match the holly green;
Well may their glossy softness please,
Sweet emblem of the soul at ease,
The heart extending frank and free
Like the still green banana-tree.

"Nona, may all the woodland powers
That stud Malaya's clime with flowers,
Or on the breeze their fragrance fling,
Around thee form a fairy ring
To guard thee, ever gay and free,
Beneath thy green banana-tree."

In 1818, as we have seen, her son-in-law, General Welsh, visited Penang from Madras for his health's sake. He does

* "Military Reminiscences," by Colonel J. Welsh, vol. ii., pp. 112, 113 (London, 1830).

† Information from Mr. William Sanderson, late of the Straits Settlements.

not mention her in any special manner, but gives many tales of his doings—how he went to Suffolk, “once the private property of Mr. Light, and his favourite residence,” and how he visited the gardens of “Nonyah Yeen, a daughter of the King of Quedah,” and that there “we were desired to help ourselves to anything we should fancy.” Was this not the garden of Martinha, who appears in the old Light family papers* as “Martina, Princess of Quedah?” If so, the only other fact we can chronicle about her is her death; for Martinha Rozells died about 1822, when an administration to her estate appears in the Penang Archives.†

Her children were (apparently) educated under their guardian, William Fairlie, “the prince of Indian merchants” chiefly at Calcutta, except William, the eldest son, who had been sent “home” by his father, and was placed in charge of his old friend, George Doughty, High Sheriff of Suffolk. He was afterwards distinguished in the Peninsular War as an Intelligence officer, had a romantic career of adventure, ultimately becoming Surveyor-General of South Australia. He died 1839, having founded the city of Adelaide, which makes his name revered in South Australia.

The daughters were styled “the most beautiful women in India,” and were married at very early ages, and became ancestresses of whole tribes of Anglo-Indians. Sarah Light, the eldest, married at Calcutta, December 28, 1794, James Welsh, who died January 24, 1861, a General of the Madras Establishment. Mary Light married March 9, 1805, George Boyd, of Katullee and Pubna in Bengal, a rich indigo planter called the “Dáná Hakim,” and Anne Light married November 20, 1809, Charles Hunter, Esq., M.D., H.E.I.C.S.

Francis Lanoon Light, the youngest son, had, like the eldest, a romantic career. He became a friend of Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie, one of the conquerors of Java (who was godfather to his son), and was made Resident of Minto (Muntok) during the brief British occupation of Java and

* MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Mason.

† MSS. India Office.

Sumatra. Retiring to Penang, he died there, it is said, "from the effects of a poisoned arrow," October 5, 1823. Following in his father's footsteps, he married Charlotte, a Javanese Princess, and in his turn left descendants, some of whom still live in the country which "The Nonyah" won by her influence for Captain Light, and through him for the British of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

IN the early ages, when Greece was young and beginning to thrive and increase in population, many adventurous spirits departed from the old country and formed colonies along the shores of the Great Sea, the Mediterranean, and cities were founded which, in a few years rivalled in wealth, population, and power the ancient mother of arts and eloquence. Her influence extended from Italy and Sicily on the west to India on the east, and from Mæsia on the north to Crete on the south, and her language was known and spoken in these territories. The facilities of travel either by sea or land were not so well known or so well managed in those days as in our own, and the civilized habitable world was very small in extent, the distances being not so great either in going to her colonies or returning from them: yet the time expended must have been a barrier to the extension and cohesion of her empire. Besides many went out to settle for life in the new territories, and remain as permanent inhabitants and citizens on the new soil. In removing from the old country an ingenious method was devised and carried out, by which, if time lapsed in seeing or hearing from each other, they would be able to make known their kinship. Before the emigrants started on their long journey or voyage a stick was broken in two pieces, and one part remained with the old people and the traveller took possession of the other; and when they or their families or kindred came together again, after, it may be, many years, the sticks were produced, and if accurately fitting each other, it was a testimony that the holders were of the same kith and kin—a most simple and ingenious method, but quite different and unnecessary in our own times, and showing how much the world has advanced in “annihilating

time and space," discovering territories and continents of which the ancients had not the faintest idea of their existence. The introduction of steam as a motive power and electricity as a potential and illuminative and communicative agent has entirely revolutionized man's position as an inhabitant of the world, and seems in some measure, though unwittingly to realize the first command given to its two first inhabitants: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth, and be the supreme governors of it." The progress of mankind has been greatly accelerated by the use of the steam-engine, when in 1785 Watt perfected its construction by introducing many improvements in the structure, before which it was of little use, and its working was very imperfect; but since then it has remained, with some alterations, the chief motive power on land and sea.

Robert Fulton, in North America, was the first who applied steam as the motive power in the propulsion of vessels. This was in 1807, when he built a steamboat, the *Clermont*, and used it on the river Hudson for the conveyance of passengers; and from this small beginning the sea has become an easy road of communication between distant countries.

George Stephenson used the same power for swift locomotion on land, and now in all countries of any civilization, though there has been very great improvement in the machines and greater celerity in the speed, yet from the small run of ten miles an hour, now they can go easily fifty miles. He invented the first locomotive engine in 1814, and in 1825 it was used to carry passengers.

Dr. William Gilbert, of Colchester, was the first who, working on the inductive method, laid the basis of electric science, and in his book "*De Magnete*," published in 1600, he is "understood to have laid the foundation of all modern improvement in that branch of philosophy."

In 1844 Moore first used the telegraphic wire as a means of communication between Baltimore and Washington, and now Edison, in his laboratory at Llewellyn in New Jersey,

may by his inventive genius chain the erratic force of electricity by compelling it to become a humble servant in developing new sources of power and utility. Thus, we can note that these inventions are comparatively modern, and occupy but a small period in the world's history; and man has subjugated the earth by the forces which have lain dormant in its bosom for thousands of years, using the sea as the great highway of commerce, and the air as the medium of swift communication by land or sea.

The *Rimataka*, an excellent boat of 7,765 tons, registered, and furnished with twin screws, received the majority of her passengers at Tilbury, at the mouth of the Thames, on February 26, 1904. A great assemblage of friends came on board the vessel to bid the passengers and emigrants a long farewell. A tug took them, as well as the passengers, to the vessel, and after the visitors had stayed an hour or two, adieus were said, and many tears shed over the breaking up of family ties, which in many instances would never be in person joined together again. Tilbury, though not a very large seaport, has a very ancient history, for here Claudius I., Emperor of Rome, landed his troops, defeated the ancient Britons, and extended his conquests to Camulodunum, and made a Roman province of Essex, in A.D. 43. Essex was the first province that received the Roman civilization, and from this vantage-ground Rome gradually extended her sway over the whole country, and Agricola, in A.D. 78, consolidated it by being made Consul and Governor of Britain, and, defeating the Picts and Scots, built a wall from the Clyde to the Forth to check the incursions of the northern barbarians. On the threatened approach of the Spanish Armada in 1588 Tilbury came again into notice, when Queen Elizabeth reviewed and harangued the troops under the command of her favourite, Leicester, who was Lieutenant-General of the army.

Leaving Tilbury in the afternoon, we skirted along the southern coast, and as darkness came on we could see the lights of the different towns in the distance on our way to

Plymouth, which we reached on the following forenoon. Plymouth was at one time the fourth largest city in the kingdom, and is still a large and prosperous seaport, and has a history and renown that any city of the kingdom might envy ; for here the great historic sea-captains of that age went out to encounter and try the gauge of battle with probably the largest navy that ever before had floated on the ocean. Spain thought, with her large Armada of 130 big ships, she would completely overpower and destroy the little English navy of 80 small vessels, under the command of Drake, Hawkins, and others. However, it rather appeared like a goose attacking a hawk, for the Spanish ships had no chance with the nimble and active little vessels opposed to her. To withdraw from the fire of the little English squadron was the only means of safety, and this was done by steering for Calais, and also striking for the North Sea. A fierce tempest finished what Drake and his coadjutors had begun, and the huge Spanish vessels were wrecked on the rugged coasts of Scotland.

From this port also, on September 6, 1660, went the Pilgrim Fathers in the *Mayflower*, and landed at Plymouth Rock, in North America, on Christmas of the same year ; and this little band, consisting of 74 men and 28 women, founded New England, and was amongst the first and chief English settlers in the North American continent. Plymouth has a very fine and large harbour, and many large vessels and war-ships were lying at anchor when we arrived.

Leaving Plymouth on February 27, after taking in more passengers and cargo, our next port of call was Tenerife (pronounced Ten-er-if-é), which we reached on March 3, and anchored in the bay of Santa Cruz, its chief town. As we continued to approach it ; and viewed it from the steamer, it presented a very pleasant appearance, with its white houses and flat roofs, and when we came to anchor the boat was boarded by messengers from the hotels, and others selling all kind of fruits, of which oranges were the

chief. A big ferry-boat was soon alongside, and many took advantage of it to view the town and its chief objects of interest. The general idea that the town and its inhabitants give is that it is in a state of decadence compared with what we read of it about 200 years ago. It reminded me of Byron's lines on Greece, when he visited it at the beginning of last century, and found many of its famous cities abandoned and desolate.

"Wandering in youth, I traced the path of him,
The Roman friend of Rome's lead mortal mind,
The friend of Tully; as my bark did skim
The bright blue waters with a fanning wind,
Came Megara before me, and behind
Ægina lay : Piræus on the right,
And Corinth on the left : I lay reclined
Along the prow, and saw all these unite
In ruin, even as he had seen the desolate sight."

But it is not the town that shows so much decadence as its inhabitants, and it is melancholy to think that a town may show a want of resources and progress in its appearance, compared with its state two centuries ago, in its lack of energy and enterprise. The whole group of the islands has a delightful climate, and is most favourable for consumptive invalids, and restoration to health has even in serious cases been followed by complete recovery. Emigration takes place to a large extent in proportion to the population; and in 1883, 2,160 persons went from the islands to Cuba, and 1,248 to America, and it is said probably more than double that number may be the more correct figures.

In 1657 Admiral Blake came here in pursuit of the Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, which had taken shelter in the bay. A castle fortified on the shore and seven forts manned by musketeers united with the ships to oppose him. Don Diego Diaques, the Spanish Admiral, was commander of the Spanish forces, and an engagement took place which in four hours resulted in the entire destruction of the Spanish fleet, with all their treasure.

Nelson, in 1797, was less fortunate, for here he lost his right arm, and in the darkness his ships lost their way, and 250 of his men lost their lives, and some of his men were taken prisoners. He sent one of his captains to make an exchange of prisoners, but the Spanish Admiral at first refused, when a message was sent him that the whole town would be burnt down if they did not comply. This they soon did, and, after a friendly meeting with the Spanish Admiral, Nelson retired. Two English flags were found in the sea, and these are kept in the cathedral, and exhibited every year on July 25, the date of the battle and the birthday of St. James, the patron saint of Spain.

The streets as we went along were infested by beggars, who clamoured for "pennies," the only word they could say, and some invalids with sores exhibited them for eleemosynary purposes. The cathedral or chief church is a fine building, though plain on the outside, but has a fine appearance within, and it has many fine pictures illustrative of the entire life of Christ from the cradle to the grave, and other interesting memorials.

After remaining about the chief part of a day at Santa Cruz, we continued our journey southward, passing the Peak of Tenerife as we skirted its shore. The peak itself is the chief eminence of a range of hills that, as it were, divides the island, giving a serrated appearance to the whole range. The coast as we glided along had a bare and arid appearance, with several small gulleys running down to the sea, in which might be discerned a few houses in each. There was a slight covering of snow on the summit of the peak, and a cloud like a nightcap covered its highest elevation. The weather was warm and genial, and it was curious at this time of the year (March 3) to see a swift flying over the bay. A number of young boys who surrounded the vessel gave much amusement by diving in the deep water for the silver coins—the only coins visible in the water—which the passengers threw out to these expert swimmers. Fine shawls and other like small gar-

ments made by the hands of the natives found purchasers amongst the passengers.

After leaving Santa Cruz and Tenerife, we entered on quite a wilderness of waters, with nothing to interrupt the view of the vast watery expanse that surrounded us on all sides. The tedium of the voyage was lightened by various sports, and gave an interest to the onlookers, and in the evening music lent its charm to make us forget that Father Time was, on the waters, as a rule, very slow in his movements. Few, or very far between, were to be seen boat or even many fishes, though once we passed through an immense shoal of dolphins, which crowded and tumbled over each other. Flying fish were also in view, and excited a good deal of attention in viewing their airy flight as they skimmed over the surface of the water. Those which frequent these seas were larger and more numerous than those to be seen on the Atlantic, and kept longer on the wing. It is wonderful how the slightest incident occurring during the voyage rouses the attention of the passengers, and a solitary vessel or a large fish or two creates a diversion which is welcomed by all on board.

We had a very congenial and agreeable company in our second cabin, and we became soon conversant with each other, and could exchange our views on many topics like old friends. We were fortunate in having an excellent captain (Captain Greenstreet), who had for many years gone and returned by the route we had taken, and who did not spare himself in looking over and inspecting the vessel and its various sleeping berths, etc., every morning, and on the Sunday forenoons we met in the cabin, when he read the Church service and also a sermon, choosing appropriate hymns for the psalmody. In the evening also an English clergyman, who was also a passenger, finished the day with an appropriate address, and in this way the tedium of the Sunday, which is too common on board ship, was greatly lightened. Nor were his duties confined to Sunday, as he made himself a friend to all who needed his advice. He

was quite a model pastor and most excellent man, and a *piscator hominum*. We had, on the whole, fair and pleasant weather, and I found that the temperature ranged from 83° to 34° F., which last only occurred for a few days, when we had snow, with hailstones and sleet.

As we approached the Cape a flock of seabirds followed in our wake, and it was quite a novelty to see their graceful movements as they hovered around the boat, and hurried down to seize the broken fragments of victuals thrown from the steamer. Most of the passengers had never seen an albatross, yet here were many gliding along and following the boat, with no perceptible movement of their wings over a long distance. Other seabirds made quite a crowd of followers, all eager for the broken food thrown overboard after meals. A few albatrosses were shot, and we had a near view of this magnificent bird, with its irregular beak and its thick, lovely plumage. The wings of one were measured, and extended from tip to tip 6 feet 10 inches, and some are said to have an extent of wing equal to 15 feet.

We soon approached the Cape, and early in the morning of March 19 anchored in the bay. After some delay we were allowed to land, and were taken ashore in a tug. The town appears compressed along the shore, and, owing to Table Mountain, seems to have no expansion inland. This mountain is the first object that attracts the attention of the visitor, as its appearance is very like its name, with its straight line of rock in front, and is supported on either side by two craggy eminences—on its right the Lion's Head, and on the left the Devil's Peak. The harbour does not seem equal to the importance of the town, as we were kept in the open bay and had a tug to take us ashore, instead of landing us at the quay. The population is of a mixed variety, both white and black. The town has a few fine shops, and some new buildings were being erected, which will improve its appearance. Electric tram-cars pass every few minutes on the main street, and extend along the shore.

The Parliament House is on the hill, and opposite it is a fine park, well laid out, with many fine trees, shrubs, and flowers, giving an excellent shade and coolness to the many pedestrians who frequent it. We were only a few hours in the town, and were told to be back at the wharf punctually, as at this particular time we should be taken aboard in the tug. We all assembled at the appointed time, but had to wait in a broiling sun for more than half an hour before the functionary delegated to pass us on board made his appearance, with a large meerschaum pipe in his mouth, and evidently could not easily perform the two functions at once of smoking and calling over the names of the new passengers embarking here. I brought on-board some fine white grapes, for which I paid only one shilling for five pounds, and other pleasant fruits are to be had in abundance. The country itself was in a very unsatisfactory condition, owing to the introduction of Chinese labour at the mines; and some British miners had been paid off, and came on board with sad tales of injustice done them in throwing them out of work.

On getting our complement of passengers we resumed our journey, followed by flocks of gulls and other birds, and the next land we came to was the Crozet Islands—a group of barren, rocky, volcanic isles, without a single house or inhabitant, situated in $46^{\circ} 27'$ south and $52^{\circ} 14'$ east. Birds were plentiful here, as they always are where there is any land for them to rest, and for the first time we saw some penguins (*Aptenodytes*), the strangest-looking feathered creatures possible, with wings having scales instead of feathers, and much more at home on the sea than they are on land. They are splendid swimmers, and their rate of progress through the water is swifter than the fastest steamer. Their bones are strong and thick, and not being hollow, do not contain air, as other birds, and the humerus and the femur have only oily matter inside. It is not easy to see much of them, as they keep well under the water-line, their heads being, as a rule, only visible. These

solitary islands gave much interest to the passengers, and were scanned by them with binoculars and telescopes to find some evidence of man's existence, but none was visible. They are seldom visited by passing vessels, and are dangerous from the sunken rocks that surround them. Any vessel wrecked here must have a bad time of it from lack of provisions and little chance of a vessel passing.

Hobart is one of the nicest towns in the Southern Hemisphere, being quiet but not dull, with a fine atmosphere, and a temperature neither too hot nor too cold during the year. It is well known as a fine climate for consumptive invalids, and many have received benefit from its pure air and health-inspiring winds. It has a neat and clean appearance, and has many good shops ; but its chief glory is its fruits, of which there is an infinite variety. You cannot find prettier apples anywhere, with their brilliant colouring. Oranges also are abundant, but a small maggot in some cases pierces the skin of the fruit, and spoils it as an article of merchandise. It has a museum, small, yet beautifully kept, with innumerable samples of the minerals and birds, etc., native to the place. There is not the bustle found in larger towns, yet I believe a good deal of business is done in this quiet, unpretentious city. It has a variety of scenery : lakes and streams of pure water, which are within easy distance of the city, and mountains, the highest of which are a little over 5,000 feet high. I had the advantage of visiting this capital city of Tasmania twice—once on coming from the old country, and a few weeks after in one of the handsome local steamboats. We fortunately arrived here in safety, after passing along the mouth of the Great Australian Bight, though the passage as a rule is somewhat stormy. We left here on April 8, and our next destination was New Zealand.

We had now left the last resting-place of our voyage, and the next place of land we should see would be the double island of New Zealand, with Wellington as the goal of our desires. We were full of hope and expectation that in a

few days we should see its lofty mountains, and we were not disappointed, as we had a most favourable passage, and the cry soon arose amongst the passengers, "New Zealand!" appearing as a chain of mountains in a thin, delicate haze. We had at last realized our chief desire, and, like the Grecian troops under Xenophon, when they fought their way through Asia, and beholding the Euxine or Black Sea, shouted to each other, "Thalatta! thalatta!" (The sea! the sea!), so we, animated with the same feelings, called to each other, "New Zealand! New Zealand!" We soon reached Wellington, its capital, and a gentleman came on board, who, by telegram from my brother-in-law, very kindly acted as my cicerone in seeing all the chief parts of the city. The telegram was more convenient than the broken stick which the Greeks used in their peregrinations to their kinsfolk. Wellington is a large and populous city, situated on the extreme south of the North Island, and here is the seat of government. Here also most of the passengers left, some to proceed by a coasting steamer to Lyttleton, on the South Island. It is said that man enters this world with a sigh and ends it with a groan, and in the mutations of life and the vicissitudes of his career many minor incidents of his life begin and end in the same way. It was a sorrowful experience to leave the old country, and even more sorrowful to bid farewell to friends at Wellington, whom one may never meet again. From Lyttleton I took the train to Timaru, and arrived there on the afternoon of April 4, where my relatives awaited me, and whom I now saw after a severance of about forty years. Timaru is a town of about 8,000 inhabitants. It is in the midst of an agricultural district; has a good harbour, capable of receiving vessels of high tonnage; extensive tracts of soil surrounding it; plenty of fish on its coast and in the river near; has a fine post and telegraph office; and is altogether a thriving town. It has a horse sale every Saturday, and some excellent horses are sold at a comparatively low price. Cereals are grown, and yield magni-

ficent crops—six feet high, with an exceedingly high percentage to the acre. The people are sober and industrious, and new houses are being constantly built for new-comers, and businesses of various sorts have a thriving trade. The houses composing the streets are built of stone or brick; those on the outskirts of wood, with a veranda surrounding them, and are soon finished by diligent workmen.

There is a monument erected near the post-office to some men who were drowned in a violent storm, when two vessels were wrecked in the harbour, and also one to the troops sent from here to the Boer War who perished in their defence of the Mother Country. Their fate was analogous to the men who fell at Chæronea in the Theban War, when Philip and Alexander the Great, then a young man of eighteen, overthrew the Grecian troops, and Macedonia became the ruling power in South-eastern Europe. Demosthenes, in his reply to Æschines when he was blamed for the fatal result of the action, replied in a poem, which might be applied to the South African struggle :

“ These for their country’s arduous cause arrayed,
In arms tremendous sought the fatal plain,
Braved the proud foe with courage undismayed,
And greatly spurned dishonour’s abject chain.

“ Fair Virtue led them to the arduous strife,
Avenging terror menaced in their eyes,
For Freedom vainly prodigal of life,
Death they esteemed their common glorious prize.

“ For never to tyrannic vile domain
Could they their generous necks ignobly bend,
Or see their country drag the servile chain,
And mourn her ancient glory at an end.

“ In the kind bosom of the Colonial land,
Ceased are their toils and peaceful is their grave,
So Jove decreed, and Jove’s supreme command
Acts unresisting to destroy or save.

“ Chance to defy, and Fortune to control,
Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain ;
Their joys unchanged through ceaseless circles roll,
But mortals combat with their fate in vain.”

To go to the Antipodes and to take no notice of the Southern Cross would be reckoned an unpardonable sin, and we had the good fortune for many nights to see it ere we reached New Zealand. It is rather a small constellation of six stars, in shape like a boy's square kite, with a star at each corner, and two comprising the tail at an equal distance from each other. It is rather odd looking from its being an exact square, with the two stars as it were hanging from it, and is insignificant as compared with the northern constellation.

The great questions that were the chief topics of interest to the inhabitants of the colony from a Parliamentary point of view were the fiscal question and the liquor traffic, of which the latter was predominant ; and the people seemed very much in earnest to check the drinking habits of the working class. In October, 1888, Mr. E. W. Payton published a book—"Round About New Zealand"—and at p. 180 he says, with regard to this question: "There seems to be something very maddening about the colony ; from personal observation I am inclined to think it is the universal and excessive use of whisky which necessitates the enlargement of the great lunatic asylum on the sea cliff of the South Island. The worst characteristic of the lower-class colonists is undoubtedly their love of drink. We are accustomed to see a fair amount of drinking in England, but the beer-drinkers at home are decidedly mild compared to their Australasian brethren. Beer is used a good deal in the colonies, but the standard beverage of the steady drinker is whisky, and the quantity of the fluid that some can get through is astonishing. Drinking seems to be the one amusement of a section of the lower classes, and they are at it day and night when not in actual employment, and the money they spend in drink would seem incredible to English ears. As sure as one man meets an acquaintance whom he has not seen for a few days, or even hours, almost his first words are: 'Come and have a drink.' Treating to drink is a universal custom. When-

ever a man meets a friend there is no excuse wanted for turning into the nearest bar, as before they have been in conversation two minutes one is sure to ask the other: 'What'll you have?' Many men who can earn £3 a week and keep themselves on £1 will drink the remaining £2 regularly, and run into debt. The amount of harm done to the constitution by this excessive drinking will be better appreciated in future generations, and the amount of hard drinking one sees everywhere is a reproach to the colonies." Such is the testimony of an unbiassed witness sixteen years ago. Since then, I believe, a great advance has taken place in the outward sobriety of the colonists, as it is very rare now to see any drunkard during the day-time staggering through the streets. Prohibition, as far as it has gone, has therefore done some good, and Mr. Seddon has, I believe, done his utmost, so far as his power and influence can go, to make the population sober and industrious. Indeed, Mr. Seddon is quite a beau idéal Premier, and he is looked up to by the great majority of the New Zealanders as a statesman who will do anything in his power for the advancement, true progress, and sobriety of these islands; but we must not forget that this is one of the most difficult questions to settle at the present time. He reminds me of the character of Plato given by a writer on metaphysics, than which one would think that no two men could be more dissimilar. He says: "Though Plato was deficient in execution, he was large in design and magnificent in surmise. His pliant genius sets close to universal reality, as the sea fits in to all the sinuosities of the land. Not a shore of thought escapes his murmuring lip; over deep and over shallow he rolls on, broad, urbane, and unconcerned. To this day all philosophic truth is Plato rightly divined; all philosophic error is Plato misunderstood." To manage a Senate and give laws to the intellectual world would seem to bring two factors together impossible to be reconciled, yet the same laws of thought are exercised by the intellect in leading to a conclusive

inference and propositions which the mind may rely on as being true when tested by a severe process of logic. So in the everyday world the same kind of ratiocination may lead the politician to come to a conclusion regarding seemingly irreconcilable premisses, and evoke a true solution of an intricate and apparently insoluble problem. Such a problem may be wrought out in the management of the liquor traffic, and it is to be hoped that some means may be speedily devised to prevent the evils that arise from its abuse in producing poverty, domestic misery, and diseases which lead to a premature grave, and such a conclusion it is to be hoped that Mr. Seddon will be able to accomplish.

NOTE.—In our next issue a continuation of this paper will appear.—Ed.

THE ABSENCE OF ANGRA MAINYU FROM THE ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.*

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

THE name of Angra Mainyu appears nowhere upon those sculptures. Does this defect, then, prove that the name was not at all in vogue at the time of execution of those records, or that it was unknown to their authors, in which case the entire lore of the Avesta, even in its outlines and its connections, must have been utterly unknown even to the higher literary circles? This question is of acute interest to all Biblical critics, for if it were conceivable that the name of the great Avesta Demon-god was not known to Darius, nor to his successors, then the all-vital point of the connection of the Avesta with our Bibles would be to a certain extent obscured. The Inscriptions, as we hold, are almost an integral part of our Bibles, so to express one's self, for reasons which no intelligent person can reject; and we now wish to prove that the Inscriptions are also almost an integral part of the Avesta. We have the Edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and their successors, as reported by our Scriptural authors in Chronicles and Ezra: and we have a closely analogous one cut upon the Babylonian Vase of Cyrus, and the tablets of Behistūn, etc., which are actually in hand-workmanship, almost in handwriting, and done contemporaneously with the original authors and at their personal command. Surely no serious expositor could for a moment henceforth think of putting pen to paper upon those passages without having learned all that it was possible for him to learn about these succinct annals upon the Tablets as well as in the Avesta. So much is absolutely sure and clear beyond dispute. The Inscriptions and the Edicts are almost parts of one and the same thing,

* A question of the most immediate practical importance in the study of our Bibles.

and of the two in the eyes of critics the Inscriptions possess incalculably the greater force and claims to credence. *Is, then, the Avesta as near to the Inscriptions as the Inscriptions are near to the Edicts?* If they are, then every Bible teacher in the land may have a new source of information and illustration in his hand, which it is both his privilege and his duty to consult.

Angra Mainyu is the most important name in the Avesta next after that of Ahura Mazda. If it does not occur upon the Inscriptions because it was not known, this would certainly show that the Avesta was just in so far totally strange to the authors of the Inscriptions, and the external historical connections of expressed ideas would be most certainly broken in one at least of their catenæ. As, then, the name of the Chief Demon of the Avesta does not appear upon the Tablets, was it not, therefore, absolutely unknown to their authors and to their public? Was such an ignorance as that suggested probable? is the question before us—nay, was it possible?

THE OCCURRENCE OF THE NAME WAS INDEED TO BE EXPECTED.

There is no doubt at all that there existed very especial reasons why this name, or one very closely akin to it, should be made use of in these severe denunciations, for such many of the sentences in the Inscriptions can only be described to be.

The very diction seems to tremble with a fury, which it but half expresses in the vehemence of the writers, and in their concentrated animosities.

FIRST ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION.

My first answer is this. It is that this needed and so expected name *was substituted*, as I will shortly show below, by one immediately kindred to it, and for this we have a close analogy in the case of the work which it is our

very object to bring in as a basis of evidence. The striking Avesta name Angra Mainyu is *substituted in* the columns of the great Tablets, but so it is *also substituted* in the very Avesta texts themselves, and in places within them where we should most of all expect to see it.

ABSENCE OF THE NAME FROM LARGE SECTIONS OF THE AVESTA.

Do objectors who contravene the connection of the Inscriptions with the Avesta by urging upon us the absence of Angra Mainyu from the Inscriptions as an argument against all analogy between them and the Avesta really know what every incipient inquirer who takes any interest in these pursuits ought to know, which is that there are *lengthy passages in the Zend Avesta itself, page on page, and chapter after chapter* where that name does not occur; and this in a book of the Avesta whose very title describes it as most of all concerned with Satan's work, the Counter-devil Book,* and in parts which are almost violent in their denunciations of demoniac things? Did the authors or re-writers who gradually compiled that book from Chapter IV. to Chapter IX., 12 inclusive, nearly one hundred pages of the translation in the Sacred Books of the East, not know that there existed in some Iranian man's religious beliefs and fears any such supposititious Being as He whose name occurs in the very first Chapter, say some sixteen times, and this with an emphatic and graphic iteration which has made the passages memorable even as mere literature, the allusions in the first Chapter having been repeated by those in an immediately following one, altogether some twenty times?

DIFFERING DATES OF SECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Or shall we establish a distinction such as most necessarily prevails as to parts of Genesis and say that the two

* The Vi-d(a)ēva-dāta = Vendidad.

or more sets of composers in the Vendidad were so wide apart as to time and space that the one, the later, actually did not *know* of the other, the prior, so presenting us with an additional reason for the omission?

MULTIPLICITY OF AUTHORS, AS OF COURSE.

The Vendidad and all the rest of the Avesta except the Gāthas had authors and re-editors enough, as we need not mention; but no respected expert anywhere would think of suggesting that the re-writers of Vendidad IV. to IX., 12, which are without the name of Angra Mainyu, were not familiar with their own first chapter, striking beyond measure as it is, and this simply because they do not continue on to re-echo the revolting Chief Demon's word. How much more completely would we stultify ourselves if we reasoned from his absence from these necessarily so shortened chiselled columns!*

The name of the great Iranian Devil, which would be expected in denunciations, was omitted from the columns of the Inscriptions because it was substituted as we have said.

What was the nature of this substitution? Is it effective as an asset in my argument? Darius, to name him as the earliest of these Iranian Inscription writers, had a point of infinite significance to make, and he went straight to his mark, not dawdling over needless sounds. There was one chief work indeed of one leading Demon with which

* Angra Mainyu does not occur once in the first eight chapters of the Yasna, though these are concerned with praises; but from Yasna IX., 19, where a new section begins, the name does not occur except in the Gāthas, on to Yasna LVIII., XII., (32), where it occurs once; from there on it does not occur until Yasna LXI., Spiegel LX., is reached (SBE XXXI., from page 236 to 312). See the index, which was not my work, and which I can therefore cite the more confidently. And from Yasna LXI. to the end of Yasna it never appears. It does not seem to occur once in the Visparad, and but once in the Srōsh Yasht. It does not occur in the Haptan Yasht, nor in the Ardibehisht Yasht, nor in the Khordād Aban, nor in the Srōsh Yasht Hādōkht, nor in the Rashn Yasht, not in pp. 252-291 in Darmesteter's Yashts, SBE XXIII. (see the index).

he had to do, and he fills his Inscriptions with it. He even uses the denominative verb form. That word is *Lied*, and it reverberates in cursing tones from the granite * everywhere. We may simply claim that Angra Mainyu without the name is recalled, because the *Lie personified is his peculiar attribute*, and as personified *his chief agent* in Avesta. The Drauga of the old Persian represents that "falsehood" which is the one thing so bitterly opposed in the fierce though clumsy sentences, and the author works up its infamies, as Avesta does its sister's, for all that they are worth.

Adurujiya means literally "He did the lie," "acted druj-like." And this Drauga of Behistūn is Avesta "draogha" slightly varied, as draogha itself is but another form of "druj." And of all evil names in the entire three sections of Avesta this was the most significant and common. *Here, then, is the most emphatic Evil Word in all the Inscriptions likewise the very same and most emphatic Evil Term in all Avesta, while in this last extended lore it points out vituperatively the chief agent of the Evil God, whose name was needless upon the Inscriptions.* In the Inscriptions, as said, we have the verb-form of the name (the Druj), seldom the noun-form Drauga, and we have it everywhere. Is it likely that the authors of the Inscriptions were ignorant of an Angra Mainyu when they were making use at every column of the word which is used everywhere in Avesta to express his essential characteristic?

In the Zoroastrian Book, as on the Inscriptions, we have it at every turn where evil things come in; and in parts the repetitions become most vehement. There was nothing of the worst kind of evil, I was almost about to say, in the Avesta without the *druj* in verb, noun, or participle. Is it likely that while the Inscriptions and the Avesta are *actually one as to the very chief work of Angra Mainyu*, the author of the Inscriptions had never heard of that great God-devil, whose dreaded work—and doubtless, also, whose very name

* Or other rock of Behistūn.

—was spread from India almost, if not quite, to Greece, and by his (the author's) own mighty conquests, as by those of his predecessor? For wherever he spread the name of Auramazda, there beside it he hurled his curses upon the "Lie." See the Inscriptions throughout.

AN UNANSWERABLE FACT WHICH PROVES THAT THE AVESTA
DEVIL'S NAME WAS KNOWN TO DARIUS' GOVERNMENT.

This proof is very simple. Among the names which appear so conspicuously at Behistūn stands Raga, distinguished in the Avesta as Ragha. Here a great rebel was defeated, and events of signal political importance of course took place.* But for leagues round Raga the name of Angra Mainyu was continually uttered, while Darius' forces were still there, as no beginner anywhere can doubt. It was a *centre* of Avesta influence, and Avesta ideas were dominant; and among these the name and attributes of Angra Mainyu were bound up even with the chief ideas of Deity.

Did none of Darius' officers become conversant with the word, used frequently enough, we may be sure, by bands of the broken enemy to emphasize their fury; and this while they (Darius and his officers) were having close political business with that locality very frequently? Possibly at the very moment when the Inscriptions were being cut despatches from that province were daily coming in.

Is it, moreover, likely that a believed-in Personal Spirit, the Drauga, kindred to the Druj, who had a notorious Chief—in fact, a "separate Creator"—in Avesta, should not have had *any chief at all* in the religious scheme of the authors of the Inscriptions—a lonely sub-devil, as it were, and all without a friend; and this in a lore which was otherwise so close to the Avesta, where every angel as well as every devil has a chief? I should say that it was out of all proportion for us to suppose that there was no chieftain at

* See Behistūn.

all over this Drauga of the Inscriptions. He or she had a chief demon over him or her, as we may indeed be sure, in the Inscriptions, just as the Draogha and Druj of the Avesta had a chief—nay, the Chief par-eminence—in their related lore.

And is it, then, probable, as I submit, that this Demon Chieftain should not be the *same Angra Mainyu* who figures in the Iranian books, and whose name has lived for ages, and was early spread over all Iranian Asia, not to speak of its range in India? Recollect what has been said already upon the various terms which are common to the two compositions, all striking, as they are, and, so to speak, exceptional Avesta words, and yet so familiar to the language of the Inscriptions, and so called for within the subjects handled, that they could not even be kept out of the narrow compass of the Behistūn columns, see above.

CONCLUSION AS TO THE POINT.

Can we, therefore, avoid the conclusion that the Chief Demon of the one book was altogether known to the authors of the other writings, though often out of mind? Is it natural for us to suppose that two records which coincide in a startling manner upon the name of God and upon His character—that is to say, upon His justice, His beneficence, His grace, etc., in expressions all singularly characteristic, with the same endeared and venerated name for Him, Ahura Mazda, should differ otherwise than accidentally or mechanically upon such a subject as His notorious Counterpart, His fell and necessary Companion—nay, His very “Twin”?*

Above all, are we to suppose that not only the functionaries of Darius, but those of his entire dynasty much later on and even up to the year 358 B.C. (about), should actually have not known of the existence of such a title, a very curse-word or swear-word, sounded in anathemas throughout the entire middle north of the Empire? The supposition is not tenable.

* *Sic*; see Yasna XXX., XLV.

MR. WICKREMASINGHE'S EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA.*

BY H. C. NORMAN, B.A. (OXON.), BODEN SCHOLAR
OF SANSKRIT.

FROM the seventeenth century onwards, classical scholars have been fully alive to the fundamental importance of inscriptions, both as confirming and supplementing the accounts which have been left us by ancient historians. It would be interesting to speculate how much of scientific ancient history would be left us had its modern writers been compelled to work without the aid of the magnificent collections of Greek and Roman inscriptions which have been so carefully collected and so critically edited, or had they not had before them such monuments of bygone centuries as the tablets of the Babylonian and Assyrian Kings, the Behistûn records, and the Rosetta stone. History would have been forced to content itself with partial and fragmentary accounts, often culled at second-hand from sources of no authority. An inscription of proved authenticity, on the other hand, brings us face to face with the past and makes history a thing of life.

In no country has epigraphy opened up vistas so wide as in India and Ceylon. Anyone who has endeavoured to win some definite system of chronological sequence from only the literary documents of India knows how desperate the task is, so much so that the historical sense has been denied to exist in the Indian mind by many competent observers. One thing at least is certain, that in no Indian chronicle can we repose the confidence with which we may regard the historical works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, or even Livy. In none of these authors can we say that there prevails mere wanton myth-making for its own sake, while in avowedly historical works of Indian origin

* "Archæological Survey of Ceylon. Epigraphia Zeylanica—Lithic and other Inscriptions of Ceylon." Edited and translated by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe. Vol. I., Part I. London, 1904.

this is the preponderant characteristic. Whatever may have been the cause, whether the fatalistic tendency of the Indian philosophy or the narrow sectarianism of a Brahminical reaction, the painful fact is eternally confronting us, that of historical treatises properly so called India is entirely destitute.

All honour is therefore due to the select band of students who, stimulated by the epoch-making decipherments of the indefatigable and learned Prinsep, have brought to light so many records of a past which had seemed to be hopelessly dead for us. Since the discovery and translation of the Aśoka inscriptions, a flood of light has been thrown upon Indian history by the labours of scholars like Cunningham, Burgess, Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, Fleet, Bühler, Hoernle, Kielhorn, and Rapson. Human forms are beginning to step upon the stage of history and take the place of the misty abstractions of a chaotic mythology. Much of what was merely probable reasoning has received its confirmation, much more has received its death-blow, from the inscriptions to be found in the splendid volumes of the "*Epigraphia Indica*" and in the "*Indian Antiquary*."

It was a very happy thought on the part of the Ceylonese Government to bring out an edition of inscriptions found on the island, on the lines of the "*Epigraphia Indica*." For Ceylon, with its well-preserved continuity of Buddhistic tradition, is most important from the historical standpoint. When Buddhism by a process of senile decay had lost its hold on India, it was Ceylon especially, the foster-mother of Buddhaghosa, that preserved intact the sacred writings of the Buddhist faith. It is also round Ceylon that centre the two chronicles, the *Dipavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, which were for a long time the sole aids of scholars for the history of ancient India and Ceylon. From Ceylon, therefore, we have every reason to expect much fresh information, not only as regards Buddhism, but also as to matters Indian generally.

The task of editing such a corpus is peculiarly difficult.

There are many varieties of language and dialect ; there are many divergent alphabets. The records have in many cases been defaced or obliterated entirely by time, and the hiatus left can be filled up by conjecture only. In compensation, the Government of Ceylon has secured the services of an epigrapher, of rare industry and skill in the person of Mr. Wickremasinghe, to whose labours we owe the first instalment of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*." We doubt if anyone else so competent could have been selected to fill the post, for, in addition to a complete mastery of Sinhalese (his native tongue), the editor possesses a knowledge of Tamil, Sanskrit, Pali, and the various Prākritis, a perfect endowment for a work of this kind. When one reflects that sometimes a single line, often a single word, may require many hours for its decipherment, one can only feel amazed at the results obtained practically single-handed by the editor. Even the most cursory observer could not fail to be impressed by the labour implied in the copious index and the lengthy notes on questions of importance. And the excellent plates give one a fair idea of the difficulties involved in deciphering these "antient writings that poseth all that see them," as the old traveller Knox described them. But these difficulties are now to vanish before the perseverance of an editor, who is not only perfectly familiar with his subject, but has been well trained in the critical principles of Western scholarship.

Turning to the work itself, the first inscription is one which was found at Anurādhapura, and has been christened the Jetavanārāma Inscription. It is in Sanskrit, and its alphabet belongs to the North Indian type, of which it is the first example discovered so far south. As it approximates most closely to the Magadha Nāgarī, which was current in the ninth century A.D., the inscription may be dated at about this time. What we have is only the second half of the inscription. It is written in Sanskrit prose, and is correct in grammar and clear in style. Its

matter consists of regulations for monks and laymen dwelling under the jurisdiction of a Buddhistic monastery. One of the most interesting provisions is that which insures a regular auditing of the monastic accounts by competent persons. Other items are the determination of culpability for offences, character of residents, provisions for repairs and breach of contracts, and the constitution of a monastery, one hundred monks made up of twenty-five from each of the four great Nikāyas or fraternities. The inscription introduces to us six very uncommon words: *Pālikā*, a prescribed allowance; *Civarikā*, prescribed number of robes; *Padālāyikā*, matter of dispute; *Vārika*, a holding; *Kiri*, a measure of grain; and *Parivahana*, a lay warden. Its general interest lies in the light which it throws on the Government and constitution of a Buddhist monastery in the tenth century of our era.

We next come to a group of inscriptions found at Vessagiri in Anurādhapura, and called after the place of discovery the Vessagiri Inscriptions. The various native traditions as to the origin of the name have been well summarized by the editor. There are three classes of these inscriptions, according as they are written on caves, rocks, or slabs. The interesting fact about the cave inscriptions is that they are written in the "Brāhmī Lipi," and the following points should also be noted:

1. These are the oldest Sinhalese inscriptions yet discovered written in this character, and they contain some of the oldest types side by side with later forms.

2. Down to the close of the second century A.D. there may be traced in the old Sinhalese inscriptions a development closely similar to that which took place in India—especially Western and Central India. The editor, therefore inclines to the theory that old Sinhalese is closely allied to the dialects of Western or Central India.

Further, a comparison with the Tōnigala Inscription (B.C. 80) would point to this inscription being later than the ones before us, for we have certain letters closer to

those of the Aśoka inscriptions. The Tōnigala Inscription is more advanced and cursive, and has only one form of the *s* and *m*, while we here have two. This and other evidence may make the inscriptions as old as the famous Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In regard to phonology and grammar, there deserve to be noted the shortening of the long *a*, the deaspiration of consonants, the making single of double consonants, the loss of intermediate nasals, and the substitution of *h* for *s*, as in the genitive singular, for example. Examples of all these peculiarities have been found in India. There is also the noteworthy omission of the genitive suffix of a word in appositional or attributive relationship, which has its parallels in Sanskrit. As regards special words, we think the editor is right in taking *parumaka* as equivalent to Sanskrit *paramaka*. Professor Geiger suspects a connection with *mukha*—wrongly we think, as *pramukha* would naturally give only *pamukha*, or, by deaspiration, *pamuka*. Other interesting words are *jhita*, the old Pali form of Sanskrit *duhitā*, and the Tamil *marumakan*, a son-in-law or nephew.

The rock inscriptions contain a number of proper names, and are of not much interest. We would like to suggest that the name *Yahaṣīni* = Sanskrit *Yaśasvinī*.

Among the slab inscriptions there is a very good one of Dappula V. (A.D. 940-952). It is written in very flowery Sinhalese, and records a pious gift by that monarch of 200 kalandas. The orthography presents certain curious peculiarities in the treatment of the nasals. For the form *sanahay* the editor suggests two derivations—from *snih* and from *snā*. Phonetically that from the former is preferable. *Vatura*, a flow of water, presents difficulties, but the form *vartarūka*, found in Hemacandra has much to recommend it. The editor's note on the word *vasaga* is also deserving of careful study. The second slab has two inscriptions of Mahinda IV. (A.D. 975-991). The object is to provide with water the vihāra built by Kassapa the parricide (A.D. 479-497).

The book concludes with the Abhayagiri copper-plate inscription in North Indian Nāgarī of the second half of the tenth century.

Although the contents of the work may seem to the inexperienced eye somewhat meagre, we should like to insist on the fact that it is quality, and not quantity, of work which a discriminating critic will lay stress upon. We repeat that, considering the great difficulties which he has had to overcome, Mr. Wickremasinghe has performed a signal service to Indian studies, and we confidently look forward to more work of the same kind from him. We cannot conclude without a word of praise for the format of the work, which reflects the utmost credit upon the Clarendon Press and Messrs. Griggs. Everything has been done in the most beautiful and exact manner, and we trust that the Ceylon Government will vigorously continue the work which they have so wisely begun.

TOLERATION IN ISLAM :

THE CHARTER OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD TO THE
CHRISTIANS, AND THAT OF THE CALIPH ALI TO
THE PARSEES.*

BY ABDULLAH AL-MÂMÛN AL-SUHRAWARDY.

IT is an irony of fate that Islam, the only religion that derives its name from a word signifying "peace," "perfection," and "self-surrender," is identified in the popular mind with the sword, with aggression, and with self-assertion. Perhaps the smouldering fire of fierce hatred and undying animosity kindled in the bosom of Christendom during the dark days of the Crusades is at the root of the prejudice which associates Islam with bloodshed, and sometimes blinds even scholars to its merits as a humanizing agency. Nevertheless, it is a faith which has made, more than any other, for the unity and solidarity of the human race and the diffusion of a truly humanitarian spirit. It has been justly remarked† that in a comparatively rude age, when the world was immersed in darkness, moral and social, Muhammad preached those principles of equality which are only half-realized in other creeds, and promulgated laws which, for their expansiveness and nobility of conception, would bear comparison with the records of any faith. "Islam," says David Urquhart, "offered its religion, but never enforced it; and the acceptance of that religion conferred co-equal rights with the conquering body, and emancipated the vanquished States from the conditions which every conqueror, since the world existed up to the period of Muhammad, had invariably imposed." The "democratic thunder" of the Hermit of Hira was the signal of the uprise of the human intellect against the tyranny

* Read at the Second International Congress of the Histories of Religions held at Bâle, August, 1904.

† *The Spirit of Islam*, by Ameer Ali.

of priests and rulers. In "that world of wrangling creeds and oppressive institutions," where the human soul was crushed under the weight of unintelligible dogmas, and the human body trampled under the tyranny of vested interests, he broke down the barriers of caste and exclusive privileges. He swept away with his breath the cobwebs which self-interest had woven in the path of man to God. He abolished all exclusiveness in man's relations to his Creator. "His thoroughly democratic conception of the Divine government, the universality of his religious ideal, his simple humanity, all affiliate him," says Johnson, "with the modern world."

Islam is the only religion in the world that can boast of having freed its followers from the thralldom of a priesthood, in itself no small claim to the gratitude of mankind. Perfect equality reigns in the mosque, no distinction being made in the house of God between the rich and the poor, the white and the black.

As a Muslim may be naturally suspected of partiality or exaggeration, I have preferred in this paper to quote the opinions of non-Muslim scholars, and to place before the audience facts which speak for themselves.

In the twentieth century the Christian nations have so fully realized the equality and brotherhood of man that democratic America, "whilst professing to believe that the God they worship incarnated Himself in the form of a dark man," nevertheless delights in roasting alive a Christian negro for marrying a Christian white woman. Even in this age of enlightenment, cultured Europe, bending in adoration before the image of the Great Jew, pursues His kinsmen with an unrelenting hatred that knows no abatement even when, abjuring his sublime and simple creed, the spurned Semite swallows the dogmas of Christianity. Let us, however, draw a veil over the valiant deeds of the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, and listen to the testimony of a non-Muslim to the fraternal force of the creed of Muhammad.

"The brotherhood of all Muslims is one of the strongest influences that make for the propagation of the faith. Islam is a kind of caste or freemasonry. Once you are admitted to it, you are the equal before God of everyone else within it, and the superior of all outside it. Mr. Meredith Townsend has noted the effect of this brotherhood upon the Hindu convert. 'The missionaries of Islam,' he writes, 'did not and do not ask him to abandon caste, but only to exchange his caste for theirs, the largest, the most strictly bound, and the proudest of all, a caste which claims not only a special relation to God, but the right of ruling absolutely the remainder of mankind. Once in this caste, the Hindu convert would be the brother of all within it, hailed as an equal, and treated as an equal, even up to that point on which European theories of equality always break down, the right of intermarriage. John Brown, who died gladly for the negro slave, would have killed his daughter rather than see her marry a negro; but the Muslim will accept the negro (Muslim) as son-in-law, as friend, or as King.' Is there anyone of us who would do the like for an Armenian Christian, let alone a negro? This theory—but it is more than theory—this *fact* of the brotherhood and equality of all Muslims is a most powerful element in Islam. It gives each member a dignity and independence and self-respect which it were hard to find in any other system" (Stanley Lane-Poole).

Destroying root and branch all "colour and race questions," Islam has established a vast confraternity, stretching from the pillars of Hercules to the Great Wall of China. This is an example of tolerance at home, a lesson which Christianity has yet to learn. But the tolerant spirit of Islam, though beginning at home, flows far beyond its pale, and despite the time-worn thesis of "the Koran and the Sword," we have ample evidence of its humane treatment of the professors of other creeds. The conquering Muslims never offered the alternative of the "Koran or the Sword." They required from others a simple guarantee of peace and amity, tribute in return for protection, or perfect equality—the possession of equal rights and privileges on condition of the acceptance of Islam. Muhammad did not merely preach toleration: he embodied it into a law. To all conquered nations he offered liberty of worship. A nominal tribute, and that, too, in lieu of military service, was the only compensation they were required to pay for the observance and enjoyment of the faith. Once the tax or tribute was agreed upon, every interference with their religion or the liberty of

conscience was regarded as a direct contravention of the laws of Islam. Christians and Jews, as a rule, have never been molested in the exercise of their religion, or constrained to change their faith. If they are required to pay a special tax (*jizyah*) in lieu of military service, it is but right that those who enjoy the protection of the State should contribute in some shape to the public burdens. The expulsion or extermination of the Jews of Medinah was the result of political necessity, brought about by their constant seditiousness, and not that of religious bigotry and fanaticism. Proselytism by the sword was wholly contrary to the instincts of Muhammad, and wrangling over creeds his abhorrence. Repeatedly he exclaims, "Why wrangle over that which you know not? Try to excel in good works. When you shall return to God, He will tell you about that in which you have differed."

The essence of the political character of Islam is to be found in the charter granted to the Jews by the Prophet after his arrival in Medinah, and the notable message sent to the Christians of Najrân and the neighbouring territories after Islam had fully established itself in Arabia. This latter document has, for the most part, furnished the guiding principle to all Muslim rulers in their mode of dealing with their non-Muslim subjects, and if they have departed from it in any instance the cause is to be found in the character of the particular sovereign.* This guarantee of the Prophet runs as follows :

"To (the Christians of) Najrân and the neighbouring territories, the security of God and the pledge of His Messenger are extended for their lives, their religion, and their property—to the present, as well as to the absent and others besides, there shall be no interference with (the practice of) their faith or their observances, nor any change in their rights or privileges ; no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric, nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his priesthood, and they shall continue to enjoy everything great and small as heretofore ; no image or cross shall be destroyed ; they shall not oppress or be oppressed ; they shall not practise the rights of blood-vengeance as in the Days of

* *The Spirit of Islam*, chap. vii.

Ignorance ; no tithes shall be levied from them, nor shall they be required to furnish provisions for the troops" (Balazuri, "*Futûh-al-Buldân*," p. 65 ; also Imâm Abu Yusuf, "*Kitâb-al-Khirâj*," p. 84).

We are told that about the year 6 of the Hegirah, the Prophet granted to the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine, near Mount Sinai, and to all Christians, a charter which has been designated as one of the noblest monuments of enlightened tolerance that the history of the world can produce. The whole charter, with a Latin translation, was given to Europe in 1630 by Gabriel Sionita (British Museum, 63, 1, 16). The Latin version differs, in places, from the Arabic original, but even in the Latin translation the charter displays a marvellous breadth of view and liberality of conception. It is binding on all the Muslims, "sovereign or other Muslims, wherever they be, till the day of judgment." It was transcribed by Muâwiyah, son of Abû Sufyân, at the dictation of the Prophet, on Monday the last day of the fourth month of the fourth year of the Hijrah (Hegirah), and therefore, of course, in Medinah. It bears the name of thirty-five witnesses, leading "companions" of the Prophet, like Abû Bakr, Omar, Othman, Ali, etc.

By it the Prophet secured to the Christians privileges and immunities which they did not possess even under sovereigns of their own creed ; and declared that any Muslim violating and abusing what was therein ordered should be regarded as a violator of God's testament, a transgressor of His commandments, and a slighter of His faith. He undertook himself, and enjoined on his followers, to protect the Christians, to defend their churches, the residences of their priests, and to guard them from all injuries. They were not to be unfairly taxed ; no Bishop was to be driven out of his bishopric ; no Christian was to be forced to reject his religion ; no monk was to be expelled from his monastery ; no pilgrim was to be detained from his pilgrimage ; nor were the Christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building houses or mosques for the Muslims. Christian women married to Muslims were

to enjoy their own religion, and not to be subjected to compulsion or annoyance of any kind on that account. If the Christians should stand in need of assistance for the repair of their churches or monasteries, or any other matter pertaining to their religion, the Muslims were to assist them. This was not to be considered as taking part in their religion, but as merely rendering them assistance in their need, and complying with the ordinances of the Prophet which were made in their favour by the authority of God and of His Apostle. Should the Muslims be engaged in hostilities with outside Christians, no Christian resident among the Muslims should be treated with contempt on account of his creed. Any Muslim so treating a Christian "should be accounted recalcitrant to the Prophet." That the Muslims for a long time adhered to the terms of this charter is best evidenced by the following extract from a letter of the Jacobite patriarch, Jesujab III., a contemporary of the third Caliph, addressed to Simeon, the Metropolitan of Ravarshir and Primate of Persia* :

"Alas, alas! Out of so many thousands who bore the name of Christians, not even one single victim was consecrated unto God by the shedding of his blood for the true faith. Where, too, are the sanctuaries of Kirman and all Persia? . . . And the *Taji* (Arabs), to whom God at this time has given the empire of the world, behold, they are among you, as ye know well: and yet they attack not the Christian faith, but, on the contrary, they favour our religion, do honour to our priests and the saints of the Lord, and confer benefits on churches and monasteries. Why, then, have your people of Merv abandoned their faith for the sake of these Arabs? and that, too, when the Arabs, as the people of Merv themselves declare, have not compelled them to leave their own religion" (Assemani, "Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana," tom. iii., Pars Prima, pp. 130, 131).

The British Museum has another interesting document (14,144, i. 3), supposed to be granted by the Caliph Ali to Azarbad Mahr Isfand Behramshad b. Kheradroos, and to the whole Parsee nation. Mr. Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the translator of this document into Gujerati, has collected collateral evidences to the same effect from other Persian sources. Amongst other works he mentions the "Habib-

* *The Preaching of Islam*, by T. W. Arnold.

al-Siyar," the "Manāḳib-i-Murtazavi," and the "Jila-al-'Oyūn," as containing the testament. I regret that I have no time to compare and check the references.

The Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, vol. i. (p. 75, No. 169), refers to the above charter in the following terms :

"Three documents of historical interest, in Arabic with Persian paraphrase, viz. :

"1. A deed or *Ahdnama* of the Prophet, addressed to Mahdi Faruh b. Shakhsān, the brother of the well-known Salmān the Persian, written by Ali b. Abū Tālib on a red skin.

"2. A letter of the Caliph Ali to the Parsee high-priest Bahramshāh, written by Ali's son, Husain, A.H. 39 (A.C. 659,660).

"3. The letter of emancipation by which the Prophet declared Salmān the Persian, whom he had bought from a Jew, Uthman b. Ashhal, to be free."

On folios 418*a* and 419*b* is an interesting account of the discovery of these documents according to the Tārīkh-i-Barguzidah, in a library at Surat, A.H. 1064 (A.C. 1,654), by the Parsee Nana Bha, son of Punjiya, son of Piyan. This is a free rendering of the testament :

"I give you security of person, property, family and children, and give you the pledge of God and the guarantee (*Zimmah*) of His Messenger Muhammad, and I command such of the company of the faithful as are invested with the government of provinces, the strivers in the path of God, etc., and are obedient to God and His Messenger, to protect you, to defend you, to deal gently with you, to do good to you, and to guard you against oppression. I exempt you, your children and your posterity from the payment of the poll-tax (*jizyah*), and that of the tithes (*Sadakah*) on your cattle. I give you free hand in the management of your places of worship and the lands and property, etc., dedicated to them, and in the building of such as stand in need of repair. I confirm the custom prevalent amongst you. . . . Wherefore it is incumbent on the faithful, men and women, the Muslims, men and women, to guard the interests of Behram the Magian (which are his due) according to the custom prevalent amongst them, and not to change their rights and privileges or any covenant with them ; to honour the noble and to pardon the evil-doer amongst them ; never to demand poll-tax (*jizyah*) from them or from their posterity ; and not to

subject them to compulsion on account of their religion, as God says, 'There is no compulsion in matters of faith: right is plainly distinguishable from wrong!' Let the generality of Muslims know that this is my command, and let them hearken to my testament with respect to them (the Parsees), and their posterity whether they embrace Islam or remain in their faith. Whoever accepts my orders for him the goodwill of God and His Messenger, whoever disobeys opposes me and incurs the displeasure of God and His Messenger. Peace be unto you, and may God have mercy on you. Given in the month of Rajab, A.H. 39."

It may be urged that this testament is a forged document. For reasons which I cannot give here I am inclined to favour the view that it is a forgery. But at the same time I venture to think that there must have existed, at least in the memory of the Muslims, a genuine document of this nature, whose existence, actual or reputed, inspired these forgeries. "The blood of the Zimmi is like the blood of the Muslim," is a saying of Ali's. In a letter to Mâlik-al-Ashtar, Governor of Egypt, concerning the government of that country, the Caliph Ali urges him "to let his heart feel mercy, love, and gentleness for the subjects," and exhorts him "not to be unto them a ferocious beast of prey, deeming it a splendid opportunity to devour them; for they are of two sorts—*either thy brethren in faith or thy equal in creation*" (British Museum, 14,555, b. 18).

It is not improbable that this humane and chivalrous Caliph, "the Gate of the City of Knowledge," who had thoroughly assimilated the teachings of the Master, granted such a charter to the kinsmen of his daughter-in-law, a document not in the least contrary to the spirit of Islam. But I am sure the learned Dastur, Rustomji Edulji Sanjana, will be able to throw more light on the subject.

We need not, however, rely on these documents to prove the tolerant spirit of Islam. The opinions of some non-Muslim scholars,* not wholly free from the influence of the "Koran and the Sword" theory, are worth quoting:

"Les musulmans sont les seuls enthousiastes qui aient uni l'esprit de tolerance avec le zèle du prosélytisme, et qui, en prenant les armes, pour propager la doctrine de leur prophète, aient permis à ceux qui ne

* Quoted by J. La Beaume in his *Le Koran Analysé*.

voulaient pas la recevoir de rester attachés aux pratiques de leur culte" (Robertson : " Histoire de Charles Quint ").

" Le Koran, qui commande de combattre la religion avec l'épée est tolérant pour les religieux. Il a exempté de l'impôt les patriarches, les moines, et leurs serviteurs. Mohammed défendit spécialement à ses lieutenants de tuer les moines, parceque ce sont des hommes de prière. Quand Omar, s'empara de Jérusalem, il ne fit aucun mal aux chrétiens. Quand les croisés se rendirent maîtres de la ville sainte, ils massacrèrent sans pitié les musulmans et brûlèrent les juifs " (Michaud : " Histoire des Croisades ").

" Il est triste pour les nations chrétiennes que la tolérance religieuse, qui est la grande loi de charité de peuple à peuple leur ait été enseignée par les musulmans. C'est un acte de religion que de respecter la croyance d'autrui et de ne pas employer la violence pour imposer une croyance " (L'Abbé Michou, " Voyage religieux en Orient ").

Turning to the Koran, that pure fountain-head of Islam, we find it abounding in passages breathing the spirit of justice, humanity, and love. I do not want to burden my paper with quotations from the Koran, but I may be permitted to cite a few texts.

" Verily," says the Koran, " those who believe (the Muslims) and those who are Jews, Christians, or Sabæans, whoever hath faith in God and the last day (future existence), and worketh that which is right and good, for them shall be the reward with their Lord ; there will come no fear on them ; neither shall they be grieved."

The same sentiment is repeated in similar words in the fifth Sûrah, and a hundred other passages prove that Islam does not confine " salvation " to the followers of Muhammad alone :

" To every one have we given a law and a way. . . . And if God had pleased, He would have made you all (all mankind) one people (people of one religion). But He hath done otherwise, that He might try you in that which He hath severally given unto you : wherefore press forward in good works. Unto God shall ye return, and He will tell you that concerning which ye disagree."

" It would appear," says F. F. Arbuthnot, " that Muhammad really hoped to establish one religion, acknowledging one God and a future life, and admitting that the earlier prophets had emanated from God as apostles or messengers. The world was too young and too ignorant in Muhammad's

time to accept such an idea. It may, however, be accepted some day when knowledge overcomes prejudice. Nations* may have different habits, manners, and customs, but the God they all worship is one and the same."

All lovers of humanity yearning for a deeper and wider brotherhood of mankind earnestly hope that the day is not far distant, and with the dawn of that day shall begin the conflict between Ahriman and Ormuzd, between light and darkness, between the worshippers of mind and those of matter, between physics and metaphysics, and after a deadly struggle the fittest shall survive. In the meanwhile let us say, in the words of the Koran :

" Verily they who believe (Muslims), and the Jews, and the Sabæans, and the Christians, and the Magians, and those who join other gods with God (heathens), verily God shall decide between them on the day of Return : verily God is witness over all things.

" Seest thou not that all in the heavens and all on the earth adoreth God ? The sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and the beasts, and many among men " (xxii. 17).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Tuesday, December 13, 1904, a paper was read by Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., on "The Progress of the Punjab." Sir James Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair. Amongst those present were : Sir William Vincent, Bart., Sir George Young, Bart., Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., General Sir A. R. Badcock, K.C.B., C.S.I., Major-General Sir A. J. F. Reid, K.C.B., I.C.S., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Major-General R. Wace, C.B., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Raizada Hans Raj, Colonel Oswald Menzies, Colonel Loch, C.I.E., Colonel Dyson Lawrie, Colonel B. Chamney Graves, Major C. M. Dallas, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Lesley Probyn, C.M.G., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mrs. Glass, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. and Mrs. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. B. Gangoly, Miss Webster, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Miss Sheepshanks, Mr. Dost Mahomad, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. G. M. Young, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. Naranjun Hosein, Mr. Turton Smith, Mr. Hormuz, Mr. S. H. Ahmad, Mr. H. G. Hart, Mr. H. Hebbert, Mr. T. W. Smythe, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Richard E. Kennedy, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN said that when Sir Mackworth Young asked him to take the chair, he did not ask why he had been chosen instead of some more conspicuous person, supposing it was because they had been schoolboys together, and afterwards, for some thirty years, brother officers in the Punjab, where their work often brought them into very close relations. Whereas he himself left Eton early, Sir Mackworth stayed on until he became the head boy of that famous old school, and then from Cambridge passed through the open competition examination into the Indian Civil Service, and so followed him to the Punjab. Sir Mackworth could claim a most thorough knowledge of the province, having served in it in various offices, and in every office he held he had shown courage, energy, and ability, finishing as Lieutenant-Governor. The sincere goodwill to the people which he showed, and his combination of plain-speaking with great courtesy, had made him popular with all classes of Punjabis, and he was confident that anything Sir Mackworth could tell them about the Punjab would deserve their careful attention.

The paper was then read.*

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

The CHAIRMAN, observing that Sir Mackworth had given to his paper the title of "The Progress of the Punjab," said he had shown in the paper a very considerable amount of progress under certain heads. For example, in irrigation and colonization the Punjab showed more striking progress in the period under review than all the rest of India put together. In education, too, there had been great progress, both in university education and other kinds. The establishment of the Local Legislative Council was also an item of decided progress, and it was satisfactory to know that the Council had begun well by passing three local Acts, which were said to be useful. He agreed with Sir Mackworth Young that the time had come when the right of interpretation should be granted to the local Council. As had been seen, higher education had greatly progressed, and it was his own opinion that amongst the uneducated portion of the Punjab population there was an amount of common-sense and openness of mind such as was not to be found in other parts of India. Having been sent out to India in 1898 as President of the Commission to inquire into the famine, and to compare the methods of relief used in the different provinces, and give an opinion and comparison of the results, he could only say that the Commission considered that the system of relief adopted in the Punjab was much in advance of anything that had previously been seen in the province, and that Sir Mackworth Young's arrangements were good and liberal without being wasteful and more efficient in saving life than the measures taken in other provinces. At the same time, he must say it was easier to save the Punjabi than the Madrasi or native of any other province. The Punjabi helped one by trying to help himself. He would not say anything about the plague operations, feeling quite unable to oppose a man of Sir Mackworth Young's authority, who had had to conduct operations on a very large scale; but having been in India during the plague, and having watched the operations in more than one province, his idea was—and this idea the Government of India eventually adopted—that it was not expedient to push the operations further than they could get the consent of the people to them, and he doubted very much whether, if it had been necessary to introduce such operations into the houses of Europeans either in India or any other country, they would have tolerated them any more than the Indians did. With regard to the passing of the Punjab Alienation Act by the Imperial Legislature, he could not agree with Sir Mackworth that it was a retrogressive measure, nor share in the gloomy results he anticipated. He was of opinion that there had been a great danger which had called for immediate legislation, and that it was better on the whole that that legislation should be strong, as it could always be relaxed if it should be found necessary. As to Sir Mackworth's remark that the land hunger so prevalent in the Punjab proved that agriculture was an exceedingly good business, he thought that argument could easily be pushed too far, as land hunger was a remarkable feature of the state of society in Ireland at its very worst time. The fact was, as Sir Mackworth Young pointed out elsewhere, that the village industries were mostly being killed out by imports from England and by manufactures established in the towns; people were thus thrown back upon the land, having, in

fact, no alternative but service. The only other point he wished to touch upon was the measure known as the Separation of the Frontier and the threatened transfer of the Sikh States from the control of the Punjab Government to the direct control of the Government of India. The Province of the Punjab, as first established, was a very small province if regarded merely from the point of view of the revenue and population of the British districts; but this was made up for by the great importance of the political charge attached to it. Beginning from the south-east, there was the important State of Bhawalpur; then there were the great Sikh States with a very large population; then the Rajput States of the hills, and the Sutlej and trans-Sutlej States; then the great dominions of Jammu and Kashmir, and so on towards Swat and Afghanistan; and last, but not least, all along the western frontier the political province had the control of our relations with the border tribes. Jammu and Kashmir were taken away by the Government of India in Lord Lytton's time. Now the border tribes had gone, and with them all but one of the frontier districts. Truly, the Punjab seemed to be a pitifully small charge compared with what it was, and if the Sikh States should be taken away, what would remain? Besides the very strong practical reasons which Sir Mackworth Young had given against such a transfer, there was this to be said: that under the circumstances it was the time to pile more work upon the Government of the Punjab, and to take off work from the Government of India rather than the contrary. They could not always expect to get at the head of the Government of India a man with supernatural power of work and quickness of perception, and with an average man the work would tend to become a Government of departments, a bad government everywhere, and particularly unsuitable for India. It could, he thought, be plainly shown that the separation of the frontier had followed upon a change of policy in respect of the border tribes, not upon any failure of the Government of the Punjab to carry out the charge originally committed to them. After annexation the policy or theory which prevailed, and was accepted both by the Government of India and by the Amir, was that the country of these independent or semi-independent border tribes across the frontier was *de jure* the territory of the Amir, but as he had practically no control, it was necessary that our Government should have direct relations with them for the purpose of preventing or punishing raids or outrages, and making arrangements for peaceful intercourse and trade. That work, so far as regarded tribes close to the frontier, was entrusted to the Punjab Government—of course, under the supervision of the Government of India. Other questions relating to the semi-independent tribes further off from the frontier were outside the Punjab province, and were managed directly by the Government of India, though the Punjab Government was often consulted. If that policy had remained the policy of the Government of India, he was quite sure they would never have heard of the separation of the frontier from the Punjab. The policy of Lord Lytton was mainly influenced by military considerations, and its object was to apportion our influence as far as we could amongst the semi-dependent tribes, and to bring a wide belt of country within our

political boundary. He himself was opposed to this advance—(hear, hear)—as was, he thought, every Lieutenant-Governor who preceded him, except perhaps one. But soon after he left the province he found that this object had actually been secured, and that Sir Mortimer Durand had obtained from the Amir an agreement which included a very large tract of country within our political boundary, and after that it was, he thought, no longer of any use to oppose such a measure; he thought that it had to come. He was not, however, sure that the civil administration, though rougher and less developed, of the Chief Commissioner would not suit those districts, on the whole, as well as the Punjab system. The Punjab system of police and criminal procedure had proved inefficient to prevent murder and other crimes of revenge in most of the frontier districts, and had had to be supplemented by a very rough and precarious system, which he had always felt it would be rather difficult to work continuously in what might be called a regular province, where High Courts and lawyers must necessarily play a very important part.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that in the presence of so large a body of Punjabis—which seemed almost like a meeting in the Hall at Lahore—he did not like to be absolutely silent. It was long since he had left Lahore, but he wished to express general concurrence with what Sir Mackworth Young had said about the separation of the frontier from the Punjab. As many Punjabis present would know, he had, in a memorandum to which the lecturer had referred, strongly defended the policy of retaining within this progressive province Trans-Indus districts which were backward, and whose chief prospect of development lay in continued union with the Punjab. To-day, in the changed condition of frontier affairs and a swift advance towards the Indian frontier by Russia, he did not think that Punjabis, from any mere sentiment, should desire to separate the military arrangements of the Punjab border from the general defensive scheme of the Indian Empire. The Punjab must and will remain the shield and sword of India, both by its strategical position and the martial qualities of its inhabitants, and no desire to keep the districts beyond the Indus connected with the province, so as to insure their social and economical prosperity, should at all interfere with the great and absolutely vital question of Imperial defence. If the time had come when the defence of the frontier should rightly be taken from the Local Government which had done the work far more efficiently and cheaply than it had been since done by the Imperial Government, he still thought the plain country Trans-Indus should have been left under the enlightened control of the Punjab Government. With that exception he agreed entirely with what had been said in the paper, but he wished to give to the meeting one idea which should be considered by Englishmen. The Punjab being the natural defence of India, unless it were held securely, and unless its whole adult warlike population were included within our armed force, we should always be exposed to anxiety and danger from without. No doubt many of those present had read the second article on "A Warning from Manchuria," which appeared a few days ago in the *Times*—a very remarkable paper, and in its essence correct, though he

could point to some parts of it where the writer had not been altogether accurately informed. The position on the Punjab frontier and in India generally was much stronger than the *Times* made out to be the case. But it was to be remembered that the warlike population of the Punjab and North India was very limited. If it were unlimited, India might be considered invulnerable; for, as he had often said, the best of the warlike tribes—Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Goorkhas, and the Punjabi Muhammadans—led by British officers, were quite equal to, or the superiors of, the ordinary troops of the best of the European armies that could be brought against them. He knew of no better soldiers in the world than the Indian soldiers led by officers in whom they had full confidence. We heard a great deal nowadays of the Japanese, who were most gallant men and inspired by a most heroic spirit; but if Indian soldiers should find themselves in equally tight places, and with equally gallant foes against them, he did not believe that they would be found in the least inferior to the Japanese. This they had often proved, and he had seen no light cavalry in the whole of Europe which he considered superior to the irregular cavalry regiments of Hindustan. For that reason he regretted the great diffusion of the strength of the Sikhs, their employment as soldiers and police in Hongkong, Singapore, and Central Africa and elsewhere. He would like to see them more largely employed in the Indian army itself, and the time may have come when, with advantage, the policy of the Government might be reconsidered—not changed suddenly, but reconsidered—as regarded the warlike races of Northern India, and a shorter period of military service enjoined, so as to pass a larger number of them through the regular army, and so to create a very much larger reserve. The number of Sikhs being not more than 2,000,000 or 3,000,000, we could not afford to throw away any of this most valuable material by leaving it untrained and unarmed. He held that every adult Sikh or Goorkha should be a trained soldier in the regular army or in the reserve. They deserved our fullest confidence. Sir Mackworth Young had spoken most eloquently and well of the Imperial Service troops, but he wished to dissent from his attribution of this great scheme to Lord Dufferin. He claimed that the Punjab Government, of which he was then the Chief Secretary, initiated the scheme long before Lord Dufferin set foot in India at all. In 1878, at the time of the first Afghan War, the Punjab Government sent troops to the frontier from Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthala, Bahawalpore, and Nahan, and a great many of the smaller chiefs were exceedingly disappointed because it was held that their troops were not good enough to be sent. Two years later the Punjab State troops were holding long lines of communication within the Afghan territory, and did excellent service. Although this Imperial scheme had been much improved and developed, the initiation of it was with the Punjab Government, and it was accepted by Lord Lytton, with whom he had often talked it over, and before his time with Lord Napier. Let the Punjab Government, therefore, have the credit of originating the idea of Imperial Native State troops, because it justly belonged to them.

MR. THORBURN thought that what Punjabis, whether English or native, most resented were the methods by which the detachment of the Pathan

frontier districts had been carried out rather than the separation itself. With regard to the Land Alienation Act, he was more in agreement with Sir James Lyall than with Sir Mackworth Young. He was sorry to know that the latter was still opposed to the Act, and anticipated that it would not work advantageously for Punjab landowners. So far from the view that the measure was undertaken, as Sir Mackworth had said, "in the interests of the few, and those few the less sturdy of our land-holders," being the true one, Mr. Thorburn held that when the Act was passed there was a general consensus of belief, supported by established facts, that the new departure was forced upon the Government by the necessities and miserable plight of the great mass of peasant right-holders of the province. When the Bill was before the Legislative Council of the Government of India, Sir Mackworth himself had very correctly described what its object was—viz., "to provide a corrective for our own acts, and to mitigate the almost revolutionary effects of British rule upon land tenures in the Punjab." As to those acts we, in the first place, substituted for elasticity of demand fixed assessments—a certain sum to be paid twice a year on every acre cultivated, whether it bore a crop or not. Then, further, we gradually built up an immense edifice of hard, technical laws, and flooded the country with law-courts and lawyers. As to the effects at the time that the Act was passed, fully one-third of the peasantry of the province were either seriously or inextricably involved in debt, most of them to professional money-lenders, and from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent., according to local circumstances, had lost either the whole or a large part of their hereditary holdings, the alienees being mostly money-lenders. While about 12,000,000 of the people of the Punjab were Muhammadans, the other 10,000,000 were Hindus, and the Muhammadans were certainly less sturdy as agriculturists than the Hindus. It was chiefly to save the former and the less favourably circumstanced of the latter from further expropriation that the Act was passed. In almost all countries in the world where the agricultural masses were poor, ignorant, and illiterate, the money-making classes, astute and educated, and the laws framed as if the whole people were homogeneous and business-minded, the few exploited the many. If that was true generally, it was most true in the Punjab, with its clashing creeds and opposition of interests and intelligences; hence, to end a process caused by "our system," which was ruining the majority of the peasantry, the Land Alienation Act was passed. He knew something about it, because during the best part of his service he had striven to induce the authorities of the day to reform what he considered to be a wrong system of Government, and he was happy to say, though the change was effected immediately after his retirement, that the largest portion of the reforms he had so long advocated had been already carried out. The remaining portions—the simplification of the laws and law courts, and the elastization of the land revenue system—would, he was convinced, yet be effected. He admitted that it was probably the case, as Sir Mackworth had said, that the Land Alienation Act operated to slightly depreciate the market value of land, and to restrict the amount of capital applied to the land in the way of permanent improvements; but what were those draw-

backs compared with the great gain of retaining for the peasant proprietary the land as their own, instead of letting them sink into the position of serfs of money-lenders? It should be remembered that an agricultural country's prosperity did not depend so much upon the gross volume of the output as upon the contentment of the people, and contentment was impossible without the due diffusion of the products of the country amongst the masses of its peasantry.

MR. MARTIN WOOD asked the amount of net revenue contributed by the Punjab to the Treasury, exclusive of military expenditure, which could only be taken for the whole of the country.

The CHAIRMAN said he could not himself give the information, nor was it mentioned in the paper.

RAIZADA HANS RAJ, of Jullander, said he could endorse the statement of the President as to the popularity of Sir Mackworth Young. With regard to the Alienation Act, he complained that no attention was paid to Indian views or to the views of Sir Mackworth Young, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at that time. The Government wanted to pass the Act, and they did pass it. As regarded the education question, he was very much pleased with Sir Mackworth's review of it. He predicted, however, that the number of graduates would not continue to increase, as the Act which the Government had passed would have the effect of stopping a good many schools and colleges. It was well known in the room that the Punjabis had not very much money to give to colleges of high standing, while there were many schools open to give education to the poorer classes. But by this Bill they would all be closed and education would be stopped, so that the number of graduates would not be the same. With regard to the remarks of Sir Lepel Griffin as to the Sikhs, they were no doubt the bravest and best fighting men of which the world could boast. He quite agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin then as to the superiority of the Sikhs over the Japs, and wanted to know from Sir Lepel Griffin how far the loyal services of the Sikhs were appreciated by the Government. The Japs could very well boast of showing to the world men like Togo and Kuroki, whilst the Sikhs are not promoted to the rank of a Lieutenant even. He thanked Sir Mackworth Young for paying compliments to the Indian press, but was sorry to remark that the same views were not held by the Government of India, as is evident from the fact that the liberty of the press has been taken by passing the Secret Act.

SHEIKH ABDUL QADIR, of the *Observer*, Lahore, said he was diffident in speaking of the progress of the Punjab after the admirable address of Sir William Mackworth Young and the remarks of their Chairman, who were authorities on the subject, and in whose hands the administration of the province had rested for such a long time, but he wished to voice the sentiments of his people with regard to some of the questions touched upon. He was glad to notice that Sir Mackworth Young had given the first place to the important question of the separation of the frontier—a question which, notwithstanding its importance, was ignored at the time when it was settled by the press and by the people. It was surprising that a measure of such great significance for the future should have been quietly

passed and put into action. It was clear from the lecture that neither the Government nor people of the province had been consulted ; nor, so far as he was aware, had the people of the frontier had their say on the matter. If any part of India was voiceless in the true sense of the term, it was that part which was now separated under the description of the North-Western Province. As regarded administration, the change that had come about was, in his opinion, for the worse, and even peace was not in any way more assured than it used to be under the old administration. He remembered, when riding one evening in a part of Peshawar close to the boundary of the Indian Penal Code, being, by the police inspector in charge, told that he was acting unwisely in venturing out after dark, and was provided with an escort back within the limits of the cantonment. By one stroke of the pen the people had been deprived of many privileges which they had long enjoyed—for instance, the right of appealing against decisions which were considered unsatisfactory had been considerably curtailed. But, as Sir Lepel Griffin had observed, they did not wish to stand in the way of a measure of great Imperial importance, if the fact was established that this measure was really necessary in Imperial interests. If that fact were not established, the voice of authorities on the frontier provinces and the Punjab, like those present, who have filled offices of the greatest responsibility and thoroughly know the country, should have due weight with the Government of India.

With regard to plague regulations, no doubt at first the people of India misunderstood the policy of the Government, but the sensible portion of the population soon came to understand the good of it, and a large number of influential and leading men came forward to co-operate with and to strengthen the hands of the Government. It was only the regrettable mishap at Malkoval, coupled with the subsequent secrecy of the report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the affair, that stopped the progress of anti-plague measures in the Punjab.

As to Sir William Mackworth's appreciative allusions to the zeal of the Punjab people in the cause of education, and his remarks to the effect that the British people had placed in the hands of the Indians weapons which they might, if they chose, use against the British, he would only say he was sure that the people who had been entrusted with those weapons valued the confidence placed in them, and would prove themselves fully deserving of it.

COLONEL YATE said that, not having been in the Punjab Administration, he did not come within the category of those qualified to speak, yet having heard Sheikh Abdul Qadir bemoan the separation of the frontier province, and the loss of the opportunity of appealing against judicial decisions by inhabitants of the frontier provinces, he wished, while expressing sympathy with him on the first point, with regard to the second to say that he thought it a good thing that the people of the frontier no longer had such power of appeal. He would also ask the consideration of the audience to the weighty words that had fallen from Sir James Lyall as to the inapplicability of the laws and codes of what might be called a regulation province to the people of the wild tract now known as the

North-West Frontier ; and with regard to the remark of Sir Lepel Griffin as to the prosperity and success of these peoples depending upon the continuation of their union with the Punjab, he himself was of opinion that their prosperity was just as likely to be increased under the present administration.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that the authorities of the Punjab had quite realized the particular legal wants of the natives, and in abolishing High Court jurisdiction had given them simpler codes.

The CHAIRMAN : We supplemented them.

SIR MACKWORTH YOUNG, in replying to the discussion, fully corroborated Sir Lepel Griffin in claiming for the Punjab the credit of the scheme for the utilization of native forces for Imperial defence, though it was Lord Dufferin who introduced the scheme, and as Viceroy was responsible for it. With regard to the indebtedness of the agriculturists, he thought Mr. Thorburn had greatly overestimated the numbers of those actually submerged through debt. So far as he could remember the proportion did not exceed 25 per cent. in any tahsil, and the average, he was inclined to think, was something like 7 per cent. as against Mr. Thorburn's figure of one-third.

MR. THORBURN said he put the hopelessly involved at one-third, and the seriously involved at another one-third, speaking for the whole of India.

SIR MACKWORTH YOUNG said the figures he had in mind were figures he had lately consulted with regard to the Punjab, but he could not speak for the whole of India. With regard to frontier districts, he fully accepted all that had been said about the necessity for special treatment for them. As Sir Lepel Griffin had already intimated, the Punjab Government had done a great deal in the way of suiting the burden to the shoulder in that respect, and his own opinion was that the Punjab Government was perfectly competent to do it. It was true that special measures were necessary, but it did not, therefore, follow that a miniature administration would give better effect to those measures than a strong administration. In conclusion, he thanked the audience for the kindness with which they had listened to his paper, and expressed his special indebtedness to his old friend Sir James Lyall for presiding on the occasion.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Mackworth Young for his interesting paper, in which he had given a great deal of information not otherwise available, and to Sir James Lyall for presiding. It was not often that they had present upon a special local paper authorities so great as three Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, though one of them had chosen to remain veiled in silence. He thought he should have come forward with a plea on one side or the other. He hoped, however, they would one day have him on the Council, where were wanted all the best men to make an impression upon a somewhat dull and stupid British public.

The vote having been carried by acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, December 20, 1904, a paper was read by T. Durant Beighton, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), on "The Possibilities of the Indian Tobacco Industry," Lord Reay in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, C.M.G., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Beighton, Mrs. Corbett and Mr. Victor Corbett, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. W. Ilbert, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. L. K. Daru, Mr. Haq. Nawaz, Mr. Percy Williams, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Bidyut Gangoly, Mr. Thomas Higgins, Mr. Bonnerjee, Mr. Narunjun Singh, Mr. Hammond, Dr. Roberts, Mr. G. H. Freeman (President London Cigar Manufacturers), Mr. J. S. McConechy, Mr. W. H. Davies (Star Tobacco Company).

The paper was read.*

MR. F. H. SKRINE said that, like Mr. Beighton, he was a layman as regards the tobacco trade. There was no industry in the world so enveloped in mystery, and none whose portals were more strictly guarded by those engaged in it. He did not know why all this mystery was made, and thought they owed hearty thanks to Mr. Beighton for having raised a corner of the curtain which shrouded the secrets of this vast industry. The main point which struck him in the paper was the extraordinary neglect of India on the part of British capitalists, so long maintained in the face of the deeper and wider knowledge that even the "man in the street" possessed of that dependency. As regarded tobacco, India had extraordinary advantages. The country had every variety of climate, from the Arctic zone found at the summit of the Himalayas to heat almost of the nether regions of the plains. The soil deposited by alluvial action to a depth of many feet was for all purposes of tobacco-growing equal, if not superior, to that of Cuba. The country was densely populated, and the cleverness of the young men and women employed in jute and cotton factories was extraordinary. He had himself seen specimens of Dakka muslin so incredibly fine that no one would imagine it to be anything but a spider's web; and dresses made of this diaphanous material could be passed through a ring. The deftness of finger which could produce such marvels was at least equal to that of the employes of tobacco factories in the East End of London and in Bristol. One important feature of

* For paper see elsewhere in this *Review*.

Mr. Beighton's address was the protection which he showed was enjoyed by English cigar manufacturers. The fact that such protection existed was very remarkable, but Mr. Beighton had not furnished a reason for it. He would suggest as a possible cause the fact that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer represented Bristol in Parliament. As a Free Trader he regretted the trend towards Protection of a great political party, and he suspected that the protection given to British cigars was in some degree connected with that movement. He would say a few words as to his own experience of tobacco, for everyone liked to hear from a man what he himself knew. He was for twenty-one years in India, whither he went more than thirty years ago, and he had been a moderate smoker through life. The Indian demand for tobacco had experienced many vicissitudes. Sixty years ago Manilla cigars were introduced into the country from the Philippines. These cigars were exquisitely made—such leaf and such rolling one seldom or never saw in other products. Indian cigars were then literally a byword, and consisted of cylinders of rough, yellow, and ill-smelling material in which draught was provided by means of a straw down the centre. As regarded flavour, nothing more nasty could be imagined. Though far cheaper than Manilla cigars, there was no demand for them, except among cast-hardened "Quihyes." In an evil moment the Spanish Crown abandoned its monopoly of manufacture in the Philippines, and private enterprise failed miserably. Not one in a thousand Manilla cigars were smoked nowadays as compared with the consumption of thirty years ago. Then came an era of improvement in Indian cigars. The great firms and dealers in the South of India sought to put their house in order, and Madras cigars came to some extent into use throughout India. But, comparing the progress made by the products of Southern India with those of Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, one might say that, while the latter had been progressing by leaps and bounds, the former remained at a standstill. Even the best Indian cigars were many degrees inferior in flavour, make, or quality to those of the Farther East. Now, why was this? The reason was that, in the case of these great islands, private enterprise had been efficacious and foreign capital had been secured, whereas in India very little had been done in either respect. If Mr. Beighton's paper did nothing else, it would call the attention of English capitalists and the English press to the vast field which was open for the employment of capital in connection with the tobacco trade of India.

MR. BEIGHTON next invited the attention of smokers present to some samples of Indian cigars kindly given to him by a firm in London for the purpose of illustrating his lecture, and first of all exhibited one or two of the mouldy cigars in which fermentation had taken place after manufacture. He pointed out that cigars of that kind did very great injury to the London trade through being sold as well-fermented Indian cigars, whereas, as a matter of fact, they were mouldy, as anyone could test by their aroma when cut open. He also called attention to cigars made from Indian tobacco and covered with the indigenous leaf, thus showing that Indian cigars could be made with the native leaf, though they are

rather more pungent than cigars covered with Sumatran tobacco. Another cigar he produced was described to him as the finest specimen of Indian produce to be found in London, which had been handed to him by the representative of an Indian firm, who desired that his name should not be disclosed. The cigar in question was encased in silver foil.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN regarded that as a very suspicious circumstance. (Laughter.)

MR. BEIGHTON thought so too, and for that reason was still more determined to resist the pressure which would doubtless be brought to bear upon him to mention the name of the generous firm who had presented him with the cigar. (Laughter.)

[The report of Mr. Davies' observations had not reached us at the time of going to press.]

MR. FREEMAN observed that he was a British cigar manufacturer, and he thought there was a little misapprehension as to the attitude of the British cigar manufacturers to Indian tobacco. As far as he could gather from the paper, the contention was that the Indian tobacco was in existence, and simply needed English capital to enable it to be put upon the market as a competitor of the Sumatran and Borneo tobaccos. As to that he could not speak personally, having never seen Indian tobacco in the leaf; but if Indian tobacco had been comparable with that of Sumatran and Borneo, it would, no doubt, have been sent over here, and have realized the same high prices. It was not an unusual thing to pay from 5s. to 10s. per pound for Sumatran and Borneo covers, while for the best Indian tobacco only 3d. or 4d. per pound was realized. It seemed to him it would be absolutely impossible with anything like a just or fair valuation for any manufacturer here to purchase such tobacco for the purpose of making it into cigars, and that might account for the feeling that there was no possibility of growing such tobacco. Speaking on behalf of the British tobacco trade, he was sure they would welcome good tobacco with open arms, whether it came from India or any of the colonies. The English manufacturer had at present to spend nine out of every ten sovereigns he spent with the foreigner, but, given a good article, he was sure the trade would be only too pleased to lay out with their own countrymen the money hitherto laid out with the foreigner. As some incentive to the capitalist, he might mention that in the case of the Darvel Bay Company a crop of tobacco which cost £30,000 to raise was sold on the Dutch market for £75,000, exactly 150 per cent. on the one year's business. With such an inducement they should be able to command any amount of capital, but it must first be shown to the man who was going to embark his money that the tobacco produced would find a ready market here; and if any gentleman present had tobacco to put upon the market, he would be very pleased to give it full consideration. He was a buyer, and would, in fact, buy anything as long as it would sell again; but he was afraid to touch tobacco at 3d. or 4d. per pound, and so with the rest of the trade. If an ideal article could be produced a ready market could be found for it.

MR. PENNINGTON said: As a confirmed non-smoker I cannot pretend to much interest in tobacco, except as a convenient subject for taxation, and I cannot remember why Mr. Massey (?) found it "impossible" to tax it. The purely Hindu State of Travancore, which in my time was the model State of India, and bids fair to be a model State again, used to raise as much revenue from tobacco as from salt, and even now appears to get at least two-thirds as much. I cannot see why it should be more difficult to tax tobacco in Madras, at any rate, if not in the whole of India, as a partial substitute for the oppressive salt monopoly.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Beighton, LORD REAY observed that this was an extremely technical subject, upon which those who were not in the trade and were not tobacco-growers would do well to express no opinion. The address was full of valuable suggestions and important statements. He was sure they had all heard with interest the latest account of the situation given them by Mr. Davies, who, he was glad to hear, came from Bombay. He was pleased to hear that His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda had interested himself in the cultivation of tobacco. He was not surprised, as he was aware that the Gaekwar had always given very special attention to the development of the agricultural administration of Baroda, giving in that and in many other respects a good example to the other chiefs of India. As they had in most instances a surplus which they could spend to the advantage of their subjects, material assistance in the development of agriculture could be expected from them. It was clear from what Mr. Davies had said that, with the application of science, capital, and skilled labour, there was a future for the tobacco industry in India. When he was in India he took great interest in the development of tobacco cultivation at Nadiad, in Gujarat, where Desai Behechardar Viharidas was engaged in making experiments, which, from what Mr. Davies had told them, seemed to have led to good results. He thought they should inquire why it was that capital had been attracted to Sumatra. He need not speak of the labour question, because they all knew that in India there was no lack of labour, neither were the agriculturists of India lacking in shrewdness in the tilling of the soil, so that all their energies required was proper guidance to be directed into new channels. He was firmly convinced that with skilled supervision the industry might be made a remunerative concern, and he was not surprised to hear that two gentlemen had been appointed for that purpose, knowing the interest which Lord Curzon took in the agricultural and industrial development of India. He was convinced that, without any artificial stimulus of protection—about which something more would be said on January 30, when the whole question of the trade of India was to be discussed—and with the goodwill of all concerned—the Government of India, the native chiefs, and the industrial and scientific representatives—there was a future for the growth of tobacco in India, and that sooner or later a thriving tobacco industry would be established in India in accordance with Mr. Beighton's anticipation, for which he had given them excellent grounds.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN observed that he did not propose in any way to express his views on this technical question, which was part of a large subject which he hoped would be influentially discussed at the end of next month—namely, the fiscal policy of this country with reference to its colonies and dependencies. Hitherto discussion of the subject had been rather shirked, possibly because Mr. Chamberlain was not very intimately acquainted with India, and possibly for other considerations of apparently great difficulty; but they wished to have it discussed here—this East India Association being, if he might say so, the most important association connected with India in the City of London—in a cosmopolitan and unpartisan spirit for and against, though for his own part he was a very strong supporter of the preferential policy of Mr. Chamberlain. He proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Reay for presiding in his customary able manner.

MR BEIGHTON wished to associate himself with Sir Lepel Griffin in acknowledging his indebtedness to the kindness of Lord Reay for taking the chair at a moment's notice. He regretted that in the discussion only one allusion had been made—and that a very brief one by Lord Reay—to the fiscal arguments he had used. He maintained that the proposals he made in his paper involved no infringement of the present fiscal system, to use a neutral phrase, the words "free trade" being susceptible of so very many interpretations. He desired to express his gratification at the speech of Mr. Davies. Six months ago he (the lecturer) knew nothing of Indian tobacco. He knew a little more now; but in listening to an expert he could but feel how inferior is the standpoint of the amateur. The experiments mentioned by him he regarded as full of promise, and he hoped the process of fermenting the alternate layers of Havana and Indian leaf would ultimately solve the problem of getting rid of the saltpetre in the latter; but at present it was impossible for him to do more than offer congratulations upon the measure of success already obtained. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Freeman, he thought he had rather misconstrued what he had said. He did not for a moment wish to convey that tobacco which would fetch only 3d. or 4d. per pound in the English market was of any use at all, but his object had been to indicate the causes—all remediable—which had hitherto prevented Indian tobacco from having a higher marketable value, or even a chance of proper appraisement. If those errors were rectified, if the cultivators had more scientific methods and European supervisors, the experiments that had taken place showed that a marketable article could be produced which could be utilized in London for pipe-tobacco and cigar-making. He was sure that Mr. Freeman was only stating the exact truth when he said that he would prefer, if he could, to obtain the materials for his cigars from a British colony or dependency. With regard to the fiscal question, in the event of a conference taking place between the colonies and the Mother Country—a proposal which, he was glad to notice, had now the approval of many Liberal statesmen besides those belonging to the Conservative party—he felt certain that India would not be left out, but would

have an important part to play in the matter, as befitted our greatest dependency.

He wished, in conclusion, to thank the audience for the careful attention they had given to his treatment of a very complicated subject, and especially to express his grateful acknowledgments of the appreciative remarks about his lecture which had fallen from all the speakers. (Applause.)

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

FANCIFUL TRANSLATIONS.

ON February 26, 1898, there appeared in the Literary Supplement to the *Times* an article *à propos* to Mr. E. Heron Allen's version of Omar Khayám (we adopt the wrong transliteration of the name that has now become stereotyped in the English language in place of the correct Umr Khayám). In that article several examples were given of versions of extracts made, not from the original Persian, but from translations of it, together with literal translations of the same, in order to contrast with the former, and show how far the poetical fancies of authors had contrived not only to carry them away from the sense of the astronomer or tent-maker poet, but in some cases to give a directly contrary meaning to that of the original.

Is this the legitimate purpose of translation from foreign languages? Are modern poets (or poetasters) so poverty-stricken in the matter of ideas to be expressed in their own language as to be obliged to resort to those of foreign authors whom they do not understand, and whose expressions they consequently frequently garble or misinterpret? To our idea the object of translating from a foreign tongue should be to place before English readers a correct interpretation of the meaning intended to be conveyed in that tongue, in order to bring home to them the mind and feelings of the foreigner. If not, such so-called translation can only be the vehicle in which to carry English ideas assimilated more or less closely from a foreigner's imagination, and to be of any value whatever should be strictly literal as far, at all events, as the general sense is concerned. We have been led to these remarks by certain versions of extracts from the odes of the great poet Háfiz, published a few months ago in the *Fortnightly Review* by Mr. R. le Gallienne, and a version by Mrs. E. W. Mumford (lately brought out by David Nutt) of a hundred love-songs by Kamál ud Dín, a poet of Isfahán.

Taking first Mr. Gallienne's versions from Háfiz. In the prospectus he has recently issued of renderings in verse of some of the odes from the Diván of Háfiz, he admits that he has made them from literal prose versions of the poet, but supplemented by his own fancy, and that while he has kept as closely as he deems necessary to his original, his aim, as in a previous work in which Omar Khayám was dealt with after the same fashion, was to make English poetry. His version is thus offered, in the first place, as poetry, and, in the second, as translation; but he also claims as faithfully as in him lies truly to interpret Háfiz to English readers, so that the total result of his endeavour really, if not literally, should be Háfiz. How far these aims have been accomplished will be seen from the following quotations from one of the odes published in the *Fortnightly Review* mentioned above, together with their literal renderings from Wilberforce Clarke's translations, which are those drawn upon by Mr. Le Gallienne himself.

Le Gallienne :

"Záhid, I beg you, leave my sins alone ;
They are not yours ; I answer for my own.
Each man a sinner is, and maybe you,
O white-souled Záhid, are a sinner, too."

W. Clarke :

"O Záhid, pure of nature ! censure not the profligates ;
For, against thee, they will not record another's crime."

Now, the only ground on which the author can venture to apostrophize the recluse (Záhid) in this fashion is that in the next couplet Háfiz says that in the end every man will reap the reward of his own actions. The moral drawn, as it is not a translation of the original, does not appear to us as in any way necessary in order to present the idea as English poetry.

Again, the idea contained in the sixth couplet—viz. :

"Pleasant is the garden of Paradise ; but beware,
That thou reckon plunder (that is, unearned gain)—the shade of the
willow and the border of the field"—

is expanded to the following :

"The world to come is good—indeed it is—
But so before me, holy one, is this ;
Scorn not the joys you have for those you dream,
The shadow of a willow or a stream,
A face of ivory, a breast of myrrh,
And someone singing. Záhid, O beware,
Lest you slip realities like these
For theologic unrealities."

This is evidently too wide an amplification of Háfiz's simple caution to the recluse not to throw away earth's pleasure for the possible joys of Paradise.

To turn to Mrs. Mumford's version of the love-songs of Kamál ud Dín (or Kamál ul Dín, not Kamal ad Din). These, according to the preface to the work, are a collection of quatrains from different sources ; they are versified in a manner differing from that of the common form, in which the first, second, and fourth lines rhyme with each other and the third not, the first and fourth and second and third being respectively made to do so. It is very difficult to identify the originals, but the following will serve as examples :

Literal Translation.

"It has seen thy face, and the understanding of wisdom has departed.
Thy form has appeared in grace, and the cypress has gone from its place.
The morning breeze has passed over the rosebed,
It smelt thy perfume, and its vigour has fallen from its feet."

Mrs. Mumford's Version.

"When wisdom sees thy face, her calmness flies :
The cypress sees thee, and its rival knows.
The morning breeze o'er fair rose gardens blows,
Breathes thy soft perfume, and in envy dies."

It will be seen that the original contains nothing about the cypress finding a rival, or the morning breeze dying away in envy at the beloved's perfume.

These have been assumed in the exuberance of the author's poetic fancy. A further specimen of the author's versified translation is as follows :

"O sword, thou art the blade that moweth men,
As men mow down the shrinking blade of grass.
A flash of lightning through the air doth pass,
And lo ! the flowers of blood bloom forth again."

The literal translation of the original quatrain is here given :

"O sword, thou art the (blade of) grass that moweth down men,
In the tongue's wound blame is laid upon it.
In colour after the manner of lightning good fortune has come to it :
It is green, and wherever it goes it becomes red (or a gem)."

The passage is certainly obscure, but the meaning conveyed to our mind is that as the green blade of grass is reddened by the passing of the flash of lightning,* so the sword is instantaneously tinged with the blood of men as it strikes them down.

In translations such as these a certain degree of play of the poetical fancy is no doubt permissible, and may be even necessary with a view to the smooth running of the verse ; but we must as critics withhold our approval from versions that not merely go beyond the ideas of the original, but also substitute those of the translator for those of the poet himself. The result has been shown in the case of Fitzgerald's paraphrase of Omar Khayám in exalting the fame of one whose work ranks in the eyes of his own countrymen by no means among those of the most eminent Persian poets, and placing it in the opinion of English readers in a position far superior to those of others who are in reality more worthy of admiration.

A. ROGERS.

June, 1904.

"THE SALT MONOPOLY."

SIR,

I hope I may be allowed to call the attention of your readers to a little book entitled "Common Salt," by C. Godfrey Gümpel, published by Swan Sonnenschein and Co.† No one should venture to give a decided opinion on the salt tax without having read this volume, and I have never ceased to regret that I had not seen it before writing the paper published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last.

Yours truly,

J. S. PENNINGTON.

December 2, 1904.

CHINA AND TIBET.

SIR,

In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* there is a contribution from the pen of Mr. E. H. Parker entitled "How the Tibetans Grew." Of that most excellent paper every detail is interesting,

* In the lithographed original the word *barg*, a leaf, is used ; but *bark*, or lightning, is clearly the right word.

† See article by Mr. Gümpel on the subject in our issue for April, 1901, and that of Dr. George Brown on "Common Salt in Relation to Health" in the same number.

and every step important. All the more was I surprised when I read (see p. 239): "As the celebrated pilgrim Fah Hien set out for India in A.D. 399, under the patronage of one of these Tibetan rulers, it is not unlikely that the Western name 'Tsina' (or 'China') was derived from this source." If this sentence was intended to suggest that the name "China" was then for the first time applied to the Celestial Empire, then must we cast about for a new meaning for the Bible word "Sînīm" (*cf.* Isa. xlix. 12). What exactly this word may mean has never yet been ascertained; all we know is that it is an ethnico-territorial designation. Some (the Seventy, for example) have held that it refers to "the land of the Persians," and others (see the Vulgate) to some "southern" land—presumably Egypt. But all recent scholarship inclines to the opinion that *China* is the "land" alluded to, and, still more, that the word "China" is etymologically akin to "Sîn," the form, in the singular, of this word "Sînīm." If this view is sound, then must the Asiatic designation of the Celestial Empire have been in vogue more than 1,000 years prior to the time of Fah Hien. The question is, as you will kindly observe, not a theological but a distinctly historical one; it is, therefore, not out of place in this *Review*. Your learned contributor is at all times so very careful that I prefer to doubt my own judgment rather than his. If he could afford us some light on the question now raised, he would be adding to the completeness of a paper which is most valuable and opportune. It may be added that "Chin" is still the name given to China in the Indian languages, and that "China" (plural "Chinās") is in Sanskrit the word for "a Chinaman."

J. D. BATE.

Folkestone, October 22.

BRITAIN, RUSSIA, AND JAPAN.

SIR,

As I recently pointed out in this *Review*,* our supineness at the beginning of the war was mainly responsible for the seizure of the *Malacca*, and we have had equally little reason to congratulate ourselves upon our acquiescence in her being subjected to search. The lack of spirit shown by us confirmed Russia in the belief that she could always trample with impunity upon our rights. Hence it was but natural that, on receiving the first instalment of "firm representations" from our Foreign Office as to the Dogger Bank outrage, she should determine to give us no redress beyond empty professions of regret, belied by the exultation displayed on the Neva at the attack upon our trawlers, and a sum of money represented at St. Petersburg as alms magnanimously bestowed upon the fishermen by the Czar.

Diplomatists like ours, who almost invariably give way in the end—as when they suffered Russia to order us out of Port Arthur—would have done best to express themselves satisfied at once with what was offered, and make a show of taking it for granted that the guilty would be punished. It is only countries like China, after all, that are expected to

* October, 1904.

behead a handful of obscure and innocent persons by way of expiation for the offences of more important culprits. But our Government has a strange weakness for peremptory demands at the outset. According to precedent, then, it backed up a "vigorously-worded note" by a naval demonstration, and its constant apologist, the *Daily Telegraph*, soon afterwards triumphantly chronicled the result, under the headings: "All our claims conceded. Russian fleet remains at Vigo. Guilty officers to be punished." "The precise duration of the fleet's detention at Vigo," it explained in the course of its comments on the Southampton speech, "is not mentioned, but it is believed that it will extend to about three weeks, by which time the inquiry will probably be concluded." A few days later its interpretation of Mr. Balfour's announcements, or Mr. Balfour's own interpretation of the Russian concessions, proved to be wrong. The whole of the Russian ships went on from Vigo towards the Far East, not even leaving behind the officers responsible for the outrage, but only four persons who, in the paper's own words, would "give evidence from the Russian point of view"; while its St. Petersburg correspondent affirmed most positively that no Russian officer would ever be punished, and that the International Court had only been accepted by Russia as a means of evading the obligation to do so. "The whole arrangement," he concluded, "resembles a farce." The sequel has shown it to be, indeed, a ghastly mockery, like all our diplomatic relations with Russia.

The officially controlled journals of her capital, which have unanimously and consistently repudiated any intention of punishing the Russian offenders, also let it be understood that no depositions contrary to the cock-and-bull story of the naval officers would be acted upon, since their evidence was "naturally of far greater importance than that of the Hull fishermen." Then came the further news that the Russian war-party had succeeded in making the Ministry of Foreign Affairs repudiate the agreement with Lord Lansdowne, the basis of which had already been reduced to writing between the two Governments. "Russia," it was argued, "will never fire the first shot, neither will the British King and his Government. Therefore, the danger of war is eliminated in every case. Consequently, we can have our own way with impunity." The agreement to arbitrate had merely been entered into with a view to pacify popular indignation in England, as was done by that which Mr. Gladstone announced at the time of the Penjdeh "incident": the excitement had subsided, now as then, and nothing more of arbitration need be heard in this case than in that. Russia had but to remain firm, and the British Government would assent to her view. "All danger of war being now eliminated," we were informed, "Russian diplomacy confidently expects to have its own way." And in this it has fully succeeded, perhaps even beyond its expectations. Instead of ascertaining what Russian officers were responsible for the Dogger Bank tragedy, as Mr. Balfour had originally promised, the International Commission is to inquire into "the degree of blame attaching to the subjects of the two high contracting parties or to the subjects of other countries." Since none but the word

of Russian officers will be believed, this means, as far as any practical result is concerned, that Great Britain and her fishermen will be put on their trial for having aided and abetted Japanese torpedo-boats in an attack upon Admiral Rojdestvensky's ships.

When the outrage first became known at the Stock Exchange, a wit announced that the incident might be considered at an end, as the British Government had conveyed a message of apology to St. Petersburg, with an expression of profound regret that the fishing-boats had been allowed to hamper the movements of the Baltic Fleet. That wag was, indeed, a prophet: the Russian Admiralty has actually had the assurance to represent Great Britain as the guilty party, bound to tender an apology and a heavy indemnity, and we have gone so far towards granting these premises as to consent to their forming the subject of examination by the Commission. No wonder the Russian press boasts of this result as a complete victory over us.

It had been easy to foresee the Russian triumph for some time, ever since the *Daily Telegraph*, which plays much the same part as the inspired organs of foreign Cabinets,* had made it certain that the pliancy of the Government, like the magnanimity of Mr. Gladstone after Majuba, was actuated by the extreme fear of war, with which the Continent has so long identified our policy. In the course of a homily on peace, the paper had argued that the Ministry deserved "infinite" gratitude for its previous concessions to St. Petersburg, since without them France, not to speak of other countries, would have attacked us; and, apart from humanitarian considerations, "a first-class war would cost at least two hundred and fifty millions." The whole world, Russia included, had thus been told "semi-officially"—what it could not make more than a shrewd guess at before—that there was nothing with which England would not put up rather than fight whenever any but puny adversaries were concerned.

We may henceforth expect the treatment this declaration deserves. Russia, indeed, has already taken advantage of it, not only to turn the tables upon us in the Dogger Bank inquiry, but also to devise a plan for capping her usual infractions of treaty engagements by their more solemn repudiation, sending her Black Sea fleet through the Dardanelles after the further batch of armed "volunteer cruisers" that has just started, eastward bound, from Suez. The French Foreign Office, as soon as it heard of this intention, said that England would content herself with a protest, not making the act a *casus belli*; and we all know that where our dealings with the Russians are in question, this is tantamount to asking them to do just as they please. But, as it turns out, we are not to be considered at all. Russia's contempt for us has developed so enormously that, as her newspapers tell us, she no longer even admits our having any voice in the matter, so—as she has no opposition to fear from France or Germany—she does not propose to discuss it except with Turkey. Her regular mouthpieces never tire, besides, of representing her as our implacable foe, especially eager in par-

* I have, on this account, almost always taken its telegrams as my authority for the dispositions of St. Petersburg.

ticular for the conflict that shall turn us out of India, and of dwelling with delight on the steps she is constantly taking to hasten this consummation. It is probable that the Government's profession of faith in peace at any price will encourage her to provoke us here, too, and we may expect to be informed at any moment of aggressive moves on the part of the troops she has been massing on the Afghan borders. Then, if there is any point beyond which Ministers are not prepared to go in the surrender of everything that the Russians covet, war must be the upshot of their dread of it.

Meanwhile, our pusillanimous conduct has helped to lend colour to the belief that we who, as Dr. A. Conan Doyle points out in the *Times*, "have earned throughout our history the reputation of being an unstable ally," are following our worst traditions. We are bound by treaty to insist on the observance of the strictest neutrality, yet we have allowed Russia repeatedly to turn French ports into bases for her warships, to bring armed vessels out of the Black Sea for use against our ally, and to coal and take in water at Port Said, the last being the same privileges which we sternly denied the Spanish squadron in Egyptian waters, as another *Times* correspondent reminds us, in 1898. Add to this, amongst other things of which the Japanese have every right to complain, that we have been supplying Russia with a large quantity of ammunition, and, above all, of that coal without which the dastardly assailants of our fishermen would never have been able to undertake their voyage to the Far East. True, it is contended that we do not know when coal is intended for Russia, but this cannot surely apply to the many cases in which charterings have been openly announced in the newspapers. How is it to be reconciled, moreover, with the statement in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 29 that no effect had been produced upon Cardiff merchants by the Foreign Office reminder of the penalties consequent upon breach of neutrality? We stand convicted on this, as on the other counts, of having connived at its violation; in other words, our alliance has not even stood the slight tests to which it has so far been subjected. This raises the gravest doubts as to its value under a greater strain, such as an extension of hostilities brought about by undue French support to the Baltic fleet, and the light thrown by the *Daily Telegraph* upon the Government's attitude has strengthened these doubts enormously.

R. G. CORBET.

December 1, 1904.

EDUCATION OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CEYLON.*

The Colonial Office has now arrived at a decision in regard to the question of estate schools, which has been under consideration for some time. Mr. A. G. Wise, who has taken an active part in drawing attention to the disadvantages in regard to education under which the Tamil

* See article by Mr. Wise in our number for January, 1904.

immigrants to Ceylon have hitherto laboured, has received the following communication from that Department under date November 4, 1904 :

"With reference to your letter of the 26th ultimo, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you that he conveyed his decision on the subject of the education of the children employed on estates in Ceylon to the Governor in a despatch dated the 16th of September last.

"Mr. Lyttelton informed Sir H. A. Blake that he approved the adoption of Mr. Burrows' proposals, but that he thought that Mr. Harward's proposals for grouping estates for educational purposes should also be tried where circumstances are favourable, inasmuch as he saw no reason why the two systems should not be worked at the same time according to the different circumstances of the districts. He also suggested that the Director of Public Instruction should in each annual report devote some space to showing in detail what progress, if any, has been made in the education of these children.

"(Signed) C. P. LUCAS."

Mr. Wise, who holds strongly that special legislation is required to place estate schools on a satisfactory basis, had, previously to the receipt of the foregoing letter, addressed the following communications to the Colonial Office :

I have the honour to submit herewith a few observations in regard to the report by Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., on the above subject, in compliance with the permission kindly accorded me by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In the first place, I would invite attention to the difference of opinion existing between the present Director of Public Instruction, Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and the ex-Director, Mr. Burrows. Mr. Harward, in his report for 1903, uses the following words :

"The real solution of the question seems to lie in the establishment of a special class of schools for the estate coolie, with a syllabus framed to meet the real wants of his children. The extension of schools of a similar type through the more backward parts of the rural districts of Ceylon would probably be a wise measure."—*Administration Reports, 1903, Part IV., Miscellaneous.*

Mr. Burrows' recommendations, on the other hand, amount to little more than the despatch of a further circular to all planters, in the hope that they will thereby be induced to give some encouragement (by "occasional visits, inquiries, etc.") to such classes as a "kangany" (or native foreman) may choose to start for the children of his own particular gang ; for these classes are rarely, if ever, available for all the children on an estate, irrespectively of caste. I am at a loss to know what grounds

there are for supposing that such a circular as is suggested will have the effect of inducing a planter to take a personal interest in such classes, when during the last quarter of a century planters as a whole have not evinced a keen interest in the subject.

I am bound, therefore, to say that Mr. Harward's proposal appears to be the most likely to produce satisfactory results. Care should naturally be taken to frame the course of instruction so as to meet the particular needs of this class, and not to unfit them for following the occupation of their parents. The present so-called "line schools" (if schools they can be termed) might afford a basis for such programme of studies. "Board schools on the English model" would be obviously appropriate only to a far more advanced people than the Tamil coolies; nor has the provision of "such schools" ever been suggested, so far as I am aware.

The objections raised to the present system might well and easily be met—

1. By reducing the minimum session in a school from three hours, as at present is the rule except for children over eleven years of age, to two hours, thus avoiding interference with the children's wage-earning power; there should further be an understanding that attendance at school will not be insisted on during the height of the plucking season, which does not last more than a few weeks, but during which period every available coolie is required to assist in plucking the leaf.

2. For the existing method of making grants should be substituted what may be termed the "lump sum" grant system, a lump sum towards meeting working expenses being given to every estate school upon the receipt of a satisfactory report on the whole year's work of the schools, such report being furnished by a travelling school inspector with some knowledge of the Tamil language. This plan need not debar the adoption of the recommendation of Mr. J. Harward that part of the cost of the schools be thrown on the coolies themselves, who are immigrants earning good wages. A charge of, say, twenty-five cents per month might be made to each child attending the school.

If these concessions were made, I do not for one moment anticipate that the result would be a revival of infanticide, with ruin and a general exodus of labour. Have any such results attended the starting of the forty-three "grant-in-aid" schools already in existence? Similar objections to those raised in the report under reference were made by the planters in British Guiana, where now, as I am informed by a competent authority, it would be hard to find a sugar-planter still maintaining the benighted delusion that the provision of simple elementary learning is inimical to the interests of the proprietors of estates.

I would particularly invite attention to the pamphlet recently issued by the Planters' Association, which, as is granted by Mr. Burrows, shows that, even with its admitted shortcomings, the present scheme of aided schools has in certain cases worked reasonably well, the coolies availing themselves to a remarkable degree of the facilities thus afforded for the education of their children. The application of a somewhat similar scheme on

revised lines might conceivably meet the present difficulty, making, however, the establishment of schools compulsory upon the planters, as recommended by the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., M.L.C. At the meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute recently held, Mr. Ferguson stated publicly that the example of the proprietors who had opened schools should, and must, be followed by all directors of tea companies and all estate proprietors. If, he added, after a proper interval from notice given by the Director of Public Instruction the estates did not open schools, something like compulsion might be necessary, at any rate as regards the provision of a suitable school-building and teacher.

In this connection, I may quote the opinion of a "Proprietor," who writes as follows :

"The head kangany is utterly devoid of the slightest sympathy towards his sub-kanganies and coolies, who are simply held in slavery. Ignorance, crass ignorance, is at the bottom of this chicanery, and surely a little schooling on estates cannot be objected to by any Britisher with a love of justice and fair play."

"G. M. H." says : "The amount of teaching given by the coolies themselves in classes and schools provided by themselves is almost insignificant." He advocates compulsory education on estates. "This," he adds, "would necessitate the provision of schools within reasonable distances, the onus of maintaining which would naturally fall upon the Government, which might, however, impose special rates, as it does for the Police and Medical Establishments." This suggestion will doubtless also be considered by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State.

As regards the number of children affected by the proposal, it may be estimated at 61,023, although I am aware that the question of the education of girls presents difficulties.

In conclusion, I would venture to urge that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State will favourably consider the adoption of the scheme proposed by Mr. J. Harward, bearing in mind also that it is supported, as I believe, by Mr. Ferguson.

The system advocated by Mr. Burrows has been tried for thirty years, and has produced slender results. It would appear opportune, therefore, that existing methods be utilized and extended, some such slight supervision being exercised by the authorities as will insure to every child on plantations the chance of obtaining an education appropriate to his wants during the course of a year. This result, I submit, it is hopeless to expect unless some such measure as is advocated herein be adopted. Under these circumstances, I confidently commend the whole subject for the consideration of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State, with whom now rests the final responsibility of deciding whether a method which has been tried, and which has been found wanting, shall be continued, or whether he will insist that these Indian immigrant children shall, in future, receive such small measure of education as ought to be provided for every human being in all settled and civilized portions of His Majesty's dominions.

Finally, on October 26, 1904, Mr. Wise forwarded a lengthy communication from Mr. Sidney Long, of Matale, Ceylon, with the following covering letter:

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from Mr. Sidney Long, of Matale, Ceylon, dated September 13, 1904, which appeared in the *Ceylon Observer*, and contains comments upon the report by Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., on "The Education of Immigrant Tamil Coolie Children employed on Estates."

I beg that you will be good enough to lay the same before the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the favour of his perusal, inasmuch as Mr. Long disputes the accuracy of Mr. Burrows' figures, a reduction of 50 per cent. in the number of boys who have acquired education being necessary (in Mr. Long's opinion) to be correct, resulting in a total average of only two children per estate who have received the rudiments of education.

Mr. Long, who has resided many years in Ceylon, also is of opinion that the present "line schools," on which Mr. Burrows lays so much stress, are quite "incapable of sufficient expansion for admitted needs," and explains very clearly the nature of the so-called "line schools." A line school, as Mr. Long points out, is merely a class founded by a "kangani" (or native overseer) for the benefit of his own children and two or three other boys *of the same caste*, and is incapable of much development. It educates "some favoured children in one set of lines, and perhaps a few outsiders: it might be developed to educate just a few more, and that is all." It is, therefore, clear that the *mere multiplication* of these "line schools" will *not* meet the necessities of the case. It is certain that unless something in the nature of pressure be brought to bear on the planters to start schools on a proper basis the results cannot be satisfactory.

In view of the decision of the Secretary of State, it is to be feared that nothing more can be done at present. It will now rest upon the planters themselves whether the modified scheme sanctioned by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton can be accepted as a final solution of the problem. Members of the Local Legislative Council are believed to be strongly in favour of something approaching compulsion, especially the Hon. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., who, it may be confidently anticipated, will not rest satisfied with half-measures. These Tamil children have as much right to receive a simple education as to breathe the air, and the sooner the local Government recognise this very elementary fact the better it will be for all concerned, labourers as well

as their employers, to whose truest interest it is to remove the stain of gross ignorance in which at present the coolies are suffered to remain, thus falling easy victims of their "kanganies" and native shopkeepers. The coolie should have at least enough education to enable him to protect his own interests, and prevent himself from being swindled by a set of unscrupulous rogues of his own nationality.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

Sir F. Lugard's report * on the condition and administration of Northern Nigeria, presented to Parliament in December, 1903, reads like a romance. It treats not only of the general political affairs of the whole region, but also gives details of the staff, taxation, railways, courts of justice, climate, public works, and numerous other subjects of great interest. His general review of the provinces is as follows :

"At the beginning of the financial year 1902-1903, the Protectorate consisted of thirteen provinces, and the operations which I have described have added three more, making a total of sixteen, for which provision has been made in the estimates of the year 1903-1904. The whole Protectorate has now been taken under administrative control, and it is important to recollect that by so doing we have not added new territory and new responsibilities to the Empire, but have simply recognised those which we had already accepted. My task has not been to annex new kingdoms, but to endeavour to fulfil the obligations and responsibilities to which we have pledged ourselves with regard to the territory placed under my charge. The new provinces are Sokoto, Kano (including Katsena), and Katagum (or Damergeram), lying to the east of Kano and between it and Bornu."

Referring to the climate, he says :

"The climate of Northern Nigeria, situated as it is

* Parliamentary Colonial Reports, No. 409, 1903.

between the seventh and fourteenth parallels of north latitude, is, of course, tropical, but the prevalence of the 'Hamattan' wind, which blows from the north-east for half the year or more, modifies the temperature in a very marked and even extraordinary degree. This wind, coming from the dry desert of the Sahara, is singularly devoid of moisture, and the evaporation produced when it meets the moist air of the Niger Valley, and even in the plains to the north, results in a great fall of temperature. In the extreme case, where the wind, without having absorbed any moisture, meets the mists and vapours of Lake Chad, I believe that the temperature falls below freezing-point. Generally speaking, throughout Northern Nigeria the nights are cold for the greater part of the year. During the rainy season, July to November, the atmosphere is laden with moisture, and a 'damp heat' results. For the rest of the year the 'Hamattan' and the total absence of rain render the air extraordinarily dry. The climate of Northern Nigeria is probably far more healthy than that of the coast, to the climate of which it only approximates in the close vicinity of the river. The highlands of Bautshi enjoy a charming climate, and throughout the greater part of the country the climate is not, I think, exceptionally trying. The health of Europeans in the centres of Lokoja and Zungeru has been improved in a very marked degree by the better housing, the sanitation, and the better means of living, which have been introduced in the last year or two."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS; LONDON, 1903.

1. *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, by H. L. DUFF. The writer rightly says that there is no part, perhaps, of the British possessions so little known as the one which is the subject of this book, and therefore, although the book is a trifle too long for the matter contained in it, we must welcome it and its information. The book begins with a somewhat confused account of the foundation of British influence in Nyasaland after Livingstone's death, including wars under the leadership of Lugard and Johnston, until the British Protectorate over Nyasaland and Shiré was declared in 1891. Sir Harry Johnston administered the country from 1891-1896, and was succeeded by Sir Alfred Sharpe, and a good account is given of the British Protectorate and its government, which the author thinks well suited to the natives of the country. The writer's connection with the country began when he obtained a post there in 1897 at the time when the British were engaged in quelling the Angoni at Zomba. He gives a good account of the flora, fauna, and the big game of the country, and in his chapter on the *Ulendo*, or expedition, shows the popularity of a successful hunter. The most interesting part of the book, perhaps, is the account of the natives. The total population of the country is estimated at over 845,000, and stress is laid upon the fact that they are not decreasing with white immigration. The natives are generally robust, particularly the Wa-Yao, and a *tenga-tenga*, or porter, thinks nothing of walking thirty miles with a load of 60 pounds on his head between sunrise and sunset. Mr. Duff strongly objects to the Central Africans being styled "brothers," though he thinks well of them on the whole. He points out their good humour and hospitality, and thinks that their treachery, cruelty, and hostility to other tribes all arise from the former insecurity of life before the advent of European Government. The low position of women is noticeable, however, and the curious line of the Wa-Yao succession, which goes first to brothers in their order, and then to sons of the eldest sister. One chapter is given to native rites, and the writer tries to see some good in initiation ceremonies; in another, native industries are glanced at. The missionary question is also dealt with, and while the benefits missions have conferred on Africa since the time of the great Livingstone are fully recognised, the many difficulties the missionaries have caused are also pointed out.—F. S.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; AVE MARIA LANE, E.C., 1904.

2. *The Nizám*, by R. PATON McAULIFFE, B.A. This is a short treatise, in something over eighty pages, on the origin and future of the Hydarábád State, being the La Bas prize essay for 1894. The preface consists of an informing and clearly-written introduction to the subject,

and in the closing pages of the volume we have, in alphabetical order, a long list of the authorities from which the details of the work have been collected. But we do not see in this list any mention of the *Statesman* newspaper (Calcutta). Should the author ever prepare a second edition of his essay, he might obtain much first-hand and *bonâ-fide* information on this whole subject in the files of that powerful and well-written journal for the later seventies and the early eighties.

In four substantially-written chapters, such as might be easily read through at a sitting, Mr. McAuliffe gives a condensed account of the origin of the Hydarâbâd State, and of the rise and history of the Nizâms and their Government. This is not the first time that such compilations have appeared, but the present work may be said to present the tangled and somewhat labyrinthine web of Hydarâbâd politics in the briefest compass and most handy form. Hydarâbâd, the largest of the native States of India, has been our Government's greatest problem ever since we have been the paramount Power in that great continent. In the present volume we have a condensed account of the personal intrigues and party squabbles that have for the last 150 years rendered that State notorious in the history of India, and which have retarded the advancement of one of the richest and most productive portions of the country. The reader will here peruse once again the story of the "Subsidiary Allowance," of the origin of the "Hydarâbâd Contingent," of the "Berâr Grievance," the "Assigned Districts," etc., all of which have been the dismay of successive Governors from Warren Hastings down to the present Viceroy. The author traces up to date the nature and constitution of the Hydarâbâd Government, the numerous wars, the border politics, and the internal administration. The work forms a most important chapter in the history of India in general, and of the Nizâms in particular. It is pleasing to be able to add that the present Nizâm has long manifested a peaceful and practicable disposition as well to his own people as towards the Imperial Government. The printing and get-up of the volume are such as to leave nothing to be desired; but the writing, which begins admirably, deteriorates towards the close. The forms "Guzarat" and "Asirghar" on p. 8 require revision; in the closing chapters there are even some slips in grammar.—B.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1904.

3. *The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, by VINCENT A. SMITH. In this scholarly volume will be found an admirable foundation for any future historian of India to build upon. Carefully compiled from all available Sanscrit, Pali, Chinese, and Greek sources, it stands out as an example of careful work. Strict comparison has been necessary in every case to test the value of evidence contained in these obscure sources, and Mr. Smith is to be congratulated on his success, as he has made out of these materials not only a valuable, but an interesting book.

As the writer points out, it is with the Aryan kingdoms that his work is mainly concerned, and that as yet hardly anything is known of the early history of the Dravidian races. About the sixth century B.C. history begins, and Kosala (the modern Oudh) and Maghada (Bihar) were already settled kingdoms at the time when Vardhamāna Mahāvira founded the Jain and Ghautama the Buddhist religious systems. The majority of the early kings are mere names in the dynastic lists, however, until the rise of Chandra Gupta Maurya (321 B.C.), who seized the throne of Maghada two years after the death of Alexander the Great. To the campaign of Alexander two chapters are devoted, and many of Cunningham's theories upon the conqueror's route are corrected. His retreat is very carefully narrated, and stress is laid upon the slight influence the invasion left behind. Alexander's death allowed Chandra Gupta to lead a native revolt against his invaders, and he was soon ruler of India from Bihar to Kandahar, an empire consolidated and benevolently ruled by his grandson, the great Asoka. A most interesting account is given of the last evidences of his Buddhistic piety, and pilgrimages are quoted from his celebrated inscriptions, and it is shown that his religious missions extended in the South to Pandya, Chola, and Ceylon, and to the Hellenistic kingdoms of the West, where they certainly influenced the Gnostics. The Brahmanical reaction probably began with the Sunga dynasty, and inspired the formation of the Mahayana Buddhists. Under this dynasty another Hellenistic invasion—under Menander, of Bactria, in 155-153 B.C.—threatened the Panjab. It in its turn was followed by the Kānva and the Andhra rulers, in whose time appear new conquerors, the Sakas—perhaps of Turki origin—who were also to play their part. The history of the Indo-Greek princes of Bactria forms an interesting chapter, and how they merged into the Eastern nations is well exemplified by their coins, which begin with the ruler's head and Greek inscriptions, gradually become bilingual, and end by bearing the imprint of a camel and a Brahman bull. The claims of St. Thomas to be the Apostle of Parthia are discussed in this chapter also. Mr. Smith is strongly of opinion that though part of the Panjab was under Greek sway for more than two centuries, and though Greek was the language of the rulers, little European influence filtered into India until the Roman period, the abundance of Roman coins in India proving the extent of the trade with the Turki rulers in the North, whose rule extended as far as Khotan, and through whose influence Buddhism gained a firm footing in China. The Gupta dynasty ruled in Bihar and Oudh from A.D. 320 to 455, and established a firm empire, visited by Fa Hian in the time of Chandra Gupta II. Vikramāditya. It was overthrown in its turn by the Huns, and after their extinction we have an account of Harsha, a ruler who desired to bring all India "under one umbrella," and partly succeeded, as is shown by the descriptions of another Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang. From this period dynasty followed dynasty, and there was little dream of universal dominion until the twelfth century brought the Muhammadan invasion into India.—F. S.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; 16, JAMES STREET, HAYMARKET, S.W.,
1904.

4. *The Second Afghan War*, Vol. II., 1878-1880, by COLONEL H. B. HANNA. The first volume of this important review of the second Afghan War appeared nearly five years ago, and was noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1900. The entire work has reference to the invasion of Afghanistan by the British in the days when the late Lord Lytton was by the arrangement of Lord Beaconsfield sent out to occupy the exalted position of "Viceroy of India." The perils of that tumultuous time are well within the recollection of men still living. The very "stars in their courses" appeared to be fighting against us in those luckless days. To the miseries which ordinarily attend the life of the native of India there were added heat and drought extraordinarily prolonged—general failure of the rains for two years in succession, followed by the rise of the cost of living to famine prices. It was estimated by the authorities that many millions of the poorer classes died of starvation, while large numbers of draught cattle, left homeless through the death of their owners, wandered all over the land from district to district in search of any stray bit of sunburnt grass.

Of course, *all* the facts relating to that most ill-advised campaign are not given in these volumes; such a thing would have been impossible. The half has not been told, nor ever will be. We could ourselves relate facts that would astonish many, and which doubtless never came within the knowledge of the author of these volumes. The only tangible ground for the war pleaded by Lord Beaconsfield was the need of a "scientific frontier." There may have been secrets at the back of this plea that were known to him. But he never disclosed them, nor do we find in the present work any evidence that any such secrets of State were known by others than himself. Even the British Government is not always inerrant. This was admitted by the late Lord Salisbury when he confessed that in the Crimean imbroglio John Bull had "placed his money on the wrong horse." The Afghan War was, like the late Boer War, our own seeking, and might easily have been avoided if there had been on the part of our own Government a desire for peace. The same remark, precisely, holds good in regard to the deplorable and calamitous campaign the history of which is placed before us in these volumes.

It is refreshing to see, in the publication of this work, that the true rationale of the second Afghan War has at length been permitted to see the light. That such a straightforward narrative of the facts should have issued from the pen of a brave soldier who was in the thick of the strife is a justification of the attitude assumed by experienced Governors at the time. The earnest and dignified appeals to Lord Beaconsfield, even up to the last moment, not to compromise his Queen and her people by forcing them into a war for which there was no honourable excuse were treated with a contemptuous and off-hand disregard which every well-informed servant of the Crown viewed with dismay. It was then predicted

by certain sections of the English and Anglo-Indian press that, when in after-times the history of that war in its true inwardness came to be written, it would have to be acknowledged that the British Queen and nation had been betrayed. The soundness of this prediction is proved, after a quarter of a century, by the appearance of these volumes.

We should remark that the map of India given in this volume is not by any means adequate in point of fulness, nor is it quite accurate. There are some curious misspellings of English words, such as "merchandize," and there are also some mistakes in the transliterating of Indian proper names and epithets, such as "Akhand" (!). But a truce to fault-finding. The work is fitted to be most interesting to some of the leading classes of the community in all parts of our Empire, notably to soldiers, statesmen, journalists, historians, and intelligent patriots everywhere.—B.

HIRCHFELD BROS., LIMITED; LONDON, 1904.

5. *Hossfeld's Japanese Grammar*, by H. J. WEINTZ. This grammar contains all necessary instruction for the student who is taking up the study of the Japanese language for the first time. Mr. H. J. Weintz's method is concise and simple; he points out peculiarities of the syntax, and also the mode of constructing sentences, which is diverse to our own. Many Japanese grammars have been already compiled—by Mr. Aston, Mr. Tatsui Baba, Mr. Mutsu, Professor Léon de Rosny, and others, each arranged upon a system peculiar to the individual author's manner of teaching Japanese.

It is Mr. Weintz's wish to enable the student to study Japanese without a master, and in view of adding value to his pages, he tells us that each phrase and sentence given is quoted from the work of some eminent author. This research should bear witness to his own ability to compile an able and important work.

Those whose aim is to bring into closer brotherhood of thought different races of the earth, and who endeavour thereby to strengthen the bonds of friendship between East and West, are doing good service, though they may be sowing for others to reap. We do not, however, agree with Mr. Weintz in his suggestion of dispensing with the native Japanese syllabary. The construction of it is extremely simple. We have so little to record that is absolutely invented by the Japanese themselves that we are glad to know the Japanese syllabary *was* originated by one of their own learned men. Kōbō Daishi, the saintly bonze, who travelled West for the purpose of reforming and enlightening his people, claims the honour of this invention. He was born in 774, and died in A.D. 835; and as this syllabary has existed nearly 1,200 years, we should indeed be sorry to see it laid aside, particularly in these enlightened times, when the learning of languages is made such an easy matter. Moreover, this syllabary, both in the *Katakana* and *Hiragana* forms, has influenced by its graceful curves and masterly touches the fine arts of Japan—those arts which are without dispute more unique and more advanced than those of

any other Oriental country. While the dispute concerning dead languages is under discussion, we should be glad to hear that our universities will consider the growing importance of young men studying the Oriental tongue of those nations to which inevitable circumstances draws us daily, thus strengthening a close and friendly alliance. Already the Japanese are outstripping us in writing books of considerable merit in *English*. These works are valuable additions to our libraries, both as regards style and the information they impart.—S.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON, 1904.

6. *A Yankee on the Yangtze*, by WILLIAM EDGAR GEIL. This book has an exceedingly unpleasant flavour about it. Without being either witty or humorous, the author deliberately lays himself out on every page to be excruciatingly funny, and the "fun" is invariably of the tawdriest and paltriest description. He is evidently, notwithstanding, a man of some scholarship—at least, if we are to judge by the unusual number of Latin and Greek quotations he scatters more or less relevantly over his book; one, by the way, incorrectly given (p. 122); but the elegant *mots* of the ancients contrast sadly with the lame modern vulgarity of the author's clumsy jokes. We are first of all considerably mystified about a "P.T." which accompanies him like a Little Mary (and, indeed, he uses the term "Little Mary," p. 194, once in talking, as Americans are much too prone to do, of his stomach). It is only towards the end of the book (p. 301) that we find out what "P.T." is—*i.e.*, a pigtail, which he declined to wear. We are left in doubt for some time who and what the author himself is, but at last the coy truth pops out, and half a dozen photographs of himself appear by instalments. We are led to suppose he was a "big bug" (p. 214), and a "mandarin" entitled to expect viceroys to receive him. He measured 6 feet 3 inches in height; had travelled for four years; had fished in the Sea of Galilee, and visited Papua; weighed only 240 pounds (less 120 pounds for his sedan chair), etc. His patronage of missionaries is aggressive but condescending: "Be it remembered that what the Consuls know, and the public generally, comes for the most part from these same mission-workers" (p. 56). On the other hand: "I would give another kindly word of caution to the missionaries—avoid hobby-riding. Let this be written large! Let the cranks at home ride hobbies. Keep off side-tracks! Take bile pills when the liver is out of order." The Viceroy, Lin Shao-yüan, received him with reserve, but warmed up at last when "I told him, as an American, I believed in China for the Chinese." But, alas! on page 289 we read: "The Chinese are confirmed liars. They lie 'from way back' and away forward, etc." Sometimes it is quite impossible to know what on earth he is driving at. Thus (p. 15): "'Early Rice' was served up wet at 8.45 a.m. . . . The room was not encumbered with artistic *cachet*, but was full of penumbra. Indeed, the room was chiefly furnished with good penumbra. . . . There were penumbra everywhere. . . . And it was of good quality, not the pale, thin article one oftentimes finds among

dark-skinned native races. This penumbra would have delighted the heart of a white ant." His "funny" way of translating Chinese names is absolutely grotesque; instead of telling us plainly that the Panthay Sultan was called Tu Wên-siu, he says "the name of the Moslem leader was 'The Good-looking Literary Sprout.'" It would be just as reasonable to tell the Chinese that a man called Benedict Bacon enjoyed the name of "Blessed Side of a Pig." In a word, the whole book is written in the most irritating, not to say offensive, style, and we are surprised at Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton for allowing it to issue from their press. Still, it possesses some redeeming features. On the rare occasions when the author soars beyond his petty personal experiences—as, for instance, when he tells us about the late Viceroy Ts'ên Yüh-ying, or gives us a sketch of the Tai and Htai divisions of the Shan race—he is not inaccurate; his numerous photographs are excellent; his views on the stupid United States practice of employing Chinese as translators are correct. The present reviewer, having been over most of the same ground, both in China and Burma, can certify to the general accuracy of his specific observations; the Chinese sayings with which he garnishes the heading of each chapter are in nearly every instance faultlessly printed and faultlessly translated; and, indeed, if the author had only been able to swallow fewer of his "bile pills," and indulge in a little genuine melancholy or gravity instead of boring us with his vapid funniness, he might have written a fairly interesting book of travel, even though he has not stepped over a yard of new ground, seen one single novelty, or told us one solitary fresh thing.—E. H. PARKER.

LAWRENCE AND BULLEN; 11, HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, W.C., 1904.

7. *Further India*, by HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G. ("Story of Exploration Series"). Whether the modern "Further India" was the ophir of King Solomon or the golden Chersonese of the ancients is a matter of little importance; but the reason why this vast country, tropical and rich, which possessed the ancient civilization of the Khmers, had been subject to much Hindu influence, and which was under the shadow of China, should have been so unknown to the West until medieval times is of the greatest interest. Mr. Clifford, in this valuable addition to an already valuable series, has given an excellent account of how this ignorance was dispelled—a difficult record of a long line of small explorations.

In spite of Ptolemy and a few monkish allusions, we have no real record of Further India until Marco Polo appears. It was left to the knowledge and exploitation of the active and aggressive Arab traders on the one side, and to a few embassies from China on the other. Marco Polo in 1296, however, left an account—albeit, a confused one—of the Archipelago and the countries surrounding it—the first European to do so. He was followed by Odoric, a Franciscan Friar (1318-1330), who describes Java, "the second best of islands," and then Ibn Batuta, the ubiquitous. The author points out that, scanty though the records are, they show the ease

with which Europeans traversed the East before the coming of the Filibusters made their name an evil omen.

With the coming of Vasco da Gama there came also a great increase in the knowledge of Further India, but, generally speaking, of its coasts only, as the Portuguese settlers and pirates (it is difficult to differentiate them) cared little for exploration inland unconnected with trade, and their high-handed treatment of the natives made the latter unwilling to throw open their lands to the invaders. In 1508 they attempted to conquer Malacca, and the town itself was taken in 1511 by Albuquerque. With Malacca as a base, Portuguese forts spread all over the Indo-Chinese seaboard, and embassies were sent to Siam. The most interesting account left by the Portuguese explorers of their journeys is, perhaps, that of the well-known Mendez Pinto (1540-1541). Then came the English sailors Raymond and Lancaster, who, in 1591, began their piratical course; and when, in 1596, Jan van Linschoten published his "*Voyages*," a real blow was dealt to the Portuguese, as the book exposed their weakness in the East. From this time onward continued fighting between the Portuguese and the Dutch, who now appeared on the scene, added much to the Western knowledge of the Archipelago, and in 1602 the British East India Company reached Acheh with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, and soon held forts in Java and Sumatra until driven out of the former island by Dutch hostility. Mr. Clifford hardly touches upon the early English explorers in the Malay Peninsula, and dismisses their settlements in a paragraph. Yet Francis Light, the first Governor of Penang, sent many descriptive despatches to Warren Hastings, wrote a monograph on Junk Ceylon, and an account of Quedah, inspired by him, was printed in 1808; but he is, nevertheless, right when he says that general knowledge of the country has only come since the foresight of Sir Stamford Raffles acquired Singapore for the British in 1819. The difficult negotiations with Burma and Siam are well described, and we have the stirring career of Constantine Phaulkon as a central figure surrounded by the Jesuit missionaries, through whom we obtained many sources of knowledge. The British and French Embassies to Burma, Siam, and Annam cleared away more darkness, and culminated, in the former and latter cases, in annexation.

From this time the book becomes more of a narrative character. It has to deal largely with the attractive French traveller François Garnier, who with M. de Lagrée commenced their famous expedition up the Mekong in 1866. Their visit to the ruined city of Angkor in Kambodia gives Mr. Clifford an opportunity of a welcome digression on the problem of the too little known Khmer civilization. They journeyed together, or separately, from Penh to Ubon, and then to the little-known Luang Prabang, where another explorer, Mouhot, had died of fever in 1861. They continued their explorations through the Shan States (partly in country traversed by McLeod in 1837) to the unknown Yun-Nan, then in the throes of the Muhammadan rebellion, as far as the rebel capital Ta-li-fu. De Lagrée died on one of the journeys, and it was Garnier who returned to recount the difficulties and dangers of the two years' expedition.

The exploration of Burma was pushed on after the Burmese War of 1826, and we meet the names of Pemberton, Richardson, and J. S. Hannay, who travelled up the Irrawadi to Bhamo. Many other explorers followed, and after the second war there was in 1855 the expedition of Phayre and Henry Yule. The latter in 1856 codified the results of former expeditions, and produced a map of Burma. In 1868 Sladen made his expedition to the Shan States, and the ill-fated Margary traversed from Shanghai to Bhamo in 1871, and these have been preceded and followed by explorers, missionaries, and merchants. The spread of the British influence in the Malay Peninsula since 1874 has thrown open that *terra incognita* also, and there now remains in the whole of Further India few secrets with the exception of the source of two rivers and some dark jungle spots, and the history of the explorations and political changes which have produced this knowledge in the West can be read in this excellent book.—F. S.

8. *The Penetration of Arabia*, by DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, M.A., F.R.G.S. Unlike the first book of this series ("The Story of Exploration Series," edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D.), which was "The Nile Quest," by Sir Harry Johnston, this book has no clearly defined focus, and so it is rather difficult to follow, although carefully compiled and well written. The author has divided the work on this account into separate geographical divisions, and has endeavoured to show the extent of exploration each part has undergone since the days of the Greeks.

The European travellers who have explored Arabia have not—as in Egypt—been impelled by any definite object, and we owe our still imperfect knowledge of the peninsula to thirst for adventure and individual enterprise entirely. Arabia has never been thoroughly known to the West. The Byzantine Court knew it only as "the land of gold and incense and winged serpents," and the rise of the Moslem power cut off the means of more certain knowledge from Europe. In spite of individual travellers, therefore, such as Varthema in 1510 and the Portuguese in Ormuzd and Oman, as well as the numerous renegades, the occidental knowledge until the days of Niebuhr remained much the same as it had been in the time of Ptolemy of Alexandria.

"The Pioneers" is the first division of the book, and in Carsten Niebuhr the Dane we have the first of the modern travellers who have done so much to clear away the geographical mists. He alone survived of this first real scientific expedition, which, despatched by the Danish Government, went to Arabia in 1762, and his observations have been the foundations of most of our modern knowledge of the country.

The rise of the Wahabi power and the conquests of Mehemet Ali interrupted exploration again for a time, one traveller, Seetzen, being murdered, and the next European of note was the Swiss Burckhardt, who as Ibrahim ibn Abd'Allah made the *Haj* in 1814, and left a description of the Holy Cities to which even R. F. Burton in 1854 could add little. He was followed, in different parts of Arabia, by Wallin—an envoy for Mehemet Ali—Botta, also in Egyptian employ, Wellstead, Sadlier, and Arnaud.

Mr. Hogarth, after dealing with the Fathers of Arabian exploration, next deals with their successors. The occupation of Aden, effected by the British in 1839, dispelled very little darkness, but gradually the whole of Arabia except the centre has opened before a legion of self-sacrificing explorers. There is no need to enumerate all, but they include Burton, who in 1877 explored Midian when prospecting for gold; the Dutch Snouck Hurgronjé, who made the *Haj* in 1885; Manzoni, who visited Sana in 1877, Millingen further north, followed by Defflers, H. Burckhardt, and Glaser. Miles in 1870 had explored the southern borders, and Pelly in 1864, Riad. Nejd can boast as explorers Palgrave, Guarmani, Halévy, Euting, the charming writer C. Montagu Doughty, W. S. Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt in 1879, and Nolde in 1883.

The Jewish explorers have helped much in opening up the land of their Semitic kinsfolk. The best known of these, perhaps, was the romantic W. G. Palgrave; but they can claim also among others Ali Bey (Domingo Badia y Leblich) in 1813, whose MSS. seem to have been rescued by Lady Hester Stanhope; Wolff the missionary; and Joseph Halévy, the explorer of Nejran in 1869.

It is difficult not to regret that Mr. Hogarth should by the strict limits he has set himself, which only allow notices of the explorers themselves and of the geographers (to whom due praise is given) who helped by their labours, not be able to tell us more of the renegade adventurers in Arabia; but the fault is no doubt theirs, not his. Nevertheless, one longs to have more than the mere mention of the career of Thomas Keith, late a private in the 79th Highlanders and Agha of Mamelukes, who was in 1815 Governor of the Holy City of Medina.—F. S.

ERNEST LEROUX, ÉDITEUR, RUE BONAPARTE, 28; PARIS, IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, 1904.

9. *Nan-Tchao Ye-Che: Histoire Particulière du Nan-Tchao*. Traduction d'une Histoire de l'Ancien Yün Nan, accompagnée d'une carte et d'un lexique géographique et historique, par CAMILLE SAINSON, Vice-Consul de France à Ho-K'euou.—M. Sainson has made excellent use of the abundant leisure which a residence at Hokow implies. The "port" was opened in 1895, and, besides being the terminus of the Yün Nan railway, is the residence of a French Vice-Consul, under the French Consul at Mêngtsz, from which place it is distant 140 miles. There are, barring railway-men, few, if any, foreign residents, who naturally prefer the lively French garrison town of Laokay, just opposite; in which, too, presumably, M. Sainson has spent and spends most of his lighter hours. The matter of which he here treats is not altogether new, for in the *China Review* (vols. xix. and xx., pp. 67-106 and 337-346) the writer of this notice has already fully treated exactly the same subject, under the titles "The Early Laos and China" and "The Old Thai Empire." Moreover, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1900, he published a short notice of M. Rocher's *Histoire des Princes de Yün Nan des Documents Chinois traduits pour la Première Foix (sic)*, which last statement is

quite a mistake. At present the same reviewer has before him an *original* copy of the *History of Nan-chao* (now translated in full by M. Sainson), dated 1550. M. Sainson has translated from a more modern reprint, dated 1775, and this reprint appears to be quite accurate, except on rare occasions. It may be roughly described as "an account of the origin of the Siamese and Laos races before they left their ancient seat around Tali Fu for the south, and settled in the Ménam Valley." In 1892 the Rev. J. Smith, of Tali Fu, was good enough, at the writer's request, sent from Bhamo, to make personal search for a stone mentioned in the T'ang history of 1,000 years ago. He found it *in situ*, about five miles outside the south gate of the city, and kindly obtained a manuscript copy, so far as it was possible to decipher so weather-worn a document. So little is known in Europe upon this interesting subject that it would be labour almost thrown away to enter into critical details here. It is sufficient to say that M. Sainson's translation does him very great credit as a comparative beginner in Chinese, which, to judge by the numerous mistranslations, he manifestly must be. The majority of the mistranslations, however, in no way discredit him, for they are not as a rule in the sense of the Chinese context, but in the meanings which must be given to foreign words—as, for instance, on p. 15, in explaining the functions of the numerous *shwang*, who *chu*, or "manage," certain public departments.—E. H. P.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1904.

10. *A Handbook to Agra and the Táj*, by E. B. Havell. This work includes chapters on Sikandra, Fat'hpur Sikri, and other historic places in Agra and its neighbourhood. Books larger than this, and smaller, have appeared in times past dealing with the same subject, the Táj being, as it must ever be, the outstanding object. It is not a work for the learned; it is, rather, a sort of guide-book for globe-trotters and sight-seers, and is written in a style sufficiently "popular" to meet the requirements of persons of that description. To readers of a somewhat higher class the book will be of interest from its epitome of the reigns of the several monarchs of the Mughal dynasty—among whom stands out in "splendid isolation" the singularly forceful, magnanimous, and beautiful character of Akbar, unsurpassed among India's greatest men. The book contains upwards of 130 pages, and, considering its size, it is abundantly illustrated. There are beautifully-executed photogravures of the Táj and other memorials of the Mughals; there are also plans of Fat'hpur Sikri and other important places there which every intelligent traveller and student of history would naturally desire to see.

So far, good; but we shall be excused if we add that, both to the scholar and to the more popular reader, the book will leave some things to be desired. In the first place, we do not quite see the use to the reader of marking the vowel-quantity in the case of some Oriental words and not of others. A person who has not resided in India would discover nothing in this guide-book to guide him to the true sounding of the words "Babar,"

"Akbar," "Fazl," "Jahan," and many others the like. Thus is the reader left to grope entirely in the dark as to the important question of the pronunciation of words among a keen-witted people who instantly detect a false quantity, and stow it away among their "funny" anecdotes about the "págal Angrez." But the author here and there breaks silence on this subject, and marks the quantity. This he does now by altering the vowels (as when he gives us "Boland" and "Baland," both of which are wrong), and now by the accent-mark (as in the case of "Máhabhárata" on p. 3, and "Máhabhárata" on p. 767, thus making "confusion worse confounded"; for neither of these markings is anywhere near the mark. Either of these pronunciations would be fit to fill the author's native friends with dismay as to the linguistic powers of "the conquering race." Where he *does* make an attempt at the pronunciation, he usually contrives to put his reader on the wrong scent. In other respects also, besides pronunciation, the author reveals the shakiness of his information respecting Indian words. On p. 5 he has the curious misspelling "Kokand," leaving his distracted globe-trotter "all at sea"; and the follower of Muḥammad is sometimes a "Mussulman" (p. 3), and sometimes a "Musalman" (p. 22). It is not in human nature to give the form "Begam" (pp. 12, 71, 97, etc.) the correct sound; yet the author offers not his aid. No desire have we to present a complete list of the blemishes of this "Handbook": they simply swarm; but we fear Mr. Havell will need to rub up his linguistics a little if he ever attempt a second edition. He is not at all sure-footed in these matters, and a guide should feel sure of his ground. Such expressions as "bigoted Mussulman" (which occurs *usque ad nauseam* in this book) has not a pleasing sound. It surely is hard that a man who happens to be possessed of religious convictions should be described in such harsh terms as "bigoted" and "fanatical." Better things (more conciliatory and less offensive) might have been expected from a "Fellow of the University of Calcutta." Such a man might, moreover, have been supposed to know that "Jámi" does not mean "Cathedral," as Mr. Havell would lead his untravelled reader to understand (see p. 30, *et passim*). Lastly, seeing that Akbar, "the Greatest of the Mughals," was the founder of what is now known as "Agra" (which to this day is best known as "Akbarábád" by Muḥammadans all over India), the compiler might have supplied his readers with some sort of *likeness* of him, seeing that he has given us one of Sháh Jihán, and seeing that "the Great Mughal" is the principal personage brought before us in the book. There are many other things which we had marked for animadversion; but enough has been said to show in what directions the "Handbook" calls for improvement. As to the printing, the illustrations, the diagrams, and the binding, the workmanship is most excellent.—B.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

11. *The Book of Consolations; or, the Pastoral Epistles of Mar Ishoyabh, of Kephana in Adiabene.* We have to thank Mr. Philip Scott-Moncrieff for a capital edition of Mar Ishoyabh's letters—the first set, that is to say, com-

prising those written during his episcopate—and for the promise of the like work on those letters belonging to the subsequent periods of Mar Ishoyabh's activity as Metropolitan and as Catholicos or Patriarch of the Nestorians. This division is clear, and has the advantage of confining each set within the limits of a convenient-sized volume. Type and paper are all that could be desired. The pointing, however, is a little odd, and the vowels are frequently placed over the next letter to that to which they belong, an arrangement which is certainly convenient to the printer, but may be puzzling to a beginner. Except for this we notice very few misprints.

The historical introduction gives a clear and good account of the Bishop and his father, Bastohmagh, rich Persian noblemen, of their relations to Rabban Jacob and his celebrated monastery of Beth-'Abhê, where Ishoyabh was brought up, whence he proceeded to the famous school of Nisibis.

In later life he followed his father's example of munificence and love of building, and gave a fine church to the monastery where he had spent his boyhood. His wish to develop and complete the foundation of his master Rabban Jacob, by adding a large and good school, was thwarted by the objection of the monks to have the tranquillity of their lives interrupted by "the chanting of psalms and services and the noise of schoolboys"! The long and vivid account of their laments and objections, and of the Patriarch's yielding to the force of these, is well known to students of the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*," or of Dr. Budge's "*Book of Governors*." It is his translation which is here given in full. The sympathetic tone of the monastic chronicler, who sides entirely with his brethren and fails to remark their ingratitude to their benefactor and their selfish disregard even for the future of their own monastery, which this school was designed to feed, well illustrates the difference of ideals of Eastern and Western monasticism. The disregard of the rights of property, as far as the acquisition of relics was concerned, common to both Eastern and Western Christianity in early ages, finds clear demonstration in the account of Mar Ishoyabh's first coveting, next praying for, and finally stealing, a beautiful marble reliquary containing bones of the Apostles, from a church at Antioch. This was on the return of an embassy from Persia to the Emperor Heraclius, which brings Persian church history into touch with the West. These and other interesting histories, however, belong to later periods of Mar Ishoyabh's life than that of which this first instalment of letters shows one side.

The summary of these is not so well done as the introduction; it reproduces too closely the diffuseness and indefiniteness from which Syriac letters seldom escape.

MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON, 1904.

12. *A Plea for the Better Local Government of Bengal*, by ROBERT CARSTAIRS, I.C.S. (retired). This is a handy-sized volume (pp. 166) on a great subject. The binding, paper, and type are good; the printing is clear and comfortable to read. It is the work of "no 'prentice hand"

It is written in the style of English well known as that of the mature Government official, and there is a certain reserve of power at the back of every sentence. Altogether it is a work admirably suited to be a text-book and guide for the civil officer of Bengal from the commencement of his career to its close. What, however, can be the writer's authority for the spelling "Bramin" awakens our curiosity.

There are few things more bewildering and more annoying to the youthful Englishman on his first arrival in Bengal than the daily discovery of the irreconcilable diversities of the people of that province in respect of religious ideas, caste usages, and racial predilections. As soon as by dint of careful observation he has learned and mentally docketed a certain set of facts, some further additions to his experience upset his calculations in the most humbling fashion, and he has to begin all over again the weary business of "learning the people" among whom he will have to pass his life and discharge the perplexing duties of his "daily round." This, whether he be magistrate, merchant, missionary, or planter. This is the reason why Scotchmen—so justly noted for their quiet self-restraint and their patient plodding—have ever stood in the front rank among Bengal officials, and have achieved the greatest distinction.

The present volume is fitted to help the young civilian over the rough places of his early experience. It is an admirable introduction to life in the Bengal province, and it affords the helpful guidance which might be expected from one who, like the author of the work, has passed a long official life in the interior of the province. The primary object of the work is to place on record a number of suggestions for the improvement of the Administration—suggestions which are the outgrowth of ripe experience, the experience of a man who loved his work, who cherished the people among whom he lived, and who has upon him the well known "spell" of India which marks every truly great official. As a means for placing the new arrival in a position to start at the point where older men have left off, this work is helpful in a high degree. The author, *assuming* that his reader is not in need of information as to the geographical, ethnological, commercial, and other more general and popular aspects of the province, gives chapters on the "Village Institutions" and their relation to the Government. He tells of the important subject of the "Pancháyat" system, of the police department, of the subject of roads, of taxation, and of various other branches of administration in the carrying on of the Government and promoting the welfare of the people. On all these matters Mr. Carstairs has useful suggestions to offer which have grown out of his own long experience. These suggestions, if "they fall into good ground," will (as we venture to hope) prove valuable seed-thoughts.

One of the principal difficulties in the uplifting of the people of Bengal is found in the inertia and apathy of the people themselves; there is a want of public spirit among all classes, and the born leaders are few. Such essentials it is not in the power of any Government to create; they can only be of public use if they arise spontaneously. The efforts of the District Officer to supply this demand must prove inutile if he have not

adequate support and co-operation among the Bengális themselves. And even all District Officers have not the same craving for the work—the same zeal, imagination, and genius. Plans well laid and set in operation by one officer are too often either disallowed by his successor in office or neutralized by some different policy and mode of procedure. What with the curious absence of public spirit among the Bengális as a people, and what with the variations of policy or temper in successive administrators, uniformity and continuity of procedure are well-nigh impossible of attainment. Whence, as the author points out (p. 80), although the truism that “Roads are a necessity of civilization” is accepted in theory by the Bengal Government, yet the Government has failed to give effect to it in practice. This, by the way, is but a sample of the plain speaking of the author in his criticisms of the powers that be. But the comparative slowness of progress in Bengal must not be permitted to obscure the fact that much—very much—progress has been made in the raising and improvement of the condition of the people. That work is still going on while we write, and much credit is due to those officers of the Government who, amidst untold difficulties, are still doing their very best with such means as they have at command to gradually transform the condition of life of a race of people whom it is not easy to improve. Altogether this book “marks time” in the matter of all branches of our public work in the great province; nor only so, for it is also admirably fitted to be a constant companion and guide to those with whom the future welfare of Bengal must so largely rest.—B.

E. MARLBOROUGH AND CO., LONDON.

13. *Japanese Grammar Self Taught*, by H. J. WEINTZ, is another and smaller work by the same author. It is constructed much on the same system as his fuller undertaking, but seems, by the tone of the conversation, to be adapted for commercial men, travellers, and tourists. It is published in a handy pocket form. Pronunciation, accents, syllabary, parts of speech, and other items, are carefully considered. The vocabularies at the end are extremely useful; also the lists of weights and measures, money, etc. The list of phonetic pronunciations should also prove interesting. We are glad to find Mr. Weintz has not excluded from this little grammar the *Katakana* and *Hiragana* syllabaries. They will prove useful to travellers, to decipher shop and hotel signs, prices of goods, and other pieces of information that are displayed in the country towns by those Japanese who do not run the risk of exposing their insufficient mastery of English.—S.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON, TEMPLE AVENUE, LONDON, E.C., 1904.

14. *The Sportsman's Book for India*, edited by F. G. AFLALO. This is a thick volume (pp. xii, 567). There is a good map of India at the beginning and several smaller maps in the course of the work; there are also upwards of forty well-executed photogravures of interesting localities

or events, a list of contents, and a very good index. The ground covered is that of shooting, fishing, and hunting, together with golf, boating, and other exhilarating forms of exercise which are so largely in use among Anglo-Indians. Author of the volume there is none, but it consists of a series of well-written papers contributed by gentlemen bearing names more or less known and honoured in sporting circles, the whole being edited by Mr. F. G. Aflalo. His introductory paragraphs contain an intelligent account of Indian sports, bringing the whole subject up to date. It is fitted to be a book largely in request among sportsmen for many a year to come, and every regimental and station library will doubtless be furnished with copies. The work is dedicated, by permission, to Lord Kitchener, the present Commander-in-Chief of our army in India, and the contributions bear the well-known names Gerard, Kinloch, Bairnsfather, Clay, Neville, Taylor, Arbuthnot, Burke, Gadsdan, and Harry Stokes—names which guarantee that the work will be found to place the whole subject on a secure and modern footing. The papers contributed are not by any means dry nor too technical. They are full of lively incident about places, people, and prey—of “moving accidents by flood and field.” There is nothing trumpery about the volume; it is written in capital spirit and in dignified English *by gentlemen for gentlemen*. The whole treatise is so choice that it is hardly possible, in the space at our disposal, to select specimens; enthusiastic lovers of sport will get it and read it for themselves. The work “marks time” in the business of which it treats, and we do not hesitate to predict for it an eager welcome and a widely-extended popularity, not among Anglo-Indians only, but also among Englishmen and Americans of all ranks and classes who are interested in healthy sports and games.—B.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON, 1904.

15. *The Heart of a Continent: A Narrative of Travels in Manchuria*, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Hunza, by COLONEL F. E. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E. This is another reprint, in cheaper form, of a work already well known, the first edition of which appeared in 1896. Two chapters are omitted, making the work more than it formerly was an account of the author's travels. The present is the fourth edition. In less than one year (1896-1897) the work was reissued as many as five times. Better recommendation could hardly be given. The book had the advantage of appearing in the very nick of time, and of covering a most important period of Asiatic history. “Manchuria” has been on everybody's lips for years past. Turning, however, to the book itself, and viewing it on its own merits as a literary achievement and as a narrative of adventure, and apart altogether from the question of the opportuneness of its appearance, we have nothing but praise for it.

There are travellers and travellers. Ideals differ even here. Burton used, in his own magnanimous way, to speak of his great predecessor

Burckhardt as "the prince of travellers," but Burton took the shine out of Burckhardt. Burton was a *learned* man in quite an unusual sense of the word. He took within him, in whatever lands he travelled, that inward stock of scientific enlightenment and language-lore the lack of which our present author deplores (see pp. ix, x). The result was that Burton made all things live—whatever he touched. He went for a summer to Iceland, and he told us, in two weighty volumes, what no traveller or scientist ever told us before about that interesting region. He spent a short term of years in the Brazil, and he made it for scientists ever afterwards a live picture. And so with the country of Dahomey, with Midian, and with Zanzibar and the land of the Somál. It is everywhere the same—the splendid story of "the Hajj" over again. Wherever he went—to old worlds or to new—he brought to light scientific facts which up to his time were not within the knowledge of scientific men. Had he been permitted by the late Lord Salisbury to succeed to the Consulate of Morocco, as for a series of years he was known to fervently desire, he would doubtless have presented the literati of Europe with yet another repertory of learned research. For one sees what he brings with him the power of seeing.

We would not on any account omit to mention a feature of this work which strikes us very favourably. The author evidently does not belong to that class of travellers who have eyes for nothing but the *bad* side of native character. Wherever he goes, moreover, he contrives to find the mission, the missionary, and the Christian native, and while evidently sacrificing nothing of veracity in his remarks regarding them, he is always alive to what is *best* in them; and in the result he gives us a shrewd and well-balanced account of them. We note this with the more pleasure because in this he contrasts favourably with many travellers. We all see in our fellow-men whatever best reflects our own moral condition. Whether the many mission stations our author chanced to meet with were of this denomination or that, his observations are never crude, lopsided, or uncharitable, and they are always such as must commend themselves to men of understanding. In point of style the work is so breezy and chatty that one is irresistibly drawn on to the end of the story; it seems next to impossible to leave off. The style is that of a veracious and honour-bright eye-witness—conversational, but not by any means colloquial. The book is written in the most delightful of literary styles; it is the writing of a man who is full of his subject, and who likes it. It is an *ideal* traveller's style. Burton's style is learned, classical, and clear-cut; but it could hardly be described as fascinating, excepting to readers of highly-cultured literary taste and feeling. Upon the whole, this work affords to the untravelled reader a fine insight into the geographical and ethnical qualities of the lands and peoples of the regions through which the author travelled—their customs, modes of life, occupations, etc.—and it will doubtless inspire other young men to visit unknown places and peoples. The map requires revision; for instance, "Tientsin" is wrongly spelt.—B.

NEWMAN AND CO., CALCUTTA ; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO., LONDON,
1904.

16. *Studies*, by B. C. MAHTAB. This book, containing about 90 pp., was printed in Calcutta. The writer bears the honoured title of "Maháráj-Adhiráj," and hails from Burdwan. The "Studies" consist of thirteen chapters dealing with many aspects of native life in Bengal, especially the social aspects. It strikes us as an interesting sign of our times that a young man still firmly adhering to the more ancient form of Hindú doctrine should declare himself so strongly against child-marriage, and so distinctly in favour of female education and the marriage of Hindú widows. It is interesting to see men of such dignity as Mr. Mahtab applying themselves to authorship—to see one who, as in the present instance, occupies by right of birth a position at the very summit of social life writing a work on the social condition of the people around him. Our hope for the welfare of the people of India will never die out as long as such leaders of society show the qualities of leadership. The Mahárája does credit to his noble ancestry.

It is refreshing to find him so fearless in depicting the foibles and failures of his fellow-countrymen; for this he cannot be too highly commended. Nor do we think less favourably of him when he points out the weaknesses of the ruling class. So genial, however, and so gentle withal, are his remarks on this subject that they leave no sting behind. The author readily accounts for such weaknesses by the immaturity of the younger Englishmen in point of experience, and by the fact that in Bengal all English people are but foreigners, persons whose views of native life must in the nature of the case be those of the outsider.

The book is written in a style well suited to the Bengáli type of intellect. There is a very large admixture of Bengáli words and phrases which must go straight to the head and heart of every English-speaking Bengáli. Such phraseology, however, would be wholly unintelligible to English readers who have not resided in Bengal, and would, in their case, not have the piquancy that it would have for the Bengáli. The English of the book, however, is such as would do credit to a well-educated English writer; there is not a trace of "Bábú English" in it. In this respect it is worthy of all praise. The author is a gentleman whom we should like personally to know. He has written one of the most genial and good-tempered books we have seen on this subject for many a day. It is bound to do good, both in this country and in that.—B.

THE ORIENT PRESS; 168, FLEET STREET, E.C., 1904.

17. *The Sayings of Lao-Tzú*, translated from the Chinese, with an introduction, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. (Oxon.), Assistant at the British Museum. The Chinese have a saying, *Yu chwang-yüan t'u-ti, mei chwang-yüan shi-fu*—i.e., "The pupil may be First Wrangler, whilst his tutor is nowhere." Twenty years ago, after twenty years' experience of Chinese

life and literature, Professor Giles of Cambridge came to the conclusion that the *Tao-tih Classic* was an "impudent forgery"; but now the more tolerant son has discovered that "it is possible to trace a coherent line of thought throughout the whole," and, in fact, seems to the present critic to have been selected by his father as a vehicle for withdrawing the latter from an untenable literary position. Mr. Lionel Giles—whose vigorous and lucid English style bears a wondrous resemblance to that of the Cambridge professor, but chastened and moderated—certainly had many years' experience of life in China as a youngster; but it is not on record that he ever in any degree studied Chinese seriously. The commas before and after the three words "with an introduction" would, however, lead us to suppose that he not only wrote the introduction under view, but translated the difficult Chinese work, too. As a matter of fact, the book before us is not a translation at all in the usual sense of the word; the sentences in the original classic have been regrouped so as to form nine fairly homogeneous chapters, just as though we were to cut out all the verses of the Gospels, and redistribute them so as to form consecutive sections on "War," "Humility," "Government," and so on. The plan is ingenious, and it certainly makes Lao-tsz's obscure philosophy sound less incomprehensible to the general. Assuming that Mr. Lionel Giles is not, as above suggested, a "tulchan" suffragan to the real *ἐπίσκοπος* lying *perdu*, we are glad to stand sponsor for the excellence of his work. Under the circumstances, however, it becomes an irksome duty to detach each translated sentence from its artificial place, refer to the place in the Chinese text where it ought to be, and then see if it is correctly translated; but, so far as it is possible to judge by cursory perusal, the individual texts *are* well translated (whether the father or the son really did the work), subject, of course, to reasonable allowances for difference of opinion and obscurity of subject, and we therefore congratulate Professor H. A. Giles on his recantation. It would be more than human on his part to refrain entirely from a plea that this retirement was only effected in order "to lure the enemy on." Accordingly, Mr. Lionel Giles dutifully repeats the extraordinary whilom statement of his father that "the Chinese themselves are almost unanimous in denying its authenticity." *Que sais-je?* Professor H. A. Giles may have convincing evidence up his sleeve to this effect. If so, why not cite chapter and verse? Legge, Chalmers, and Wylie go out of their way to assert the contrary; and the present writer has never once, in perusing over 1,000 Chinese volumes of 2,000 years' history, come across one single Chinese hint that Lao-tsz's Classic has ever once been supposed by any Chinese to be unauthentic. He therefore cannot stand sponsor for Mr. Lionel Giles's name as an authority on Taoism in the same absolute sense in which, almost exactly twenty-nine years ago, he readily stood spiritual sponsor for his name as a "mere man." As to the Classic itself, a word for word translation of the whole was published in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1903, and January, 1904, with ample references enabling anyone, Chinese scholar or otherwise, to "work up" the subject, or to compare translations of individual sentences.—E. H. PARKER.

ELLIOT STOCK ; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1904.

18. *Actual India*, by ARTHUR SAWTELL. This unpretending volume of a little more than 100 pages purports to be an "outline" of the subject for the use of general readers ; it is preceded by a good map of India, and is followed by a very carefully-constructed index. It is from the pen of a practised writer on Indian affairs, the author having had experience in Anglo-Indian journalism. There is no pretence to scholarship, and while the pages are packed with information, and often also with statistics and figures respecting the various branches of the public service and the various industries carried on among all classes of the people, the style is that of the Indian newspaper—popular, chatty, and breezy. Easy flow of ideas, fulness of information, and freedom and geniality of temper, follow as matter of course. There is a certain attractiveness about the sketchy style which enlists attention and draws the reader on from chapter to chapter to the very close of the book. The material is well marshalled out in a series of sections, taking up such questions as the nature of the internal government of the several Presidencies and the political constitution of the governing classes ; the various details of the public expenditure ; the trade and general industry ; the important subject of our foreign and border politics. The reader thus obtains a good idea of the nature, manner, and history of British rule in India, and the position of the English nation there ; nor only so, but he also obtains—and that from the pen of an independent witness—a fair idea of the condition of the governed masses, high and low. Altogether we regard this publication as "marking time" ; it is an opportune contribution to our knowledge of India and its people and affairs, which deserves to be welcomed by the ruling class, and which should find many readers among the middle class of our fellow-subjects, both there and here. We cannot too highly recommend this little work as a *vade-mecum* for the merchant, as a companion for the magistrate and administrator, and as a work of reference to the journalist.—B.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE ; LONDON, 1904.

19. *The Rise of English Culture*, by EDWIN JOHNSON, M.A. A book which not only denies the existence of the whole period of the Middle Ages, but ascribes the belief in them to monastic invention, cannot fail to interest us, whether or not we accept its strange conclusions. The book under review does all this and more. Mr. E. S. Petherick has kindly supplied an introductory about the author, his writings and his literary career, to the time when he discovered, as he thought, that the actual writers of the Church and Gospel histories were not ancient, which he followed by writing a denial of the whole system of medieval chronology in the work now before us. The author ascribes the existence of the Middle Ages wholly to the skill and prolific inventive imagination of the Benedictine chroniclers, and pursues the scheme of this conviction to great lengths ; and in reviewing English history has the glorious oppor-

tunity of denying Domesday Book and questioning Magna Charta, as well as tilting at many other facts cherished by our historians. The book, however, cannot be said to have shaken our belief much. We still think the ordinary chronology to be right in the main. It may, however, in spite of this, serve a useful purpose in bringing the minds of those who read it to bear upon the known, but little considered, subject of monastic fictions and mediæval falsifications.—F. S.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Who's Who, 1905; *Who's Who Year-Book*, 1905; and *The English-woman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1905 (London: Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square). We have received the above three handy and indispensable volumes, got up in the publishers' usual neat style. *Who's Who* may rightly be called a "Biographical Annual," but occurrences of a later date than August 30, 1904, are not recorded in this volume. The *Year-Book* is a book of reference, and a companion to *Who's Who*. In it there appears, for the first time, a list of race meetings, with dates of their fixtures and names of the clerks of the course, tables of leading London specialists, and of preachers of all denominations. *The English-woman's Year-Book*, 1905, is edited by Emily Janes, organizing secretary to the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland, and fully sustains its reputation. It is a handy work of reference, teems with information, and deserves a place in every library.

The East of Asia Magazine. An illustrated quarterly (Shanghai: printed and published at the *North China Herald* Office). We have received Part II. of vol. iii. Like the previous numbers, this is extremely well got up, both as regards paper, type, and illustrations. There are articles on "The Imperial University at Taiyuenfu, Shansi," by Professor L. R. O. Bevan; "The White Deer Grotto University," by Carl F. Kupfer, PH.D.; "Confucius," by Archdeacon A. E. Moule; "The Chinese Maiden at Home," by W. A. Cornaby, etc.

The Annual Report of the Pan-Islamic Society, 1903-1904 (published by the Pan-Islamic Society, 19, Green Street, London, W.C.). The Report explains the aims and aspirations of the Society, such as to promote the religious, social, moral, and intellectual advancement of the Musulman world; to remove misconceptions prevailing among non-Muslims regarding Islam; to provide facilities for conducting religious ceremonies in non-Muslim countries, etc. A list of members is added at the end.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1902, "Report of the United States National Museum" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. iv., Nos. 1 and 2 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904). These two numbers are bound up in one part. The title-page and analytical index of vol. iii. accompanies it.

Report on the Arabic Test to which the Candidates selected for the Civil Services of Egypt and the Sūdān in July, 1903, were subjected in June, 1904, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Pembroke College in the University of Cambridge (Cambridge: at the University Press; London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane).

Report of the International Conference on the Situation in the Near East, held in London on June 29, 1904. With Preface by Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P. (presiding), and F. S. Stevenson, Esq., M.P.; Note on the English Movement, by H. W. Massingham; Note on the Historical Background, by H. N. Brailsford; and a brief account of the recent massacres (Office of *Pro-Armenia*, Westminster Palace Gardens, Victoria Street, S.W.).

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. iii.: "Tibeto - Burman Family." Part II.: "Specimens of the Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin Groups." Compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1903). As in the previous volumes, each group is illustrated by translations and transliterations in the form of folk-lore, stories, etc. The Bodo group includes the languages of the districts Goalpara, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Nowgong, North Cachar, Dacca, etc. The Nāgā group is divided into the western sub-group Angami, Sema, Rengma or Unzā, and Kezhama; the central sub-group the Aō and Lhotā languages. The eastern sub-group consists of the Angwanku, Čhingmegnu, Banpāra, Mutonia, Chang, etc.; the western Nāgā group Mikir, Kachchā Nāgā, Kabin, and Khoirao languages; and, lastly, the Kachin or Singpho group.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. v.: "Indo-Aryan Family" (eastern group). Part II.: "Specimens of the Bihāri and Oṛiyā Languages." By the same author. This volume treats of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam; the Dravido-Munda, Bengali and Assamese, Bihāri and Oṛiyā, Eastern Hindi, Marāthi, Sindhi, Lahndā, Kashmiri, Western Hindi and Panjābi, Rajasthāni and Gujarāti, Himalayan and Gipsy languages, etc.

Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Panjāb and United Provinces, for the Year ending March 31, 1904. Part I. treats of the list of inscriptions, photographs, and drawings made and copied in 1903-1904, and contains a list of the ancient monuments in Kashmir and in Chambā State. Part II. is about the inscribed Gandhāra sculptures, the Prasasti of Sarāhan, inscribed Jaina images from Tonk, and tile mosaics on the Lahore Palace, etc.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the Year ending with April, 1904 (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904; not for sale). Mr. Bloch, the Archaeological Surveyor of the Bengal Circle, gives here the results of last year's work, and the programme to be followed for 1904-1905.

Report on Archaeological Work in Burma for the Year 1903-1904 (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1904). This gives the result of the work done in the above year, and

a list of buildings of archæological, historical, and architectural interest proposed by the archæologist to be maintained by Government.

Le Palais d'Angkor Vat, ancienne résidence des rois Khmers, par le Général De Beylie (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1903). This is a pamphlet of nearly forty pages, giving a detailed inscription of the celebrated Palace. It has several plans and illustrations, and will be found very interesting, especially if read in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Gerini's "Trip to the Ruins of Kamboja," Part II. of which will appear in our April issue.

The Imperial Guide to India, including Kashmir, Burma, and Ceylon, with illustrations, maps, and plans (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1904). A very handy guide, well got up, and one which we can recommend to our readers.

We have received the following published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras: *Shakespeare's Chart of Life: being Studies of King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet, and Othello*, by William Miller, LL.D., D.D., C.I.E.; — *Malabar and its Folk: a Systematic Description of the Social Customs and Institutions of Malabar*, by T. K. Gopal Panikkar, B.A. (of the Madras Registration Department); — *The Son-in-Law Abroad, and other Indian Folk-Tales of Fun, Folly, Cleverness, and Humour*, by P. Ramachandra Row, B.L. (retired), Statutory Civilian; author of "Tales of Mariada Raman"; — Three reprints from the *Indian Review: Maitreyi*, a Vedic story in six chapters, by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan; *Spencer's Economics*, an exposition, by Dr. Guglielmo Salvadori, with portrait of Herbert Spencer; *Rudyard Kipling*, a criticism, by John M. Robertson, author of "Patriotism and Empire," with portraits of Kipling and Robertson.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited: *The Captain, The Strand Magazine, The Sunday Strand, The Wide World Magazine*; — *Technics*, a magazine for technical students; — *A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney; *C. B. Fry's Magazine*, and *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, with maps and plans, edited by J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S.; — *Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.); — *The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.); — *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras); — *The Madras Review*; — *The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.); — *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder); — *The Contemporary Review*; — *The North American Review*; — *Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York); — *The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London); — *Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.); — *The Canadian Gazette* (London); — *The Harvest Field*

(Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E., and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*Al-Machrig*. Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle: Sciences, lettres, arts. Edited by L. Cheikho, S.J., Vice-Chancellor of the Faculté Orientale (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1904);—*The Moslem Reform*, vol. i., No. 2 (Calcutta: printed and published by Abul-Fazl, Acme Print and Process Works, 115, Amherst Street).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *On the Outskirts of Empire in Asia*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay, F.R.G.S., author of "Sport and Politics under an Eastern Sky" (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1904);—*Indian Art at Delhi*, 1903, being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902-1903, by Sir George Watt, C.I.E., M.B., C.M., etc., Director; the illustrative part by Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., Assistant Director (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1904);—*Traité sur les Éléphants, leurs soins habituels, et leur traitement dans les maladies*, by Veterinary-Captain G.-H. Evans and Jules Claine (Paris: Librairie C. Reinwald: Schleicher Frères et C^{ie}, Éditeurs, 15, Rue des Saints-Pères, 1904);—*India*, by Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., R.E., late Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India; with maps and diagrams (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen

Corner, E.C.);—*A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, by Percy E. Newberry, author of "Beni Hasan," etc., and John Garstang, Reader in Egyptian Archæology, University of Liverpool (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Limited, 1904);—*For Christ in Fuh-Kien*, being a new edition (the fourth) of "The Story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the Church Missionary Society" (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1904);—*Europe and the Far East*, by Sir Robert K. Douglas, Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. at the British Museum, etc. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1904);—*Indian Life in Town and Country*, by Herbert Compton, with seventeen illustrations (London: George Newnes, Limited, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.);—*The Ring from Jaipur*, by Frances M. Peard, author of "The Rose Garden," etc.; also *The New Era in South Africa, with an Examination of the Chinese Labour Question*, by Violet R. Markham, author of "South Africa, Past and Present" (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904);—*The Srauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana, with the Commentary of Dhanvin*, edited by J. N. Reuter, PH.D., LL.D., Lecturer of Sanscrit in the University of Helsingfors, Part I. (London: Luzac and Co., 1904);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. iii., edited by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B., etc. (London: Luzac and Co., 1904);—*Studies in Eastern History: Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I., King of Assyria, about B.C. 1275*, edited and translated from a memorial tablet in the British Museum by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Luzac and Co., 1904);—*Distracted Love*, translated from Chander Sekhar Mukerji's prose work (London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Religion of the Koran*, by Arthur N. Wollaston, C.I.E., translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili"; author of "An English-Persian Dictionary," etc. (London: The Orient Press, 26, Paternoster Square, E.C., 1904);—*An English-Persian Dictionary*, compiled from original sources by Arthur N. Wollaston, C.I.E., His Majesty's Indian (Home) Service (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1904);—*The Sikhs*, by General Sir John J. H. Gordon, K.C.B., with illustrations by the author (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1904);—*The Story of my Struggles*: the memoirs of Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest, two volumes (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1904);—*The Year-Book of New South Wales*, compiled by the editor of the Year-Book of Australia for circulation by the Agent-General in London (Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, S.W., 1905);—*The Guide for the Perplexed*, by Moses Maimonides, translated from the original Arabic text by M. Friedländer, PH.D., second edition, revised throughout (London: George Routledge and Sons, Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1904).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Lord Curzon of Kedleston's return to India was postponed on account of the serious illness of Lady Curzon. His Excellency eventually left England on November 24, and arrived at Bombay on December 9, where he was met by a large number of native rulers, amongst whom were the Maharajas of Gwalior, Kolhapur, Bikanir, and Dholpur, the Rao of Cutch, and the Bigam of Bhopal. In his reply to an address of welcome, he said that he had returned to carry some stages further towards completion of certain things which he believed would contribute to the strength of the Empire and the welfare of the country.

Lord Amphill, whilst acting as Viceroy, paid a visit in November to Kashmir, and was loyally received by His Highness the Maharaja.

A scheme is being considered by the Government in connection with the development of irrigation in the Panjāb; £5,000,000 is the proposed cost of the projects.

The Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference opened at Ahmadābād on October 15, and lasted till October 18. Two hundred delegates from all parts of the Presidency attended, together with a good representation of Persian and Arabic scholars from different parts of India. The Nawāb Vikār-ul-Mulk presided. Nawābzādah Nasrullah Khan submitted the report of work done for the amelioration of the condition of the Muhammadan poor, and the Nawāb proposed to start himself a free library in the city, and to pay the initial expenses and Rs. 100 annually for its maintenance. The result was the collection of over Rs. 10,000 for the establishment of a free library in the name of Bari Begam, an orphanage, and other funds.

The Secretary of State has approved a scheme of Lord Kitchener's for the reorganization of the Indian Army, the underlying principle of which is that the army in India should in peace be organized and trained in units of command similar to those in which it would take the field on mobilization.

Mr. John George Woodroffe, Barrister-at-Law, has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, in place of Mr. Justice Amir Ali, C.I.E., who has retired.

Sir Richard Law, Financial Member of Council, has tendered his resignation, on account of ill-health.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The British expedition left Lhasa on its return to India, viā Gyantse, on September 23. The homeward march was full of hardships on account of the intensity of the cold, but there was little loss of life. The escort had altogether sixteen engagements in which they suffered loss, the total casualties amounting to 202, including twenty-three British officers, of whom five were killed.

The Chitral reliefs were effected without any incident occurring.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Representative Assembly of MYSORE

opened its session on October 21. The Prime Minister, Sir P. N. Krishnamurti, in a long speech, described the condition of the State and the policy of His Highness the Maharaja regarding the development of the country's resources.

The Maharaja of TRAVANCORE has instituted a Consultative Assembly, comprising some eighty delegates from all parts of the State, and representatives of various public bodies. The Divan at the inaugural meeting on October 22 gave an account of the administration, finance, and legislation of the preceding twelve months.

In honour of the appointment of Khan Bahadur Kersaspji Rustamji Dadashanji to the divanship of BARODA, the civil and military officers in His Highness the Gaekwar's service gave an entertainment. Their Highnesses Prince Fatehsingrao and Prince Shivajirao, Colonel Meade, the cantonment officers, civil and military officers of the State, and the leading citizens, were present.

His Highness the Gaekwar paid a visit in November to Calcutta, and was entertained at a banquet by the Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, and also at the Town Hall by the native community.

A son and heir has been born to the Nawāb of BAHAWALPUR.

The Nawāb of Rampur paid a visit in October last to Bombay for the benefit of his health. Whilst there His Highness made a generous gift of Rs. 5,000 to the Anjuman-ul-Islām.

BURMA.—Great floods have occurred in different parts of Upper Burma, and in Shwebo they have been unprecedented.

CEYLON.—The Governor, Sir Henry Blake, opened the Legislative Council on November 16. In his speech he announced that the finances of the colony were sound, the revenue and surplus of the last year being the largest recorded, and trade, both export and import, was increasing. The revenue for 1905 was estimated at Rs. 2,96,98,080, against the 1904 estimate of Rs. 2,95,35,900.

An observatory is to be erected in the island at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

BALUCHISTAN.—Before his retirement as Agent to the Governor-General, Colonel Yate held a darbar at Quetta, and addressed the Sardars, Maliks, and Mútabars in a long speech, during which he gave them much good advice, especially regarding the Jirgas. The Colonel vacated his post on October 31, Major Ramsay acting as Agent, and Mr. Archer as Judicial Commissioner.

The Nushki railway is now open for traffic.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir was desirous of receiving at Kabul an official of the Government of India, in order to discuss questions concerning his relations with the Government. Mr. Louis Dane, head of the mission, Muhammad Akbar Khan, of the Imperial Cadet Corps, Major Cleveland, I.M.S., Miss Brown, a lady doctor from Agra, and her sister, Dr. Ghulām Nabbi, assistant surgeon, and Mr. Finlayson, engineer, and others, were received at Landi Khanah by the Amir's official, and travelled by easy stages to Kabul, where they arrived on December 14.

Mr. Fleischer, superintendent of the Amir's arms factory, whilst being escorted to India on leave of absence, has been murdered by the chief of

the escort. On hearing the news, the Amir ordered the culprit to be beheaded. Mr. Fleischer was the only European resident in Afghanistan.

Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, the Amir's brother, is to make a tour of inspection of the frontier posts in the Provinces of Candahār, Herāt, Turkeṣtān, and Badakhshān.

PERSIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF.—A commercial mission nominated by the Indian Chambers of Commerce left Bombay on October 13 for Bandar Abbas on a six months' tour through Eastern and South-Eastern Persia. Their itinerary was to proceed to Saidābād in Sistān, thence to Rafsanjān and Kermān, visiting afterwards Bām and Garmāshir, Bampur River Valley, and, should time permit, to Magas, Kubak, the Kej Valley, and Gwādar. The mission is escorted by Indian cavalry, and the Persian Government also deputed an officer and soldiers to escort the party.

During November Major J. Douglas, Military Attaché to the British Legation, and Lieutenant Lorimer, British Vice-Consul at Ahwāz, while travelling in the Bakhtiari country, were attacked by brigands. Both officers were wounded, and lost all their luggage.

The British Consul at Urumiah, whilst out riding, escorted by four servants, was attacked and pursued by ten men. The Consul, however, was not hurt.

The following appointments have been made: Captain Hugh A. K. Gough to be Consul for the Provinces of Kermānshāh, Malāyar, Hamadān, and Kurdistān, to reside at Kermanshah. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles F. Minchin, D.S.O., Consul-General for Khurasān, to reside at Mashad. Captain Archibald D. Macpherson, Consul, and Lieutenant J. H. Keyes, Vice-Consul, for the districts of Sistān and Kain. Mr. Grosvenor C. H. de J. du Vallon, Vice-Consul at Teheran, and Lieutenant William H. J. Shakespear, Consul for Bandar Abbas, with jurisdiction in the Shāmilāt, Lingah and the Shibkoh ports, Minah, and the coasts of Persia eastwards as far as Gwetter, and in all the islands belonging to Persia in the eastern part of the Persian Gulf.

H.I.M. the Shah has officially announced his visit about next July to Belgium. H.I.M. will also pay an official visit to the British Court and to President Loubet.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Sultan has asked the British Government to reopen negotiations regarding the demarcations of the Aden *Hinterland* frontier.

Collisions between Bedouin bands and Turkish troops have occurred lately in the Hedjāz.

The Hedjāz Railway was opened for traffic as far as Maan last August. The starting-point is Damascus. Work has also been commenced from Medinah towards Maan (860 kilometres). Maan is 440 kilometres south of Damascus.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Circum-Baikal Railway was opened at the end of last September. It is 152 miles in length. The cost has been 53,628,000 roubles.

CHINA.—Chinese troops have defeated a large body of rebels at Lo-

cheng-hsien, after three days' fighting. The Boxer movement seems to be spreading in the northern provinces.

The Government has undertaken, in return for certain concessions, to pay the international indemnity of 1901 on a gold basis.

A treaty has been signed with Portugal.

JAPAN.—The Japanese Premier has said that the country is prepared to sacrifice the last man and the last yen in the war.

At the opening of the Diet on November 30 the Mikado said that his forces had been victorious in every battle, and he expected, by the loyal devotion of his subjects, to attain the ultimate object of the war. In the Lower House on December 3 Baron Sue stated that the War Budget totalled £78,000,000. The War and Ordinary Budgets together amounted to 1,000,000,000 yen, or £100,000,000.

MANCHURIA: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.—Admiral Alexieff was relieved of his duties as Commander-in-Chief by General Kuropatkin, and returned to Russia.

A great battle, lasting four days, took place on the Sha-ho, the three Japanese armies occupying a front extending twenty miles north of Liau-Yang. The Russian forces, amounting to about 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 950 guns, attacked Marshal Oyama's army, but was repulsed with heavy loss and compelled to retire. The Japanese captured forty-five guns and other trophies, and took 709 prisoners. Their loss was 15,870 killed, wounded, and missing. The cold is now extreme in this part of the country, and fighting is very desultory.

The Japanese at Port Arthur, after repeated attempts to take 203 Metre Hill, during which they suffered great loss of life, eventually took the hill which commanded the New Town and the Russian fleet, and opened fire on the latter, practically annihilating it. One vessel, the *Sevastopol*, escaped into the outer harbour, but was eventually torpedoed by Japanese torpedo-boats.

SIAM.—Mr. Ralph Paget has been appointed British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Bangkok.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The revenue for 1903 amounted to \$7,958,496, being an increase of \$203,703 as compared with 1902, and \$916,813 as compared with 1901. The expenditure was \$8,185,952, as compared with \$7,600,734 in 1902, and \$7,315,001 in 1901.

EGYPT.—The Budget for 1905 was presented to the Council of Ministers on November 26. The revenue is estimated at £E12,255,000. The ordinary expenditure is placed at £E11,308,000, and special expenditure at £E447,000, the total expenditure thus amounting to £E11,755,000, and leaving a surplus of £E590,000. The revenue is exclusive of the payment of £E216,000 from the General Reserve Fund for the reduction of taxation. The property sale duties are lowered 2 per cent., involving a decrease of £E250,000, while there is an estimated decrease under the head of Boat Tax amounting to £E16,000. The receipts include the sum of £E135,000 from the sale of Government lands. The expenditure no longer includes the sum of £E265,000, representing the economy resulting from the conversion of the Privileged Debt, which has hitherto been paid

into the Special Conversion Economy Fund. The actual increase in the expenditure amounts to £E604,000, of which the greater portion is for public works, railways, and education. A sum of £E447,000 is assigned for special expenditure, which has hitherto been met from the Reserve Fund.

SUDAN.—The Government is prepared to consider applications for concessions to develop lands, principally in the Khartum and Berber Provinces.

In October last Major O'Connell, with 15 officers, 369 camelry and infantry and 3 guns, left El Obeid for El Rahad to punish Abu Zeida of Kitra for expelling a chief whom the Governor of Kordofan had appointed and usurping his authority. As Abu Zeida refused to surrender, and having been joined by two other chiefs, the force assaulted and took all their villages. Abu Zeida fled to the hills, but eventually surrendered.

RHODESIA.—A discovery of alluvial gold has been made at Fern Spruit, thirteen miles south of Victoria.

Rapid progress is being made with the Cape to Cairo Railway to the north of Victoria Falls, and the railhead will be at Kalomo, 100 miles north of the Zambesi, the administrative centre of North-West Rhodesia (Barotseland), early this year. The Administrator of Barotseland, Mr. Coryndon, has stated that the agricultural prospects of the country are good. The census showed that there were 450 whites.

TRANSVAAL.—The whites on the Rand have greatly increased. It is expected there will be 50,000 Chinamen there by next June, but the mines will employ all the native labour they can get.

The imports for eight months of last year amounted in value to £8,985,784, compared with £14,280,908 in the corresponding period of the previous year. The Customs returns for the same period amounted to £1,131,765, against £1,481,332 of the previous year. The exports for the nine months ended September 30 amounted to £12,933,229, as compared with £9,184,241 for the corresponding period of the previous year.

A Boer Congress was held early in December at Brandfort, when vigorous resolutions concerning compensation, repatriation, the Dutch language, education, the constabulary, relief camps, and responsible government were passed.

The body of the late Mr. Kruger arrived at Cape Town on November 29, and was taken to Pretoria, where it was interred.

NATAL.—Mr. Crawford has been appointed President of the Legislative Council in succession to Sir William Arbuckle. Earl Roberts has visited the battlefields of Natal, including Spion Kop and Ladysmith, and afterwards made a tour in the Transvaal.

The Ministry has been reconstructed as follows: Mr. L'Estrange, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Maydon, Minister of Railways and Harbours; and Mr. Leuchars, Minister of Public Works and Secretary for Native Affairs.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last amounted to £1,139,576, and the expenditure to £929,681.

CAPE COLONY.—Major-General E. S. Brook, commanding the troops in

the colony, and Administrator in the absence of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, opened on November 26 the Cape Town Exhibition.

Lord Roberts has made a tour of all the South African colonies.

The revised census returns show the white population of British South Africa to be 1,135,016, and the coloured 5,198,175.

The imports for the nine months ended September 30 last amounted to £16,956,143. Exports, including Transvaal gold, were £20,030,310.

NIGERIA.—The ordinary expenditure of North Nigeria in 1903-1904 is estimated at £382,889.

A punitive expedition under the Governor of the GAMBIA proceeded to Fogni, and successfully completed its task.

AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH.—The following is the Federal Budget statement: Revenue for the past year, 1903-1904, amounted to £11,631,056; this included Customs £9,105,758, and Post-Office receipts £2,510,264. Expenditure amounted to £4,252,562. The surplus returned to the States amounted to £7,382,460, being £745,333 in excess of the statutory amount. The estimate for the current year's expenditure is £4,433,233. The imports in 1903 amounted in value to £36,244,453. The exports to £45,578,935. A Commonwealth Defence Scheme has been passed by the House of Representatives.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for 1903-1904 amounted to £11,453,744, and the expenditure to £11,535,947. The revenue for 1904-1905 is estimated at £11,567,533, and the expenditure at £11,483,900.

There are 1,985,203 acres under wheat this year, and prospects are favourable for an average harvest.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the year 1903-1904 was £7,508,250, including £194,659 brought forward from the previous year, and the expenditure £6,914,993, leaving a surplus of £593,257. The balance returned from the Commonwealth Government was £2,002,804, being £58,203 above the estimate. The revenue for the current year is expected to amount to £7,219,370, and the expenditure to £7,056,423.

QUEENSLAND.—Parliament was opened on September 1. The Governor, Sir H. Chermiside, has resigned.

The Budget statement for 1903-1904 showed an improvement on revenue other than that controlled by the Commonwealth. Prospects for the current year are good, and an increase of revenue from railways and income tax is expected.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Budget figures show a surplus of £83,364. The revenue, including the surplus, is estimated at £3,761,103, and the expenditure at £3,813,824. The total indebtedness of the State up to June 30 last was £15,225,536, of which £14,000,000 have been spent on reproductive works.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Magnificent rains have fallen, which assure splendid harvest prospects.

NEW ZEALAND.—Another Loan Bill for £250,000 has been introduced for the purpose of duplicating suburban railways.

Parliament was prorogued on November 9. A New Zealand Exhibition will be held at Christchurch this year.

The Government has raised the interest paid by the Post-Office Savings Bank by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

CANADA.—The General Election began on November 3. The new Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec is now constituted of sixty-seven Liberals, six Conservatives, and one Independent. The Conservatives practically abstained from the campaign, this producing faction fights among the Liberals. Several Liberals were elected in opposition to the parent Government, Mr. Guerin, Minister without portfolio, and Speaker Rainville being both defeated by Liberal candidates who opposed the Government.

Lord Grey, the new Governor-General of the Dominion, accompanied by Lady Grey and his two daughters, arrived at Ottawa on December 13, and met with a most enthusiastic reception.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the third quarter of 1904 amounted to \$580,000. The cod fishery has been below the average, but other fisheries have been good.

The result of the elections show that the Government has maintained its position in the House of Assembly, having secured a majority of thirty votes to six.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following: Major Robert Bainbridge, late 17th Lancers (Indian campaign, 1858);—Captain John Bellasis Bowring, Political Agent of Wana (Waziristān expedition 1894-95, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, Tochi, Kohat-Kurram and Tirah Field Forces);—Captain Randolph Gorst Hopkins (South African campaign);—Captain William Frederick Lee, R.N. (Baltic 1855, China 1859-60 and 1862);—Captain Julius Tennyson (served in Canada and India);—The Right Rev. John Garraway Holmes, Bishop of St. Helena;—Colonel Douglas Minto Allen, late 1st West African Regiment (Lagos);—Major-General John Cowell Bartley, late 5th Fusiliers (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Lieutenant-General the Hon. John Jocelyn Bourke, C.B. (Eastern campaign and Indian Mutiny);—Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., a writer of many works on Indian subjects;—Mr. John Perch Goodridge, I.C.S.;—Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, a well-known writer on Japanese subjects, and since 1890 settled in Japan;—Lieutenant-General John Mullins (Burmese war 1852-53);—Mr. John Thompson Platts, teacher of Persian in the University of Oxford and a translator of many Persian works;—Major-General Charles Edmund Webber, C.B., R.E. (Mutiny campaign, Zulu war, Egyptian expedition 1882, Sudan expedition 1884-85);—Colonel Joshua Waddington Swifte, Indian Army, retired;—Mr. Shunkra Subbier, ex-Divān of Travancore;—Brigade-Surgeon William Ashton (Mutiny campaign);—Captain T. B. Steer, D.S.O. (South African campaign);—Captain John Lewis Way, R.N. (with Peel's Naval Brigade in the Mutiny);—Major-General William Henry Shadwell Earle, late Bengal Staff Corps (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Boree Pass 1853, Afridi 1855, and Mutiny campaign);—Brigade-Surgeon Edwin Wilson (Central India Field

Force 1858);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Gordon Lennox Burnett, commanding 1st Battalion Leicester Regiment;—Major A. C. Johnson, 21st Gurkhas;—The Hon. Thomas Conlan, C.I.E.;—Captain Montague Hawtrey, 4th Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers (Ashanti 1895, South African campaign, lately travelling Commissioner on the Gold Coast);—Commander F. W. Melvill, R.N. (Egyptian war 1882, Natal, Naval Brigade, 1899-1900);—Major-General J. T. Ussher, late Staff Officer of Pensions (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45, Mutiny 1857-58);—Major H. Guise, late R.A. (Tirah Expeditionary Force 1896-97, South African war 1901);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Thellusson (Crimea and Mutiny campaigns);—Captain Clement Bensley Thornhill, Indian Staff Corps, late R.A.;—Mrs. Isabella L. Bishop, a famous traveller and writer;—Lieutenant Langton, 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders;—Mr. Mathew Ridley, Superintendent of Government Horticultural Gardens, India;—Mr. Patrick Joseph Corbett, Royal Indian Engineering College, A.M.I.C.E., Under-Secretary to Government, Public Works Department;—Pastor A. Haegert, a well-known Methodist missionary in India;—Moulvi Muhammad Hussein, K.B., of Allahabad;—Colonel George Gregory Simpson, commanding 38th Division Royal Field Artillery (Afghan war 1880, South African campaign);—Rev. Patrick Beaton, Chaplain to the Forces (Maori war);—Colonel Lionel Hook (Afghan campaign 1842, Sutlej campaign 1845-46, China);—Major J. W. M. Cotton (Afghan war 1879-80); Captain Sir Edward Henry John Meredyth, formerly 87th Regiment (Irish Fusiliers), served in India and China;—Mir Jafar Khan, the old Rajah of Nagar;—Mr. Bhimbhai Kirparam, Talukdāri Settlement Officer, Gujerāt;—Vice-Admiral Edward Westly Vansittart (reduction of Karachi 1839 and Persian Gulf operations, China 1842, Gulf of Tartary 1854);—Major-General Henry John Thornton, R.A., formerly of the Madras Artillery;—Right Rev. Jabez Cornelius Whitley, first Bishop of Chotā Nagpur;—Sir William Harcourt, M.P.;—Major-General Richard Crundel Brook, late Colonel commanding 40th (South Lancs) Regiment (New Zealand war 1863-64);—Professor Habib Anthony Salmoné, an accomplished philological scholar;—Captain Henry John Brodrick Brownrigg, C.B. (Crimea, Zulu war 1879);—Dr. Emile Schlagenthin, an authority on the Tibetan language and lore;—The Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook, Under-Secretary of State for India 1859-61, Viceroy of India 1872-76, High Commissioner at Cairo 1884;—Navigating Lieutenant Alfred Hackman, R.N. (Congo River 1868, Malay Peninsula 1873, Dahomey blockade 1876-77);—Colonel Eugene Clutterbuck Impey, C.I.E., formerly of the 5th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, 1851 (Mutiny);—Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, a well-known United Free Church Indian missionary;—General Thomas Rochfort Snow, late Bengal Cavalry (Sind campaign 1843, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-General William Puget La Touche, late of the Indian Army (Persian Expeditionary Force 1856 and Mutiny);—The Venerable Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, B.D., Archdeacon of Cape Colony;—Major Thomas Baker Playdell, joined the Marines 1833 (Syrian campaign 1844, Baltic 1854-55);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Henry Wroote, R.M.L.I. (Baltic 1855-56, China expedition 1858-59);—Field-Marshal Sir Henry

Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., entered Indian Army 1844 (Sikh wars, frontier expeditions under Sir Charles Napier, Mutiny, retired from Indian Service 1883, afterwards Governor of Jamaica and Queensland);—Captain Charles Hastings Wood, of the Royal Field Artillery (North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98);—Captain and Brevet-Major Guy de Herriez Smith, of 45th Rattray's Sikhs, attached to Egyptian Army (Waziristan Field Force 1894-95, Central Africa 1895; Dongola Expeditionary Force and Sudan campaign 1897-98, North-West Frontier 1897, South African war 1899-1900);—Deputy Inspector-General W. Ross, R.N. (New Zealand war 1846-48, Straits of Magellan 1851, Eastern campaign 1854-55, Mutiny and Burma);—Mr. Edward Harbord Lushington, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, entered 1841 (Secretary to Government of India, Financial Department);—Lieutenant Alfred Howard Reynolds, 2nd Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers (South African war);—Rev. Philip Marks, for thirty-eight years S.P.G. missionary and chaplain in Ceylon;—Major Hamilton James Elverson, Reserve of Officers, late of the Royal West Surrey Regiment (Afghan 1871-80); Mr. Robert Dickson Cruikshank, formerly of the 102nd Royal Madras, now the 1st Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers (Mutiny);—The Hon. Andrew John Leach, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court Straits Settlements 1895;—Mr. William Pearson, head of the Revenue and Refund Audit Department of the Bombay Municipality;—The Crown Princess of Korea;—General Sir Collingwood Dickson, v.c., G.C.B., senior Colonel-Commandant Royal Regiment of Artillery (Crimean campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel James George Hay Boyd, late 20th Regiment (Crimea 1854-55);—General George Strangways, entered Indian Army 1838 (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny);—Lord Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., a legal member of Viceroy's Council in India 1872-77;—General Sir Richard Taylor, G.C.B., Colonel Cameron Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-General John Brenton Cox, of the Indian Army (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General Charles Crawford Mason, entered the Honourable East India Company's Service 1842 (Crimea and Mutiny);—Sir Frederick FitzWygram (Crimea);—General Sir R. C. Stewart, K.C.B., late Madras Cavalry (Mutiny, Burma 1886-87);—Bishop Hadfield, the former Primate of New Zealand;—Major John Trenchard Tennant, C.B., formerly of the Indian Army;—General Walter Theodore Chitty, of the Indian Army;—The Hon. Montague Henry Mostyn, formerly in the army, and served in Abyssinia and Egypt;—The Nāwab Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dir, C.I.E., rendered valuable services during the North-West Frontier campaigns of 1894 and 1897;—Mr. Alfred Percy (Sikh war 1848-49, afterwards Inspector of Calcutta Police Force during the Mutiny);—Admiral Sir Erasmus Ommanney, K.C.B. (Navarino, Baltic, 1855);—Captain Claud Alexander, Scots Guards (South African war);—Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets George Andrew Campbell, M.D., R.N. (retired) (Alexandria 1882, Egyptian campaign and Suakin);—Colonel Charles Edward Stewart, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps (retired) (Mutiny, Umbeyla campaign, Jowaki Afridi expeditions 1877, Consul in Persia, and lately Consul-General at Odessa);—Mr. Charles J. Fleming, K.C., formerly of the Indian Civil Service; Colonel Edmund

Lomax Fraser, late 60th Rifles (Red River expedition 1879, Egyptian war 1882, Sudan expedition 1884);—Captain Boscawen Trevor Griffith-Boscawen, formerly 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers (Crimean war);—Colonel Arthur Blunt, late Royal Artillery, formerly of the Indian Army (Panjab campaign 1848-49);—Major-General Patrick John Campbell, Colonel Commandant Royal Regiment of Artillery (Kaffir war 1851-53, Crimea 1855);—Major-General William Herbert Cuming, late Madras Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53, Crimea and Mutiny).

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THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITION
OF INDIA.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

MR. FRANK BIRD'SOOD, in his paper, "The Empire's Greatest Commercial Asset," in this *Review* for July, 1904,* compares the total value of the imports and exports from each Colony with the Mother Country separately with those from India, and thus arrives at the conclusion that "among the children of Great Britain, India is the Mother Country's best customer," leaving out of all consideration the condition of the population in these several parts of the Empire, and the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which the industries existing in these countries are administered. This manner of dealing with so all-important a subject is, we consider, very misleading before an English audience, who know little or nothing about India, and, as Macaulay said, care less, and so go away with very wrong impressions. We purpose, therefore, to show by his own figures that this conclusion is very far from being right, and that India, so far from being the Mother Country's best customer, does not do one-tenth of the trade she is quite capable of doing with the world at large, simply because her population has been, and is still, kept by her peculiar caste system in miserable bondage.

* See pp. 44-72.

The total value of imports and exports for 1903 from all the Colonies is £150,600,000, taken from Mr. Birdwood's paper ; the population is supposed to be about 12,000,000 in these parts of the Empire ; hence this trade is done at the rate of £12·55 per head of population. For the same year the total value of imports and exports for India is only £71,736,000, less than half the trade with the Colonies ; the population is assumed to be 300,000,000 ; hence the rate per head of population in India is 4s. 9½d. only.

From the above figures it is quite apparent that one-twenty-fifth of the numbers in the Colonies do about fifty-two times as much trade with the Mother Country as India does ! This of itself is quite sufficient to show in what a lamentable condition the peoples of India are in, and fully accounts for English capital not finding any scope for profitable employment in this country ; for the population here have been for ages kept in such miserable slavery and bondage by the caste system that their labour is not worth 2d. a day, and from want of all skill, dexterity, and judgment, the waste in production is incalculable.

This view of the subject can be further confirmed by comparing the revenue derived from the Post-Office in the United Kingdom with that obtained from the same source in India. At home the people pay about 9s. per head of population towards this revenue ; in India the rate is about 2d. per head. From these figures it is quite evident that, for all their social and commercial intercourse with the world, the people of India do not pay one-fiftieth of the sum per head which the people of the United Kingdom are quite willing to pay to maintain their social and commercial intercourse in good working order. If anything had been done to develop the industries of India, and the people could afford to pay 2s. 6d. per head towards the Post-Office, the revenue so obtained willingly from its teeming millions would amount to £37,500,000, a sum which is considerably in excess of the land revenue now raised under all the systems of collecting land revenue which have been devised for India during twenty centuries,

by which the country has been kept in chronic dread of famine, and the people exist in the utmost misery, poverty, and ignorance. So much for the plasticity of its caste system, which Mr. J. D. Rees so much admires. In considering why the industries of India are in this deplorably backward condition, it is absolutely necessary to take into account "the requisites of production," and to see in what condition these are in India. These requisites are labour, capital, and land, and we propose to examine the present condition of these in this country. With their past history the less we have to do the better, and let "the dead bury their dead." Men and systems must always be judged by their fruits. It is impossible to understand what is meant when it is said that the "caste system of India does not form any obstacle to the proper development of the country; caste is sufficiently plastic to allow of its votaries taking up any occupation they desire." As the rigid rules of this caste system forbid men born in one caste to be received into another, to all intents and purposes they might as well have been born animals, and so herd naturally with their kind only—as buffaloes with buffaloes, for instance. As regards labour, there is an abundance of it in this country; about 80 per cent. of the population is employed in agriculture, the chief industry of India, but how inefficient this labour is can be easily ascertained from the fact that the wages of these people average about 1s. a week. Their condition can be best judged of by considering the condition of their women, and about this the following account, which appeared in the *Christian* of July 14, 1904, above the signature of "Ada Lee," is a very fair and truthful description:

"A LIFE OF SADNESS.

"The pent-up sorrow of years was poured out in the story of the woman's life which followed. We give it in her own words *as nearly as follows* :

"I was married by my parents when a very young child. I was taught the routine of household duties, and the cere-

monies of worship of our household gods. But what good did it do to worship them? What Fate has written in my forehead must be. My husband died, leaving me one son and three daughters. Since the time of his death I have eaten but one meal a day, and that meal of rice and vegetables only, and must be cooked by my own hand. Every fifteenth day is widows' fast-day. My one meal is eaten in the morning of the fourteenth. On the fifteenth I must not take even a sup of water. Not having eaten since the morning before, I become so weak and faint that often before the morning of the sixteenth I become unconscious. If my son, who loves me, thinks I am dying, he may not refresh me with a drop of water to save my life. Should he give me such a drink of water, he has to endure one year's penance to atone for sin. Again and again, especially in the hot months, my life has become almost extinct, and I wonder why death has not come and ended my sufferings. We are allowed no flesh of any kind, and you know how fond we Bengalis are of fish. Sometimes a large fish is brought into the house, more than the family can eat, and I just long for one taste of it! I see all the others are enjoying it, and a good share goes to waste, but I dare not put a morsel into my mouth. This may seem a little thing to you, but such a longing comes over me for a taste of fish that I can hardly endure the sight.' 'But why are you bound by such unjust rules?' I ventured to say. 'Ah!' she answered, 'if I care to choose a life of shame I might break them, and such treatment is the cause of so many of our young widows going wrong. But the greatest sorrow of all I have not told you. My youngest daughter, only sixteen, is now a widow in her father-in-law's house, and has to spend all the days of her life in this round of fasting and suffering. She is servant of the household, and can take part in no social feast or marriage ceremonies, nor in any other pleasure which comes now and then to brighten the dark life of the other women. She is a childless widow. Her fate is worse than mine, too!'

"The poor woman's heart seems to be breaking. How

gladly we told her of Jesus, the sympathizing Saviour ! And as we left the car, she said : ' You will not forget me ? ' We answered : ' No ; and you will not forget our words—God's message to you ? ' There will ever remain with us the recollection of the longing look she turned towards us as she said : ' No, I will never forget ; and you will always pray for me ? ' "

When the wives, mothers, and widows of these people are dealt with in such a manner, how is it possible for them to bring up their children in any decent manner, whilst they themselves, by the caste system, are kept in the grossest ignorance and bondage ? It is no wonder, then, the girls grow up and are fit only for purposes which we cannot mention, but which are encouraged by the priestcraft and superstition of this poor and most miserable of all countries of the earth.

That the labour of the very lowest caste of these peoples can be most usefully developed can be very easily shown from the records of the " Queen's Own Sappers and Miners " for more than one and a half centuries. There is no more distinguished corps amongst the native armies of India ; every Commander-in-Chief has borne willing testimony to their gallantry, loyalty, and usefulness on active service in all parts of the world. Lord Wolseley, who served with them in the Burmah War of 1852, describes these men as " the best of military workmen " in the last work he published, more than fifty years afterwards. Such soldiers as Sir C. Napier, Sir J. Outram, Sir Hope Grant, all with one accord bear the same testimony ; these are the men who, under the caste system of India, are looked down upon as those " common people " ! Why, a high-caste Cutcherry man is unfit to carry the shoes of such men !

In the workshops established in the Godavery and Kistna districts the same caste of people have been trained to be most useful workmen and mechanics, and other instances could be easily cited to prove there is no want of intelligence amongst the low castes of India ; the people to

blame are those Europeans who have given themselves up to the dull, stupid practices of Cutcherry Brahmins, and all their evil ways and cunning, crafty practices.

So far as regards labour in India, we alone are to blame for not having utilized it in any proper manner; hence the consequence is that capital, the second requisite in production, is in the most deplorable condition. During the half-century that railways have absorbed the whole attention of the Government, the bazaar rates for lending money have been more than doubled; not a farthing has been added, by these works, to the value of real estate; no new industries have been established by them; and it is now admitted their charges for freight, etc., are more than *80 per cent. too high for this country*. Under all these circumstances it is quite impossible for capital to have accumulated, and in the same time the country has been run into debt for the construction of these works, and heavily taxed to meet their deficiencies. Great credit is taken for the railways, because they enable the Government to convey food by them to those parts of the country which are suffering from famine; but all the cost has to be paid out of the taxes, and from no remunerative earnings by these works by which capital can be accumulated; hence they have promoted no industries. The third requisite in production is land. The products from this can be developed or enhanced in value by *only two possible methods*: first, it must be supplied with abundant means for maintaining the stock in good working condition, and for fertilizing the soil in the best manner possible; and, secondly, the land must be provided with the best, the freest, and *cheapest* means of transport to the most extensive markets at all times, so as to secure the best prices, to increase profits as much as possible. In India these all-important matters have never received any attention whatever in any of the numberless systems of collecting land revenue ever devised by its governments during more than twenty centuries.

You may examine all the one thousand and one volumes, reports, etc., now existing in the records of all the Govern-

ment offices, and you will not find a word in them about providing the land with those two requisites, simple as they are. All sorts and kinds of *coercive* measures have been adopted at one time or another, and the people have been worried out of their lives to pay revenue to the Government by one device or another, but they have never had the proper means provided them to enable them to work the land profitably, except, perhaps, in the delta districts of Madras; and the contrast between the condition of the people in these districts and the stagnant condition of the people in other parts of India is most marked, and clearly proves that the general administration of the land in India is most defective, and *the sole* cause of its intense poverty and misery.

Having shown how deficient all the requisites of production are in India, we have to consider the remedies which are likely to produce better results, for it is of no use to enumerate the products which India is capable of yielding before we adopt measures which will enable the people to raise these profitably. Hitherto the object kept in view has been to obtain more and more revenue for the State, whereas we should first attend to the requisites of production, and improve these to the utmost when the revenue will be secure enough. As the first Napoleon said, "no revenue is so secure as that which is based on a flourishing agriculture"; but you must *first* adopt the right means to make the cultivation of the land as profitable as possible to the people, and give them security of tenure, and then only can the revenue be realized in full. And this is just what we have not done in India, as can be most clearly seen by comparing the work done in the United States of America by its Agricultural Department in collecting and distributing freely to all classes the best information relating to the cultivation of the land, and contrasting the records of their year-book with the wretched gibberish and jargon in use in the Revenue Department of India for collecting land revenue, by the several systems in vogue for centuries in that miserable country, by which not an acre of land has

ever been better cultivated or the welfare of the ryots promoted in the slightest degree during all these ages.

In America it is established by all parties. "There is no function within the power of Government higher than that of making possible the creation of prosperous homes." In one of his speeches President Roosevelt said: "Throughout our history the success of the home-maker has been but another name for the up-building of the nation," and the conclusions they have arrived at are that "the investigations which have been carried on demonstrate that, *looking at the matter from all sides*, there is no one question now before the people of the United States *of greater importance* than the conservation of the water-supply and the reclamation of the arid lands of the west and their settlement by men who will actually build homes and create communities."

We have only to contrast all the systems of connecting land revenue in India with the above intelligent policy in America to see how miserably we have fallen short in promoting the welfare of the people.

By the zemindari tenure it is admitted that, in so fertile a basin as the Godavery River, having an average annual rainfall of 50 inches, nothing whatever can be done to benefit the people in general by the employment of any amount of capital, skill, or knowledge in agriculture—that is to say, in an area more than double the size of England and Wales, and having a population supposed to be about 125 to the square mile, no means can be adopted for the proper conservancy of the water-supply for securing the crops from failure from any irregularity in a season's rainfall, or for introducing any improved methods for cultivating the land. How, then, can the people build up homes or establish themselves in thriving industrial communities? Not only are they denied all the requisites absolutely required to make the cultivation of the land at all secure and profitable to themselves and to the Government by this most pernicious system of land tenure, but they are also deprived of all access to the markets of the world by the cheapest means—by the river

navigation having been stopped in order to favour the railways—and it is now admitted that the freight and other charges of these works are more than 80 *per cent.* *too high for the condition of industry in India.* Of course, the same remarks apply to all parts of the country where this zemindari tenure of land has been established and maintained at *reckless* loss to the whole of the labouring populations existing in them ; hence it is that all irrigation works in such localities are dead failures. The blame for this rests entirely on those who have persisted in administering the land revenue by a caste system, and totally neglecting the welfare of the community in general ; and this is evident from the last census, the population in these Central Provinces having decreased about 8½ per cent.

In Madras it was intended to introduce the peasant proprietary system of land tenure by what is called the ryotwari system ; but this object has been entirely frustrated by the Cutcherry Brahmin system which prevails throughout this Presidency, and the ryot is as hide-bound here as in any other parts of India, and cannot do anything towards improving himself or the land he holds without the interference of some petty-fogging native Revenue official, under pretence of making revenue for the Government, but in reality to secure *bakhshish* for himself and the Cutcherry system under which he holds his appointment. So absurd is the system that a professional engineer officer cannot execute any necessary repairs to a tank even without obtaining the sanction of a Tahsildar, who knows about as much of hydraulic engineering as the fifth wheel of a coach.

We have only to look at the way a great engineering work like the Godavery anikut system has been dealt with by this system of land administration, to see how recklessly careless these people are of all interests but their own pockets.

This district was in so desolate a condition in the forties, the land revenue was decreasing so rapidly, and the popula-

tion deserting the country in such numbers, that, on the recommendation of the late Sir Henry Montgomery, of the Civil Service, who was specially deputed by the Government for the duty of reporting on the state of the district, Sir A. Cotton was called upon to devise measures to prevent the entire ruin of the delta, as he had been so successful in dealing with the Tanjore district.

His proposals for constructing this anikut and establishing a good system of irrigation and navigation in the delta was accepted and sanctioned for execution by the Government of the day in 1847. Early in 1850 the dam and its subsidiary works was completed, and the distribution of the water taken in hand, when the Board of Revenue, Madras, got an order passed that *no water-rate* was to be levied till a Revenue survey and settlement had been made by them; they took fifteen years to do this work, in an area of about 2,000 square miles of open delta land. During all this time not a farthing was allowed to be *credited* to these works, though the irrigation had been extended to nearly 500,000 acres of land, and several lines of navigation had been established throughout the delta; and in this same time the works were being *debited* at compound interest on the capital expenditure from the beginning. By a moderate calculation the loss to the works by this arrangement was 150 lacs of rupees, whilst the outlay on them during this time was probably less than 80 lacs, including all charges for interests, maintenance, etc. Not satisfied with the injury thus wantonly inflicted on the works, the Board of Revenue, Madras, made the settlement as unfavourable as possible against the works, in spite of the opinions of all the district authorities: the water-rate was made Rs. 4 per acre, and it was actually declared the land-rate was Rs. 2 per acre, from land which, *before* the works were constructed, was declared by all authorities to be in such a ruinous and desolate condition that it was not worth cultivating; at the same time all remissions of revenue were made debitable to the water-rate, and, of course, against those very works which all the district authorities admitted

had alone saved the country and its population from utter ruin.

But the mischief done by this Cutcherry Brahmin system of collecting land revenue was not yet completed, for 150,000 acres of land was actually exempted from paying this moderate rate, on the plea it had received water from the river *before* the works were constructed, which was a physical impossibility, for this supply was entirely dependent on the river floods; in some seasons it was superabundant and destroyed all the cultivation, in others it was deficient and the crops withered.

By the anikut works the supply has been thoroughly regulated, and the land gets the water only in such quantities as it requires, and the cultivation is secured from all losses. For effecting this in the best possible manner, these works were thus mulcted of 6 lacs of rupees a year for over thirty-three years by this settlement; the losses to the works amount to about 200 lacs of rupees.

From the above the losses inflicted on these works by the Revenue authorities cannot be estimated at less than 350 lacs of rupees; the capital outlay on them up to date is about Rs. 133,75,000 and the return is said to be 18 per cent. by the peculiar method of keeping accounts which prevails in the Revenue Departments of India, whereas, in fact, the works have really repaid all costs two or three times over, and have secured the prosperity of the whole district on the soundest basis, in spite of all attempts to depreciate their value and importance. One more circumstance connected with these works we must notice, for it shows very clearly how all such hydraulic works are mismanaged in India.

The following is taken from the *Madras Mail* of August 26, 1904: "Some years ago, when the East Coast Railway was opened, the charges on the boats using the Godavery Canal were *enormously* enhanced, with a view to drive the traffic on the railway. But this has apparently failed, for *twice* the number of boats ply now, and twice as many licenses are taken out as before the railway was

opened," etc. Though navigation has not been destroyed by this miserable policy, great injury appears to have been done to the irrigation, for by the latest returns the area has decreased from 839,855 in 1901-1902 to 810,630 acres in 1902-1903, a falling off in cultivation of 29,221 acres *in one season*, and a loss in revenue of Rs. 138,190, which means, probably, a loss to the people of about 7 lacs of rupees—a very serious matter, which requires the immediate attention of the Government, for it was pointed out at the time these enhanced rates on the navigation were imposed it would certainly tend to decrease the cultivation of the land by increasing the cost of production; and this result is, apparently, already taking place, and likely to go on, with disastrous effects not only on the Government revenue, but on the means of the population, and then we shall have "the old cuckoo cry" that irrigation works do not pay in India when such a policy as this is adopted towards them. Already it is admitted that the freight and other charges of the railways in India are over 80 *per cent. too high for its present industrial condition*, so here, because the land in the Godavery Delta had been provided with the cheapest means of transport for its products to all the markets of the world, the rates on the canals are enhanced some 400 per cent. to benefit the railways, and the result is the irrigation is falling off nearly 30,000 acres in one year! A more silly, absurd policy one can hardly imagine.

That something must really be done in India to protect the interest of its population and to secure a proper revenue for the Government without its being too heavy a burden on the people can be illustrated by many instances, but perhaps the Bangalore water-supply affords as good an instance as can be given.

For many years this subject had been under consideration, and at last, in 1887, the Madras Government offered a prize of Rs. 2,000 for the best essay on the subject. Several essays were sent in, but the award was made to a Mysore engineer, evidently in collusion with the Durbar and some other high officials. Somehow the Madras

Government got an inkling that all was not right in the matter, and they submitted this essay to a well-known, highly-qualified civil engineer for an opinion, who returned the precious document, writing across it in large letters in red pencil, "D——d rot!" which in deed and truth it was, and not worth the paper it was printed on. In the meantime the Durbar had surreptitiously obtained a copy of the project for supplying the whole station with water in the most abundant manner at the cheapest rates, and at the same time converting some 3,000 acres of good jungle waste lands on a very high level into building land. The late Dewan secured this land for himself, and had the project worked out and the estimate prepared on the very same data as originally proposed by its author; but the trick was found out and exposed, and they destroyed all the papers, and the supreme Government refused to allow any inquiry or investigation to be made into the matter.

The station, however, has been supplied with water by a most expensive project, and is permanently burdened with a tax of 6 per cent. on the outlay, when it could have been most easily supplied from Hebbal for about 1 per cent., and all those jungle waste lands sold for building purposes would have repaid all costs in a few years. At present the water is obtained from a valley which has some sixty or seventy tanks above it, and the lands under these are highly manured, so in floods the water is as filthy and foul as it can possibly be. The Hebbal basin is the cleanest one near this station; there are only one or two small tanks in it, which could have been easily bought out. The run-off into this tank is from the highest and steepest ground round Bangalore, and all records and observations show that it is most abundantly supplied with water; but all has been sacrificed to suit certain private interests.

From all the accounts one sees or hears of, a great change is coming over the spirit in which the public works are to be administered in India in the near future; we hear far less of the "incalculable benefits" of the railway system alone for developing the resources of this country, and

more about these works, which alone can benefit the great industry of India—its agriculture. In all parts of the country great hydraulic projects are being proposed and investigated, and in Madras estimates have been prepared and submitted to the Government, proposing an outlay of nearly 300 lacs of rupees, or £2,000,000 sterling, on projects of this kind in certain districts. It is impossible to give any detailed account of these from the information published in the Government orders, but one thing is perfectly clear: the Madras Government have not got anything like a sufficient number of well-qualified and trained engineers and subordinates to assist them in their earnest desire to establish good hydraulic works all over the territories under their control. This great defect has arisen from the way all the irrigation works were discouraged and mismanaged after Sir A. Cotton left the country; for more than forty years everything possible was done to prevent the extension of hydraulic works, and even such great works as he had projected and established were sadly neglected for many years, and the consequences are now becoming but too apparent, and the Government find there is no one to lead, direct, and control the operations so confidently as experience can alone inspire. It is quite apparent the estimates are not prepared so as to obtain the greatest benefits possible in storing water; for instance, reservoirs are proposed to be constructed, and to be provided with gigantic waste weirs. Now, if these are necessary, it is quite evident the reservoirs are not made large enough to impound as much as possible of the available rainfall; this we consider a very serious defect, and one that cannot be easily remedied hereafter except at great cost and risk. In the tropics it is a very safe rule to make the reservoirs large enough to hold as much as possible of the *maximum* rainfall, to take every precaution that at least 25 per cent. of such storage shall always remain in the reservoirs to tide over a season of drought and preserve the live-stock in good condition; this will

prevent the ryots suffering the frightful losses they now incur, and which the Viceroy himself has publicly noticed. Another matter of the greatest importance requires very serious attention : the people *must be trained* to prevent all waste in their own interests. This subject has had no proper attention paid to it in South India. No sooner does a tank, early in the season, get a good supply of water than the sluices are all opened, and everyone is allowed to scramble for as much water as he can get by any means. Very often the tank runs dry ; the rains fail, and the consequences are most disastrous to all concerned, for the people lose all their labour and outlay, and the Government are called upon to grant remissions, whereas by good management and careful supervision much of these losses can be prevented. Another advantage gained by keeping the bed of a tank moist at all times is that when the first rains fall after the hot weather, the water is not lost by absorption and evaporation ; the beds of these tanks become so dry and cracked by the heat of the sun in the hot months that we have seen a 4-inch fall of rain falling in four or five hours *entirely* lost in two or three days.

The above remarks apply to ordinary tanks and reservoirs, and not to those which are supplied from great rivers such as the Nile, and which it is hoped will soon be constructed on similar rivers in India. In proposing to afford the land a good and abundant water-supply so as to extend its cultivation as much as possible, the subject of communication *must* be most seriously considered and provided for, so that all products can be conveyed to the best market at all times and in the *cheapest* manner possible. The Government cannot insist too strongly on this most important matter being attended to by all their servants. Railways, canals, main and, above all, cross roads, are imperatively necessary for this purpose, and no one should be permitted to carry out one particular fad at the expense of the whole community—such, for instance, as the railway system in India. These works by themselves cannot by

any possibility suit the want of an agricultural community except in their immediate vicinity; hence we have such complaints of their being no feeders to these works, showing very clearly that, for want of good common cross-roads, not only are the railways unable to do their own work in an efficient manner, but the farmers also have been deprived of those works which are of the greatest possible utility to them in all agricultural operations.

How important this subject is in connection with the cultivation of the land is well illustrated by a recent order of the Madras Government: it appears they have nearly completed a tank at Ponnalur, in the Nellore district, and now find the ryots refuse to take the water for their lands. The site is described as being very *inaccessible* even for the purpose of inspection, and eighteen miles from the nearest railway-station. As the ryots apparently never had any facilities of access to any markets, of course they only cultivated such lands as were required to supply their home wants, and to all intents and purposes are quite ignorant of any improved methods of cultivation, and naturally refuse to pay for water when they do not or cannot see how it will benefit them; but give them good common roads to the adjacent markets, and they will soon find out for themselves how remunerative wet cultivation is. Unfortunately, the railway can be of little use to them, as their charges are too high for ordinary agricultural products, but common roads will supply all their needs if properly bridged. Many years ago we had to attend to the repairs of a very large tank irrigating over 3,000 acres of land; it was quite inaccessible to all wheeled traffic, and their paddy straw was, in consequence, of no value to the cultivators. We had a good fair weather road made for them to two adjacent markets, distant twelve and fifteen miles, on either side, and the people then were able to sell all their paddy straw at 3 annas a bundle, and admitted readily these roads had added 1 lac of rupees to the value of their irrigation, whilst the cost of these roads was only about 6,000 or 7,000 rupees,

proving how correct is the rule amongst all English land surveyors that inferior lands with good means of transport to all markets are of much greater value than more fertile lands which do not possess these means. These remarks are only made in the hope the Government may not be disappointed in undertaking hydraulic works in Madras, for unless the subject of communications in connection with these works is properly attended to, neither the Government nor the people can by any possibility realize the full value of any outlay on mere irrigation; and if Sir A. Cotton's reports are carefully examined, it will be seen what great stress he always laid on this all-important matter. It has been publicly urged that there is no scope for improvements in Madras in the way of irrigation, and that the rivers of South India, not being fed from snow-clad mountains, are of little or no use for that purpose. If hydraulic works are to be established according to the ancient mamool of the country, there is no doubt there is no scope for any improvement now, and never has been in all ages. That there are *abundant means* for all agricultural purposes in the large river system of South India we are able to show in a very convincing manner from an order of the Madras Government lately published on the floods in the Kistna River, in October, 1903. It appears from the collector's report that on the 7th of that month the flood rose to a height of 44'68 feet on the anikut register, which was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet *higher* than any flood recorded during more than half a century at this station: "This means a flood discharge over the Bezwada anikut of 1,100,000 cubic feet per second, which is about 140 times the maximum discharge of the Thames at Staines, and $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as great as that of the Nile where it enters its delta."

In previous years heavy floods had prevailed, which lasted for several days, but never rose to the height of the flood of this year, which fortunately lasted for only a few days, or the damage would have been almost irreparable. The Kistna River has a catchment area of about

80,000 square miles, and is quite capable of yielding a much larger quantity of water than the Nile in any ordinary seasons ; the Godavery has a catchment area about 50 per cent. larger than the Kistna, and is supplied by a similar rainfall, but the ground is not so steep as in the Kistna basin, and the length of the river is greater, so that its floods are far more moderate, and last for longer periods. The Kaveri has a catchment area about 25 per cent. less than the Kistna, but the rainfall at its sources in the Coorg and Nilgiri Hills is much greater, so there is an abundance of water in these basins.

None of these great rivers have a single reservoir constructed on any of their tributaries or the main stream ; all their enormous flood waters run to waste into the sea, when, if these were only properly conserved, there can be no doubt some 30,000,000 acres of land could be well supplied with water for all irrigation purposes, just as the Nile is *now found* to be quite capable of doing after reservoirs have been constructed in its basin ; for, after *only one year's* experience, so useful are these works found to be, it is proposed to increase their capacity ; and there is neither rhyme nor reason why the same result should not be obtained on these Indian rivers, which are supplied with water in exactly the same way as the Nile is. So there is nothing, so far as natural means are concerned, to prevent a most flourishing agriculture being established in South India ; but everything has been sacrificed to maintain a most absurd system of land tenure for merely caste purposes, and the lives and welfare of millions are deliberately sacrificed to this hideous moloch, to our lasting disgrace as a governing power.

In Egypt, and in the United States of America a very different policy has been adopted by the enlightened rulers of those parts of the world, and they take care to afford the community the necessary means for building up industrial communities on the most extensive scale possible by securing the interests of all concerned in the best manner possible,

and to weld into a thriving community ; whereas in India, in all their systems of collecting land revenue, the interests of a caste only are considered, and we are actually told the Brahmins would not allow a collector to carry out measures for the benefit of the working classes ! Is it any wonder, then, the people are in the most abject condition of ignorance, poverty, and misery, when all their interests are sacrificed to a mere tup-headed Cutcherry Brahmin system, and which has never done a single thing to promote the welfare of the community during some twenty centuries ?

The three districts for which Sir A. Cotton laboured so strenuously during all his service in India are the only ones in South India in which any real progress can be shown, and yield the Government, very willingly, the largest revenues. In all other districts where no such enlightened views have been allowed free scope, the people are just as backward as they well can be under such a caste system ; and all the blood of these unfortunate people will be required at our hands, for we have the means of doing the same as Sir A. Cotton had, but we will not use them in any proper manner, but abide in mean subserviency to the methods of an ignorant caste system.

In the discussion on Mr. Birdwood's paper, Sir Patrick Playfair, C.I.E., is reported to have said : " It will be conceded that the three items that go to make up *cost* are rent, wages, and *transport*." To this dictum we feel obliged to take exception, for, according to Adam Smith, " wages, *profit*, and rent are the three original sources of all revenue, as well as of all exchangeable value. The whole price of any commodity must still finally resolve itself into some one or other or all of these three points, as whatever profit of it remains after paying the rent of the land and the price of the whole labour employed in raising, manufacturing, and *bringing it to market*, must necessarily be *profit* to somebody " (vol. i., p. 54). From the above extract it is quite clear that cost of transport forms a part of the wages, which has to be advanced by the

producer and recovered by him in the market to which his products can be conveyed in the *cheapest* manner possible *and at the right time*, so that his profits may be as large as possible.

Now, because cost of transport is so onerous beyond all calculation in India, we can easily see why the profits of all its industries are so wretchedly small, and, in years, come down to nearly a vanishing-point. It is admitted the railway charges are over 80 per cent. too high for this country; its main and cross roads can hardly be said to exist at all for purposes of cheap transport. The gradients, generally, are very bad, and the rivers mostly unbridged. The rivers have not been made navigable, and its canal system, except in small areas like the Godavery and Kistna Delta, have never been developed for navigation purposes; hence it is the people have never had afforded them the *cheapest* means of transport, and their industries have always stagnated. The result is exactly what might have been anticipated under such a crude system of land administration. In those parts of India, as in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas, where Sir A. Cotton insisted upon the navigation being made as perfect as possible, the progress of all industrial occupations is most remarkable, in spite of the canals being subjected to most exorbitant taxation in order to favour the railways. This dog-in-the-manger policy is working out its own remedy. The people find the canals, in spite of the taxes, are most useful for many purposes. But they are apparently throwing up the land for irrigation, as in the Godavery this has decreased by nearly 30,000 acres in one year, and the Government hence lost far more revenue thereby than they can have gained by taxing the canals, so the great industry of the district is being injured very seriously. As it is a matter of surprise and discussion at home why English capital does not find its way into India as freely as it does even into the republics of South America, where life is as insecure, almost, as amongst savages, we have endeavoured in the above

remarks to indicate the chief causes why English capitalists will have little or nothing to do with Indian affairs. First, no man of business will care to enter into enterprises when he has no good security that his capital will be under reliable supervision; and by the institutions of India he cannot have this. Everything connected with the agriculture of the country is under some sort or kind of Government control and supervision, according to the ancient customs of the country, and the people employed in collecting such land revenue as they can get by those customs are very jealous of any outside interference, and if anything of the kind is attempted they immediately raise the cry that the Government revenue is in danger if their practices are interfered with in any manner whatever. Hence we have a collector even admitting that he was prevented making changes which he believed would be beneficial to the ryots because the Brahmins would not let him do so! When the people are not allowed to plant a tree or cut a ditch without securing the sanction of such people in some way or another, is it any wonder the great industry of this country—agriculture—is about as far advanced as it was in England in the days of the heptarchy?

Secondly, we have seen in what an unsatisfactory condition all the requisites of production are in India. The labour is not worth *one shilling a week* in wages, as the people are in painful ignorance, without any hope in life, and in constant dread of famine, and hence for ages have been looked down upon by the caste rules of the society here as mere beasts of burden, and the women are in as bad, if not worse, plight. As regards their offspring, it is useless to say anything; unless as great a change in their condition is made as we made in turning such people into good sappers and miners, their labour must remain as inefficient and profitless as it has been during the past twenty centuries or more. Of capital it is needless to say more. With labour inefficient, land tenures very insecure,

no new industries having been established in the past half-century by the railways, and the bazaar rates for lending money having doubled in the same time, no accumulation of capital worth considering can have been made. People who have the chance may have hoarded money by usury, but this process does not and cannot promote industrial enterprises or occupations. As regards the land, until some change is made in the system of collecting land revenue in India, and greater security given to the cultivator that a fair proportion of the fruits of his industry is secured to him as his share *by law*, there is absolutely no probability that any improvement will be or can be made in cultivating the land. For centuries the ryots have been subjected to one or other of these systems, by which no improvement has ever been made. The leading idea in all these systems—call them by any name you please—the only notion the native official has in his head, is to make the cultivator pay up as much as possible by every sort and kind of *coercive* measure for the benefit of the sircar, without affording the land any of those means by which alone it can be profitably cultivated, and a full price obtained for its products in the most extensive markets *at the right time*. Even the Irrigation Commission has been compelled to admit that under the zemindari tenure in the Central Provinces no capital can be expended on any works to develop the resources of such a river basin as the Godavery, containing over 100,000 square miles of very fertile land, and having an average rainfall of about 50 inches in the year. Any number of good reservoirs and tanks could be constructed in this basin, and with so good an average rainfall some 20,000,000 acres of land might be irrigated, and the main stream be made navigable for some 400 miles, so as to connect all this fertile area by the cheapest means of transport with the *only safe and easily accessible port* on the whole Coromandel coasts, and so afford the people the means of access to all the markets of the world in the most advantageous manner. But all has been sacrificed in order to establish a most vicious system

of land tenures. The same kind of thing has been done in Orissa ; the works are all right enough, but the people will not take or use the water simply because of the land tenure being zemindari. The landlords will take to themselves all the benefits of improved cultivation. And this kind of thing goes on all over the country under this same land tenure.

In Madras, under the ryotwari system, the ryots have no security that any improved methods of cultivation will benefit them to any great extent ; they are hampered with any number of rules and regulations ; they are liable to any amount of interference from a host of petty Revenue officials, always clamouring to make some charges under pretence of making revenue for the Government ; there is no scope for any enterprise, as no one knows what new rules or regulations may be brought in at any time. We have given a notorious instance of this kind of thing in the case of the Godavery works. As soon as these were fully established, so that the distribution of the water could be taken in hand, the Board of Revenue, Madras, got an order passed that *no water-rate* was to be collected until a Revenue survey and settlement had been made. They dawdled over this work for upwards of fifteen years, charged the works with compound interest on the capital outlay all this time, and then made the water-rate the least possible in this part of India for such an abundant and regular water-supply ; also made this rate liable for any remissions the Tahsildars chose to recommend without any reference to the Public Works authorities, and then pretended the works did not pay anything like the promised returns, when every one of the district authorities admitted the works had saved the country from utter ruin, and had established a most flourishing industry throughout the delta. The population had increased enormously, whereas formerly it was fleeing the country, but now are in the most prosperous condition of any peoples in India. Not contented with injuring these works as above detailed, the Board of Revenue actually

exempted 150,000 acres of land from the water-rate on the frivolous pretext that these did at times receive water from the river, though it was a physical impossibility for the supply to be at all regular. By this arrangement the works lost some 6 lacs of rupees a year of revenue for over thirty-three years, a total of nearly 200 lacs, the most gigantic imposture, perhaps, ever perpetrated against the interests of the Government and the welfare of the people, for the sole benefit of this Cutcherry Brahmin system of collecting land revenue. The Governments in India are about to institute hydraulic works at last on a large scale in this country, and the above remarks have been made to warn the authorities that such works must be established and administered on very different principles than those adopted towards the Godavery and Bangalore water-supply works, otherwise the works cannot by any possibility yield those benefits they are capable of affording to the country at large, if they are to be controlled to satisfy the greed and covetousness of *one caste only*, as has been the rule heretofore in India, to the ruin of all public interests and the welfare of the whole population; for the country has had most unnecessary taxation imposed upon it by this care-for-caste-only system, and the works are charged with an amount for interests, etc., in order to depreciate their value as much as possible.

When we consider the advance which Japan has made in one generation only in all industrial occupations, and has raised itself to be one of the first Powers in the world; when we see the progress made in Egypt in less than a quarter of a century; when we hear of the enlightened policy which is adopted by *both* the great parties in the United States of America to develop the resources of its *arid* regions under the most unfavourable circumstances, with a population so sparse as one to the square mile, by storing and utilizing to the utmost its scanty rainfall, in order that thriving industrial communities may be established in such regions, we have every reason to blush with shame

and confusion of face for the little we have done in India for the public welfare of its teeming population. Our means are most abundant, for we have any amount of labour, a very fertile soil, a powerful sun, and the most abundant rainfall in the world, carried off by some of the largest rivers on the earth, which, if properly treated, could be made largely navigable far into the interior of the continent. The geographical position of India is most favourable for carrying on a most extensive commerce with most parts of the world, yet its foreign trade is not worth 5s. per head of population ; its Post-Office revenue for all its social and commercial intercourse is scraped together at the rate of about 2d. per head of population ; and the country is always exposed to the scourge of famines, etc. It is quite evident, then, that its institutions are rotten and bad to the very core, and require to be entirely remodelled ; the experience of twenty centuries has fully demonstrated the utter worthlessness of these caste institutions. So if English capital is ever to be drawn into this country an entirely new policy must be initiated on thoroughly liberal lines, so that all may benefit without reference to creed, caste, or colour, and India will then be indeed the greatest asset in the Empire, for if her industries were only developed to be worth about a quarter per head of the population in the colonies her foreign trade would be larger than that of the United Kingdom ; but this can never be brought about whilst its affairs are administered in the weak, feeble-minded, fribbling way of the caste system, by which no progress has ever been made or can be made, for the whole thing is against the righteousness of God and man ; for it can be no excuse for any man to say that the Brahmins would not let him do what *he knew was right*, for it is written, "To him that knoweth to do good, and *doeth it not*, to him it is sin."

THE PLACE OF INDIA UNDER PROTECTION.*

BY S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. (RETIRED),

Late Financial Commissioner, Panjab.

SINCE Mr. Chamberlain first proclaimed his daring heresy, impugning the very foundations of our Free Trade creed, the question raised by him has been prominent in the thoughts of Englishmen. The nation is still divided on the subject; for eighteen months most of us have been discussing it, many with minds befogged by interests of pocket or party. Amidst the clash of statements and arguments, a determining factor in the ultimate action of our people—the position of India under Protection—has received little consideration; and yet, unless the opposing interests of British manufacturers—notably those of Lancashire—and of India can be reconciled, tariff reform of the kind advocated by any of the leaders in the movement may prove impracticable. The change, whether restricted to what is called the “power to retaliate,” or extended so as to include preferential tariffs and a small duty on foreign meat and corn imports, equally means some degree of Protection for the trades benefited.

In our own belief we are Free Traders of sixty years' standing; in reality, we are only Free Importers, with large reservations. Had our conversion been thorough, we should have practised all we preached; we should not only have opened the door at home for food-stuffs and raw materials generally, but for all products, and we should have kept it open throughout all our possessions for articles of every description. Instead, in these islands we derive a revenue of 33 millions sterling from import duties—mostly on articles not produced in Great Britain; in our colonies we let our children build up tariff walls

* Paper read at a meeting of the East India Association on January 30, 1905, a part of which appeared in the February issue of the *Empire Review*. For the report of the discussion on the paper see the Proceedings of the Association elsewhere in this number.

against us ; in South Africa we let the small white population treat their Indian fellow-subjects as outcasts. India gives equal opportunities to the whole world, but no part of Greater Britain reciprocates. Here at home we are more liberal ; we offer citizenship to all Indians, and will, no doubt, continue to do so as long as few avail themselves of our generosity. Were they to come to us in large numbers, it is probable that the threatened interests, whether those of domestics, artisans, or shopkeepers, would soon compel the Government of the day to act in the same way as our countrymen in South Africa are doing. When British public feeling was being worked up against the Boers, that people's harsh laws affecting British Indians were denounced by our statesmen as a wrong to be righted. The purpose served—the Boers crushed—we out-Kruger Kruger ; we connive at the exclusion of Indians from our Transvaal and Orange River territories, except under intolerably servile conditions. That, in spite of our declarations, we should have allowed the handful of white men in those two dependencies—well under half a million, garrison included—to freely confer full citizenship on Europeans of every class—Jews, Germans, Russians—but to slam the door in the faces of our own loyal, patient, law-abiding Indians, must be shaking the waning confidence of their countrymen in our honour and good faith. Discrimination against them is enforced, not because Indians are in any way undesirables, as many of the alien European immigrants are, but because, being more industrious, frugal, and adaptive than the white settlers or sojourners, these latter require protection against the fair competition of the former.

With such precedents we may expect that, in the event of the success of the Protectionist propaganda, the party in power, mindful of the hundred votes of Lancashire and connected interests, will be prepared to treat India in the matter of the new tariffs with as little consideration as has been the case in South Africa, or, indeed, throughout the whole history—previous to 1895, at least—of the

commercial policy of this country towards her empire dependency.

That policy and its effects may be outlined in a few sentences. Until our power was established, India had been self-contained. Though, outside agriculture and dependent occupations—rude handicrafts, most of them—industries were few, still, they gave a living to many millions of the population; and not only were domestic necessities supplied, but in some districts every considerable town and village had its colony of skilled weavers, and their loom fabrics, muslins, chintzes, etc., were world-famous. As soon as we were masters of the richest and most populous regions of the country, we adopted as our settled trade policy towards it a purely selfish course of action. That our manufactures should flourish and India's decay, we took measures to force her peoples to buy our finished products, and supply us in exchange with raw materials only—corn, cotton, oil-seeds, and the like. We first tried Protection; that failing, we closed our ports against the textiles of India, whilst compelling her to admit ours almost duty-free. Not until we had killed the rival industries, and established the supremacy of our own, did we substitute Free Trading for Protection as the chief aim of our commercial system.

Politics and trade being without sentiment, and enlightened views exceptional at the time, few in these islands regarded our treatment of India as unjust. Most home-staying Englishmen knew little about the country; we had conquered it, and had a right to exploit it. Besides, were not the inhabitants heathens—members of inferior races—and, as such, only fitted for labour and obedience? By degrees, as knowledge of India spread amongst the leisured and reading public in England, and as education and independence advanced amongst progressive Indians in the great trading centres of the peninsula, leading minds were roused to the wants of their country and the necessity of self-help. Some men wrote and lectured; a few—more

practical—began to form companies, import machinery, and set up steam-power mills for themselves. Bombay took the lead. Lancashire at once became apprehensive lest, by the extension of the movement, she might lose her best and largest market. The cotton power in Parliament was so great that, from the sixties to the middle of the nineties, it caused successive Ministries to so adjust Indian tariffs as to effectively retard India's development as a manufacturing country. What import duties were permitted were very low, and tolerated solely for revenue purposes. Their pitch was gradually reduced until, by 1879, they had been almost wholly abolished; and that, too, at a time when, from wars, famines, and the falling rupee, India stood face to face with impending insolvency. Struggle as she might for considerate treatment, she was as a child in the grip of a giant; and, but for her recurring deficits, the adversary would have succeeded in strangling her infant industries. So near was Lancashire to complete victory that, in 1879, the House of Commons recorded a resolution in favour of the perpetual abolition of "Indian import duties on cotton goods," on the pretext that such duties were "unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the Indian producer." Shortly afterwards the emptiness of the Indian treasury compelled the party in power to authorize the reimposition by India of low import duties. Such a surrender was intolerable to Lancashire. Her representatives in Parliament sulked; some only vapoured, others fought. In its extremity, the threatened Cabinet decided to buy peace by throwing over India, and forthwith the "mandate" was sent out that cotton goods should be excluded from her schedule of dutiable articles; and this in spite of India's increasing debt, shrinking revenues, and the fact that Manchester piece goods were practically the only imports worth taxing. Such truckling to retain votes—the sacrifice of an empire to the trade interests of an English county—outraged public sentiment throughout India. The agitation grew to formidable dimensions; it united all classes, Indians and

Anglo-Indians alike, in a universal protest—even British officials, in defiance of their obligation of silence, were openly indignant. As persistence would have endangered the security of our dominion, resting, as it must, on belief in our moral rectitude, a sort of patchwork compromise was contrived : the dependency was allowed to levy a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on cotton imports (a rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below that on most imports), and—nominally to preserve identity of treatment, but really to placate Lancashire—a countervailing excise was ordered to be taken on like goods manufactured in India. Though justice and financial exigencies demanded, and still demand, that Manchester cotton should not be exceptionally favoured, and that India being compelled to excise her like products, England, when taxing imports—*e.g.*, corn—should admit those received from India duty-free, Indians of thought and action recognise that, taking into consideration our previous practice of subordinating their country's interests to our own, the existing tariff arrangements are the nearest approach to fair commercial treatment ever yet granted by this country to her Empire dependency.

In spite of her disabilities, India has persisted for upwards of thirty years—thanks chiefly to the enterprise of various Hindu, Parsi, and Anglo-Indian merchants and capitalists—in her endeavour to domesticate mill industries, and the number of her cotton and jute mills has long been fitfully increasing. Up to date, however, the less unsuccessful are rather maintaining a struggle for existence than proving, by the payment of dividends, that the period of depression has passed and one of prosperity at hand.

The creation of large industries in India is, of course, the work not of philanthropists, but of men of business. The fact has, however, long been recognised by all men of light and leading in the country that, unless manufactures can be established and worked at a profit, India will never be relieved from the unfortunate consequences of her uncertain rainfall and dependence on agriculture as the one

source of livelihood for her masses. Aware that the introduction of favourable industrial conditions by means of Protection is, under the Free Trade policy of England, unattainable, economists have long advocated the establishment, under Government auspices, of technical schools and institutes in the different provinces. Some have been inaugurated, but the prospects of a moderate measure of success within a reasonable period of time are not encouraging. Meanwhile, India's millions, living on the land alone, must starve every few years, and be thankful that the rapid extension of irrigation works is affording them some ameliorations. No doubt, in the long, long hereafter, India will at some time succeed in working out her own emancipation from the thralldom in which the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by this country holds her; but, judged by the progress made in the last forty years, the dawn of that happy day is still far distant. It would come soon were the hands of the Government not tied to the commercial and fiscal systems of this country. Were India governed for her own good alone, the Administration would help manufacturing just as it helps farming interests. Many millions sterling have been profitably invested by the Government on irrigation works, the objects being famine prevention, reduction in expenditure on famine relief, and a handsome return on outlay incurred. These ends would be further served were the Government, having given the people the means of growing the raw material, to help them also to convert some classes of it into the manufactured article. The help wanted might be given by the protection of young industries, by the preferential purchase of the products by the spending departments of the State, and by the liberal bestowal of grants-in-aid and scholarships for technical schools. Such measures would attract capital and industrial skill to India, and stimulate her manufacturing development amazingly. As matters stand, the first is impossible—Free Trade and British interests forbid; the

second is, for like reasons, very difficult; and, as for the third, so far little has been done to promote it.

In spite of obstacles, India has, as already stated, for many years been moving in a small way towards her goal, as will be seen from the figures in the following statement. They are—except for mills—estimates only, but the grand totals are fairly correct:

Class of Industry.	Number of Concerns subject to the Factories Act, 1902.	Daily Number of Employés.
Cotton mills	220	180,000
Jute mills	40	120,000
Woollen mills	5	3,000
Paper mills	11	4,000
Coal-mines	135	15,000
Other mines	90	10,000
Oil fields	10	10,000
Miscellaneous*	1,000	208,000
Totals	1,511	550,000

If we add to the workers those members of their families who, from age, youth, health, and sex conditions and restrictions, are unable to help the bread-winners in their callings, a not unreasonable approximation of the mouths maintained through large industries, which have been originated or greatly improved and expanded in the last forty years, would be two millions. That aggregate, though considerable in itself, is trivial compared with the whole population, or even with the large class of artisans which subserves agriculture, and is in the Punjab loosely congregated under the term *kamins*, or village servants—*e.g.*, carpenters, leather-workers, blacksmiths, potters, and weavers. British and foreign competition does not appreciably affect the simple handicraftsmen of

* Presses, tea and indigo factories, foundries, tanneries, breweries, distilleries, refineries, etc.

the villages, weavers excepted; but as their subsistence depends on the harvests, and as they are the first to feel want when the crops fail, they, too, would be gainers by the industrial expansion of their country. The backwardness of India, the insignificance of her progress in manufactures will be realized if we compare her economic state to-day, after a century of British rule and guidance, with that of Japan, self-evolved, an Empire which two generations ago was still stagnating in medieval aloofness. Within that short period Japan has waked from the sleep of ages, educated herself, assimilated and applied the most useful of the teachings of Western science, and stands forth to-day as the equal in all respects of the most advanced Powers of Europe. Unlike Japan, India is still almost marking time, some of her people mere children in a sort of perpetual kindergarten, but the bulk as ignorant and simple as Russian moujiks. Official optimists see nothing discouraging in the present economic situation of India; on the contrary, they congratulate themselves that nearly 1 per cent. of the population is maintained through the large industries just referred to, and assert that India has been long making steady progress as a commercial community. They point out that the annual value of her sea-borne trade is now about 167 millions sterling, 75 millions being imports and 92 millions exports, and that, in addition, there is an external land trade valued at $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions. An exchange with other countries worth 175 millions a year certainly indicates prosperity, but an examination of the items reveals exploitation rather than the accumulation and diffusion of wealth. Eliminating from the account the land trade, which has always more or less existed, and transactions in treasure, the merchandise exported is worth 84 millions and imported 53 millions. Of the former, 40 millions are raw materials used in manufactures—cotton, jute, seeds, hides, etc.—and 24 millions are food-stuffs—rice, tea, wheat, etc. The balance, 20 millions, includes cotton yarn, indigo, and miscellaneous goods. Of the imports, the great

bulk are manufactured articles, cotton goods accounting for two-fifths of the total, Government stores for a tenth, and railway plant, machinery, liquors, prepared provisions, kerosine oil, refined sugar, hardware, etc., for the balance.

It thus appears that India's exports are mostly raw materials, her imports manufactured goods, and that the former exceed the latter by 31 millions sterling. Though some part of this sum returns to India in treasure, the great bulk of it is retained by us to meet charges due on account of India's indebtedness—public and private—to this country. From these facts the conclusion appears irresistible that India's economic condition, judged absolutely, is not satisfactory. Well provided by nature for manufacturing, she has, as yet, hardly any manufactures; she exports raw and imports finished products. In addition, she owes us a vast debt, and partially meets it by sending us and others some 21 millions sterling worth of food-supplies which her perennially underfed people can ill spare.

Though versed in the statistics published in India's "Moral and Material Progress Report," the late Lord Northbrook, in July, 1903, in the House of Lords, spoke approvingly of "the healthy condition of India under Free Trade." His optimism was, perhaps, almost warranted, for all he meant was that, situated as India is, she would meet her obligations better under Free Trade than Protection. We may fairly assume that our tariff reformers had already considered India's place under their proposals; as reasonable men, recommending revolutionary changes in our fiscal system, they could not have overlooked the interests of a population which many times outnumbers that of Great Britain and all her colonies.

Their study of the subject must have made them anxious to avoid it. India damaged their case. Accordingly, when questions were put in Parliament the replies were evasive: as the Indian authorities had made no pronouncement, it was impossible to forecast their views; the matter had so far only come to "official notice" as "a colonial question"

(Lord Lansdowne), and so forth. After that the then Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, himself a Free Trader, took prompt action. He telegraphically intimated to Simla "his desire to receive any observations and suggestions" on "preferential tariffs that Government (that of India) might wish to make from the point of view of Indian interests."

When the answer came and was published, the reason why tariff reformers had not made the wants of India a plank in their platform was at once revealed. After commenting on the "extremely general and indefinite character" of the reference, the Viceroy in Council bluntly stated: "Our conclusion is that it is unlikely that material advantages could be secured to Indian trade from any scheme of preferential tariffs." Three-fourths of India's imports came from the British empire, whilst most of the balance consisted of articles which that empire did not produce or supply. India's exports to foreign countries exceeded her imports therefrom by 38 millions sterling, and being a debtor country, it followed that she depended on her foreign trade for the discharge of her international obligations, mostly owed to Great Britain. Of India's exports, largely raw materials used in manufactures, foreign countries admitted 22 millions and Great Britain 17 millions' worth free of duty; on the other hand, Great Britain subjected some of India's products—*e.g.*, tea, coffee, tobacco, and unrefined sugar—to very high duties.* Were the power of protecting her own interests accorded to her, India might derive benefit from the proposed change of system; but "all past experience indicates that in the decision of any fiscal question concerning this country (India) powerful sections of the community at home will continue to demand that their interests, and not those of India alone, shall be allowed consideration." . . . "We cannot imagine that the merchants of Lancashire and Dundee, to mention two

* These duties are : tea, 110 per cent. ; coffee, 19 per cent. ; tobacco, 300 per cent. ; unrefined sugar, 56 per cent.

interests alone, would be likely to acquiesce in such a course, even though it were accompanied by still higher duties against the foreigner, or that it would be accepted by the Home Government, and we therefore dismiss this alternative as beyond the range of the present discussion."

From these premises the Government of India deduced that they would "be forced to shape our (their) policy, not in accordance with our (India's) own needs, but according to the interests and demands of the other constituents of the Empire," in which case India would be constrained to sacrifice much of her existing Customs receipts, and to make good the loss by enhancing the duties on foreign imports, a course which might lead to reprisals; finally, as Great Britain would still admit raw materials free of duty, India would receive no advantage in the home market for the bulk of her exports. Even in the case of the exceptional product, wheat—only largely exported in favourable years—India's potential gain would be discounted by the steady and annually increasing supplies poured into Great Britain from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; moreover, the anti-foreign duty on wheat would in any case be very insignificant. Only in tea, coffee, indigo, and tobacco—all small crops, by the way—would Indian producers stand to reap considerable profit.

The case as stated appeared to the authors of the despatch unassailable; but in anticipation of the probable demurrer that their apprehensions of retaliation by foreign nations would prove groundless, because most of the articles imported by such nations from India were only grown there, and necessary to the very existence of the manufactures in which they were used, the Government of India went out of its way to answer the objection. They pointed out that with the exception of jute—so far only successfully cultivated in Bengal—India's present advantage was of cheapness, not of absolute monopoly, and that in any case the history of international tariff disputes all the world over proved that fear of immediate injury to itself does not deter a Govern-

ment from adopting a policy of reprisals. The despatch closed with the emphatic repetition of the conclusion with which it had opened, that unless India were allowed to protect her own industries—"an alternative, not, so far as we can judge, within the sphere of practical politics"—preferential tariffs inside the Empire could not benefit Indian trade.

Though that pronouncement was published a year ago, no authority on tariff reform has yet attempted to refute its facts and arguments. Up to date only one man of note, Sir Charles Elliott, an ex-Indian administrator, and since 1895 a finance economist of prominence in London, has essayed to show that the adoption by this country of any form of Protection need not necessarily prove disadvantageous to Indian or English interests. His thesis, supplemented by a "rough scheme" in support thereof, is briefly as follows: Admittedly India is "intensely Protectionist"; educated opinion there has never accepted the principle of Free Trade, but has always contended that as India's rescue from the consequences of famine depends on the creation of diversity of occupations for her peoples, and as that object cannot be attained unless she impose heavy import duties on cotton and certain other manufactured goods, justice to India demands that she should be given a free hand in the framing of her tariffs. Such a concession—one that would amount to the granting of fiscal autonomy—is inadmissible, for, as India is a dependency, not a colony, her interests come after those of England. This country, moreover, has never accorded reciprocity to India, but has always, whilst taxing some Indian products, enforced her own system upon her, only occasionally tolerating deviations therefrom when India's finances have become disordered. England having hitherto been a free importer—with reservations—India of necessity has been the same. If we now change our system and adopt some form of Protection, we must meet India's prayer for equal treatment in some reasonable way. If we concede

preferential treatment to her in respect of tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, rice, and indigo in return for similar concessions by her in our favour in respect of cotton goods, metals, salt, machinery, and a few other articles, India should be satisfied. She must recognise that no action which we may take will justify a claim by her, our dependency, to penalize the entry therein of our own manufactures; if we allow her to discriminate, as we shall, against foreign nations, that should suffice.

Having given his "rough sketch" of a workable scheme, Sir Charles Elliott held that he had successfully demonstrated that, "by a manipulation of the tariff in the direction proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, much benefit might accrue to the trade of England in cotton goods, iron and steel, and salt, and to that of Mauritius in sugar. Similarly, India might receive great advantage in respect of its production of tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, rice, and indigo."

That such "tariff manipulation" would promote British trade is certain; that it would only do so at the expense of India is, unfortunately, equally certain, as is shown generally in the Government of India's despatch on the subject. If we take the six articles named from the proposed tariff treatment of which India is expected to reap "great advantage," and, in addition, consider the case of salt also, we shall see to what extent the anticipation is likely to be fulfilled.

Tea is a large industry; we annually import it from India—in which term Ceylon is not included—to the value of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, and our Exchequer realizes in Customs rather more than that sum. If we reduced the duty by, say, one-half—it is now 110 per cent.—owners of tea gardens would be gainers; but they are few in number, are mostly Anglo-Indians, and the gardens themselves are limited to a few localities. How, then, would India as a whole benefit were the duty lowered? Why, too, should India generally be required to compensate England for partially, or even wholly, removing a tax on an Indian

import—a tax which is only excusable on the plea that India is a mere dependency, and as such must be grateful for any crumbs of fair treatment we may choose to throw to her?

The same line of argument applies to coffee and tobacco, with this addition, that little of either is exported. The value of both sent to us is £700,000, and to other countries £400,000. Further, as regards tobacco, under existing arrangements we tax the Indian higher than the American article, as we subject both to the same specific duty, though the latter, weight for weight, is far more valuable than the former.

In respect of wheat the Government of India's despatch shows that the colonies, not India, would benefit if any country did should we impose a duty of 2s. a quarter against foreign countries. The case of rice is peculiar and obscure. India (Burmah chiefly) exports it to the value of 12 millions sterling, about two-fifths going to foreign countries and three-fifths to Great Britain and our colonies and possessions. The largeness of the trade is due to the cheapness of the Indian product compared with the better and more valuable Carolina and other rices in the market. Were England to give India preferential treatment, which is doubtful, India's export trade might expand; on the other hand, it might shrink, the other rice-growing countries of the world underselling her in foreign importing States. In any case, trading relations would be disturbed. The conditions are further complicated by the fact that India obtains a large revenue from the heavy duties she imposes on Burmah's rice exports.

The last article, indigo, is hardly worth specializing; chemical dyes are killing its production, the factories are mostly owned by Anglo-Indians, and at best the value of exports to all countries is a little over a million sterling.

Now, taking the case of salt, it is sufficient to point out that India can only reduce the duty on the British article *pari passu* with similar action in respect of the excise

levied on the Indian article, and that the taxation of salt being economically indefensible, the Government of India is now seizing opportunity as it occurs to cheapen the cost to the consumer of that necessary of life.

Even if we concede that some minor Indian industries would be profited by the suggested tariff manipulation—apparently the only one possible—and that the Government of India's apprehensions of reprisals would not be realized, the whole Protectionist case seems to rest on the morally untenable assumptions that, as India is a dependency, not a colony, we are justified in continuing the subjection of her interests to our own, and in taking compensation from the whole population for lightening the burdens—the unjust burdens—which have hitherto only affected a few small sections of the people. In this connection it cannot be too strongly impressed upon those who would dictate a tariff to India and be satisfied, that by making concessions to a few producers and traders benefits would be conferred on “India,” that their conception of what the term implies is wholly erroneous. “India” means more than a handful of up-country planters, factory owners, and the whole crowd of merchants and brokers of the presidency towns and elsewhere; it means the peoples of India—300 millions of long-suffering workers, whereas the Britons of Great and Greater Britain only number 50 millions.

To give the real “India” that variety of livelihood—without which, in spite of roads, railways, and irrigation canals, scores of millions must suffer at short intervals from the effects of scarcity and famine—she must have flourishing home industries; if so, any tariff revision which would operate to further retard her industrial progress would be a calamity for India. As in the past we have habitually sacrificed her welfare for our own, we should probably not scruple to do so once more, if we dared—the end, the consolidation of the Empire, being held to sanctify the means. But if we dared, should we succeed? That is the question.

Let us suppose a Protectionist Ministry in power, and all fiscal difficulties between ourselves and colonies and the latter *inter se* surmounted, India's place in the happy family would still have to be settled. Two alternatives would be open to us : we should either have to force upon India a tied-house scheme on the lines already sketched, or go a step farther, and by imposing absolute Free Trade between her and ourselves, with liberty to her to discriminate against foreign nations alone, preserve a semblance of identity of treatment between the two countries. Neither arrangement would be just or acceptable to India, the first or half-measure for reasons already given, the second or whole measure because it would, besides injuring India's manufactures and dislocating her external trade, entail serious loss of revenue, not only to her, but to ourselves as well.

It is, I think, unlikely, however, that in any case Great Britain will venture to dictate orders to India. The era of unjust "mandates" probably ended in 1894, when India's successful protest against the compulsory excision of Manchester cotton goods from her tariff compelled this country to substitute the compromise, which has now been working for nine years. Since that settlement was made, India's progress in intelligence, world-knowledge, and powers of agitation—perhaps, too, the advance in right-mindedness in impersonal matters amongst our own people—has been so great that, notwithstanding the Government of India's pessimism, it is unlikely that British sectional interests will ever again have the power to carry out any new injustice upon India.

When recently (October 3) speaking at Edinburgh on the fiscal question, the Prime Minister held that "the only possible way of moving out of the *impasse* in which we now find ourselves—an *impasse* dangerous to the Empire as a whole—is to have a free conference with those (our) self-governing colonies and with India." If it sit and India be properly represented, we shall see clearer than at present

whether a "scientific tariff" can be devised which shall be fair and reasonable for all the constituents—India included—of our Empire. At present, however, so far as the discussion has advanced, the conflicting interests of this country—of Lancashire, at all events—and India appear irreconcilable. Unless an impractical and impartial solution can be contrived, it is not unlikely that India will block the way against any common scheme of tariff revision. Should that blocking take place, the soundness of the advice to be read between the lines of the Government of India's despatch, "Let sleeping dogs lie," will be admitted even by those to whom to-day it is most unpalatable. Like Lord Curzon and his Council, I, too, "cannot imagine" the only possible alternative—the concession by this country to India of the right to protect her own industries against all rivals, ourselves included, even as we should protect ours against nations outside our Union.

A VINDICATION OF AN INDIAN STATESMAN.

BY "SHAHD-I-'ADĀLAT."

THE writer of the Le Bas Prize Essay (1904)* devotes rather more than half of it to a rapid and interesting survey of the history of the Golcandah and Hyderabad kingdoms from A.D. 1512 to 1853. It was in this year, 1853, that a new treaty was drawn up between the East India Company and the Nizam. Under one of the terms of this treaty, the Nizam assigned to the British Government the administration, but not the sovereignty, of the Berar Province, the garden of his dominions. The writer justly remarks on the patent inaccuracy in Lord Dalhousie's farewell Minute, in which he stated that "His Highness the Nizam had assigned, in perpetual government, to the Honourable East India Company the Province of Berar." As a matter of fact, the province in question "was never assigned or ceded in perpetuity. That stipulation," as the writer adds, "can nowhere be proved by documentary evidence."

It was at this juncture that Salar Jung, one of the most able and most remarkable of the Indian statesmen that the nineteenth century produced, succeeded his uncle in the office of Dewan, or Chief Minister of the Nizam's State. He was only twenty-four years of age, and with but little practical knowledge of State business. Young and inexperienced as he was, he soon convinced himself that the abuses then rampant in the administration of the public revenues would go far to imperil even the existence of the Nizam's dominions as an Independent State. With the full countenance and support of the British Government, he entered upon and successfully carried out a series of reforms. To this, the early part of Salar Jung's career, the

* "The Nizam: The Origin and Future of the Hyderabad State." Being the Le Bas Prize Essay in the University of Cambridge, 1904. By R. Paton McAuliffe, B.A. Cambridge University Press. See notice of this essay in our last (January) issue, pp. 190, 191.

author does full justice. He could not well have done otherwise, as there is ample evidence both as to these reforms and as to the loyal attitude of the Nizam and his young Minister, who had only been four years in office when Northern India suddenly blazed into rebellion. Than Hyderabad, with its Arab, Pathan, and Sikh levies, there was in 1857 no more turbulent city in the whole of Hindustan. Anxiously it was asked, and as anxiously it was awaited, what attitude this the largest of the Independent States, with its Muhammadan Government, would take up? Would it remain faithful to its alliance with the British Government, or would it side with the rebels whose agents were swarming into the city of Hyderabad from the north? These were the questions that were considered with no little anxiety by the British Government. The Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, telegraphed to the Resident at Hyderabad: "If the Nizam goes, all is lost." As to the services personally rendered at the peril of his life by Salar Jung, the author truly says that "Salar Jung decided, and irrevocably, for the British cause, and ratified his decision with military assistance." The local British authorities, who were fully aware what would result from any weakness of Salar Jung, or the slightest swerving on his part from the attitude he had assumed towards the British cause, thus wrote of his loyalty and firmness throughout that most critical time. Colonel Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad, reported to Government in reference to Salar Jung: "From his open and avowed determination to assist us at all hazards he became most unpopular, and almost outlawed by the Muhammadans; but no invectives, threats, or entreaties ever made him swerve from the truly faithful line of conduct he from the first adopted. His assassination was planned a dozen times." General Hill, who held the chief military command in the Nizam's dominions at the time, wrote that "It is but just to this distinguished man that the people of England should be informed how entirely the stability of British rule in South India was maintained owing to the

wise and energetic measures adopted at this crisis by Salar Jung." Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, was no less emphatic in his praise of the young Minister. He stated his opinion that "we owed the safety of Southern India to Salar Jung."

As regards the memory of a man who had stood so loyally by us in 1857, it is unfortunate, though not to be wondered at, that the author of this essay has based his information as to a certain portion of Salar Jung's career on a work published some years ago by Mr. T. H. Thornton, "sometime Foreign Secretary to the Government of India." "General Sir Richard Meade and the Feudatory States of Central and Southern India" is an interesting memoir of the services of an officer of the Indian Army, who, after a distinguished career as a soldier, was employed as a Political Agent, in which branch of the service his career was equally distinguished. From one agency he was advanced to another, till finally he was made Resident at Hyderabad, the highest and most important charge of all. Then it was that, towards the close of the year 1875, the new Resident, Sir Richard Meade, and Sir Salar Jung first came into contact. His Highness the Nizam (Afzal-ed-Dowlah) had died in 1869, and at the time of his death his son, the present Nizam, was two and a half years old. Early in the year 1876 Salar Jung, in response to an invitation from the Prince of Wales when he visited India in 1875, left Hyderabad for England. It was in the course of his stay in London that he obtained permission from Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, to reopen the question of the restitution to the Nizam of the Berar Province. Evil days were then to be the lot of Salar Jung, the foremost of Indian statesmen of the day, who from the time he had assumed the office of the Nizam's Prime Minister had attracted the sympathy of every right-thinking man, and whose advanced ideas and intellectual acquirements had made him one with those who value progress and reform. Late in August he returned to Hyderabad, after an absence

of some four months. All India was then shortly to be astir with the preparations for the Durbar at Delhi, to be held early in January, 1877, when the Queen of England was to be proclaimed Empress of India. The Government of India was desirous that the Nizam should be present. Salar Jung knew full well that great risk would be incurred to His Highness's health from the long journey and the excitement of the coming ceremonials. His Highness was delicate and frequently suffering, and only eleven years of age. But assuming all responsibility, and allaying the determined opposition of the nearest of His Highness's female relations, he loyally met the desire of the British Government ; and, attended by himself and other nobles, His Highness left for Delhi towards the end of December. Before leaving Hyderabad, agreeably to Lord Salisbury's permission, Salar Jung submitted to the Resident the claim of the Hyderabad Government to the restoration of Berar. In thus submitting this claim the Minister had grievously sinned in the eyes of the Foreign Department of the Government of India.

To return to the Prize Essay. The author says that to "his [Salar Jung's] early foreign policy there is the gravest objection." This is somewhat puzzling. Were Salar Jung now alive, we think he would smile at such a charge. Surrounded by British territory, as the Nizam's dominions are, and bound by a treaty to have no political communications with any of the Independent States of India, or with any Power except the English, it is hard to see how it would have been possible for him to frame a "foreign policy," and he was too able and too cautious to undertake the impossible. Other charges by the essayist follow : "He tacitly aimed at disclaiming any suzerainty of the British Crown." His organization of a small body of troops is termed "a questionable action." His "reluctance" to meet the Prince of Wales at Bombay in 1875 is asserted. His secret manufacture of arms was "detected." His "declaration that in the matter of the vacant co-regency he deter-

mined to have no colleague" is recorded with the rest of the charges as "significant of the position he was adopting." It would be easy to refute each of these charges. But though space is limited, it is only just that an endeavour should be made shortly to point out the utter worthlessness of some of them. As regards the precise significance of the term "suzerainty," Salar Jung was, no doubt, a little bewildered. Men with minds legally trained, such as his had never been, have been equally puzzled. For this we need not go farther back than to the months that preceded the outbreak of our recent War in South Africa. The Nizam's "sovereignty" had been mentioned in a treaty between the British Government and the Nizam. The Minister not unnaturally concluded that the Nizam, his master, was a Sovereign. In admitting the suzerainty of the British Crown, he thought by so doing that he might be guilty of disloyalty to his own Sovereign. On the matter being explained to him, he at once admitted the paramountcy or overlordship of the Empress of India over all the Independent States, including the Nizam's. As to meeting the Prince of Wales at Bombay, there was no reluctance whatever on his part. His reluctance was confined to taking the young Nizam to Bombay. As a writer well versed in all matters regarding the Hyderabad State wrote in *To-day*, a monthly magazine published in London (1884): "There would have been no objection, merely on account of his [the Nizam's] juvenility, to his being present at Bombay. He was only nine years of age. But the boy was weakly. He was the sole hope of the direct succession. The family anxieties in respect of his physical welfare had always been kept at the keenest tension. . . . The Minister and his then worthy colleague, the co-Regent, shared these anxieties, and also felt to the utmost their grave responsibility for the safety of the young Nizam." The medical men in attendance affirmed that if the Nizam went to Bombay it would be at the peril of his life. But the Government of India, notwithstanding, continued their pressure on the Minister. It was said that

if the Nizam (this delicate, suffering child) were not present the Prince of Wales would consider it "an insult"! The fatuous persistence of the Indian Political Department and all the circumstances attendant on it were explained to His Royal Highness. At once he took in the situation, and Salar Jung and other leading nobles, representing the Nizam, met the Prince at Bombay. The Heir-apparent most cordially greeted the justly-renowned and faithful Minister. He did more. He deputed two of the highest nobles of his suite to Hyderabad to return Salar Jung's visit to Bombay, and thus publicly evinced the good feeling he entertained towards the young Nizam's Minister. As the writer of the essay affirms that the secret manufacture by Salar Jung was "detected," we are bound to refer to the Meade memoir, whence Mr. McAuliffe, no doubt, obtained this information. Therein we read of the "discovery of the secret manufacture of arms, or preparation for the manufacture in Hyderabad of large quantities of arms, of preparations for the manufacture of breech-loading guns." For some evidence as to this we search in vain; but instead of evidence, as we might have expected, we read that "the details are of too confidential a character for publication." In the leading organs of the Indian press of the day no alarm was expressed, but rather amusement at the Government's discovery of a mare's-nest. It was well known that, if Salar Jung had ordered half a dozen flints for some old muskets of the time of the Frenchman Raymond, news of his "manufacture of arms" would have been hurried off from the city by Salar Jung's enemies to the Residency. The Hyderabad State arming was generally considered as much of a joke as was Laurence Oliphant's ironical suggestion to Salar Jung, that to get back Berar he would have to declare war with Great Britain.

In justice to Salar Jung's memory, his decision that in the matter of the vacant co-regency it would be to the interest of the State that he should have no colleague, it is desirable to say a few words. Early in 1877 his worthy

colleague, who had been long ailing, died. He was, a Muhammadan noble, connected by marriage with the Nizam, and respected by all. From what we learn of Sir Richard Meade in Mr. Thornton's memoir, it is manifest that he was, when not swayed by superior orders, a man of good intentions, just, and with clear-sighted views. He had been long enough at Hyderabad to be aware that amongst the nobles no fit successor to the deceased Nawab could be found. Salar Jung was also of this opinion. Meade was disposed, all things considered, to abstain from filling up the vacant post, or, in other words, to leave the Minister sole Regent during the few years that remained of the Nizam's minority. This plan, however, did not suit the views of the Simla officials. The half-brother of the deceased co-Regent, the Nawab Vikar-ul-oomra, though highest in rank of the Hyderabad nobles, was totally unversed in State business. He had, besides, been in disgrace for some years for an attempt to bribe a former Resident's wife, with the view of turning out the Minister Salar Jung from his post. The bribe was given, and carried off by a woman who had passed herself off to him as the wife of the Resident. For this scandalous intrigue the orders of Government were that he was never to attend a Durbar when British officers were present. He was the Minister's most bitter foe. Here, then, was the man that was wanted. Sir Richard Meade, having received his orders, wrote that (in opposition to his former views) it would be better "to risk present inconvenience and trouble than future complications" if Salar Jung were left sole Regent of the State. It is thus evident that Sir Richard foresaw that inconvenience and trouble would certainly result from the appointment of Vikar-ul-oomra as co-Regent.

But having received his orders from Simla, Sir R. Meade proceeded unflinchingly to carry them out. Pressure of a very determined sort was put upon Salar Jung, who had declined, for the reasons he gave, to accept Vikar-ul-oomra as

his colleague ; but finally he was forced to consent to the wishes of the Simla Government.*

As to the character of the man who had thus been unfairly forced upon him, the Minister, let Sir George Yule speak—one of the best and most highly respected among the few able men who have filled the post of Resident at the Nizam's Court. Writing in February, 1881, he said : "In spite of Sir Salar Jung's repeated remonstrances, we have forced upon him as his colleague a man who was notoriously his personal enemy, a man who had heavily bribed others in scandalous intrigues against him, and whose servant had openly tried to murder him." Yet if we look at the "sometime Foreign Secretary's" memoir, we are told "the only reason against his [the Vikar-ul-oomra's] appointment was the fact that he was a *persona ingratis* to Salar Jung." Surely misrepresentation greater than this it would be hard to conceive! But as the arena artist reserves his biggest jump for the close of his performance on the sawdust, we come upon the following, towards the end of the many charges made against the long-suffering Minister : "Lord Lytton did not hesitate to declare that the Minister's intrigues were the greatest danger to his viceroyalty, and were more grave than were even war or famine." No blame can be attached to the author of the essay for his insertion of this allusion to Salar Jung, as this charge, like the rest of the charges, is culled verbatim from Mr. Thornton's volume. Mr. McAuliffe may well have concluded that more authoritative information in reference to Hyderabad affairs at that time was not to be found than

* Salar Jung had informed the writer in *To-day* that he "had asked for the Berars." And as he had asked "in a way and with a force of argument that showed he really meant to attain his end if possible:" the writer adds that Salar Jung, in giving him this information, gave him at the same time "an indication of the turn of the tide of disfavour that was to set against him from Simla" . . . where "the Bureaucrats thereupon repented them of the praises they had heretofore bestowed on the Minister who had served the British Power as well as he had served his own Sovereign, but from allegiance to whom he would not swerve." —*To-day*, July, 1883.

what would be given in a work by the "sometime Foreign Secretary" of the day; for he would be the Viceroy's right-hand man in all transactions with the Native States. Unfair as this statement is to the memory of Salar Jung, it is still more unfair to the memory of Lord Lytton that such a remark in a private letter to Sir Richard Meade, written after both had left India for good, should have been unnecessarily made public. Sir R. Meade had been attacked by a Calcutta newspaper that condemned his conduct of affairs at Hyderabad, and his relations with Salar Jung generally. The attack was unwarranted, inasmuch as the Resident had only acted under the orders of Government. Lord Lytton, who knew the valuable services Sir Richard Meade had rendered throughout a long career, wrote expressing his strong disapproval at what he termed "an infamous attack" on Meade's character. Lord Lytton was a poet and gifted with a poet's creative imagination. He wrote in his anger, desiring, with that kindness which was characteristic of him, to console Meade in regard to the attack that had been made upon him in the Calcutta journal. In proof that only his disapproval at the time led him to make this extraordinary statement in reference to Salar Jung, we turn to Lord Lytton's "Indian Administration," a work drawn up by his daughter, Lady Betty Balfour. In the preface of this work we learn that in his will Lord Lytton desired that the work should be "a complete record" of his Indian Administration. We find that Salar Jung's name appears in it only once; Lord Lytton merely noting that at the Delhi Durbar in 1877 he had had "interviews with Salar Jung" and others. Sir Richard Meade's name is not even mentioned throughout the work; and yet, as Resident at Hyderabad, he was at close quarters during the whole of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration with the Minister of the largest of the Independent States—a man whose intrigues "were the greatest danger of his viceroyalty, and were more grave than war or famine"! We may fairly assume

a reason for the omission from the record of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration of any reference to the Hyderabad affairs. Lord Lytton came out from England with instructions from the Disraeli-Salisbury Ministry to reverse the policy of his predecessor, Lord Northbrook, in regard to Afghanistan. He was thus soon entangled in the web of Afghan politics, and at the same time his mind was also largely occupied with the work of famine relief. To so great an extent is an Indian Viceroy's time occupied that he is compelled to leave much to be done by others. His Foreign Secretary, and possibly other officials about Lord Lytton, would so obtain a comparatively free hand to wound Salar Jung's feelings in every way open to them, for his having presumed, when in London, to explain to the Marquis of Salisbury his position, and also the case for rendition of the Berars. An able and trained diplomatist, it is not likely that, in his heart, Lord Lytton approved of the persecution of a man who had proved himself so faithful to his own Sovereign and so loyal to the British Crown. Equally, with his temperament, he would have regarded, perhaps with contempt, the bull-in-the-china-shop attitude assumed by those who had planned and were clumsily carrying out the humiliation of Salar Jung. But once a policy, mischievous though it be, is entered upon by those acting under him and to whom he has trusted, it is hard even for a Viceroy to interfere and stop its course. It is thus not difficult to account for the absence from Lady Betty Balfour's work of all correspondence relating to the conduct of affairs at Hyderabad during Lord Lytton's viceroyalty.

A trait in the character of this persecuted but distinguished Indian statesman is aptly portrayed in the following words by the writer in *To-day*, to whose intimate knowledge of Hyderabad affairs in those days, and consequently of Salar Jung's career from the time he assumed the office of Dewan till his death in 1883, allusion has previously been made :—

“ Subjected to the pressure from those who, as he knew, wielded irresistible power, he held his own with unflinching firmness. His prudence

and patience induced him to yield, not to *force majeure*, but to the persuasion of his nearest and wisest friends. Nevertheless, his capacity for enduring—as many of the best in history have done in times past—the vengeance of tyrannous powers was amply demonstrated.” And this writer justly adds that “Sir Salar Jung’s name will evermore be held in honour in the Deccan.”

A man so distinguished and well known as Sir Salar Jung, was not likely to be without friends who sympathized with him in the cruel treatment to which he was being subjected. Who were these friends that the “some-time Foreign Secretary,” from his Olympian altitude of Simla, airily dismisses with the remark that their sympathy for and support of Salar Jung’s “aspirations” were “of little practical value.” He gives their names—the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Napier of Ettrick, Sir George Yule, and Sir Bartle Frere—all men of position and personally acquainted with Salar Jung; and all of whom retained their friendship for him to the last. It does not say much for the perception of these distinguished men, if they sympathized with the “aspirations” of Salar Jung and retained their friendship for him, if these “aspirations” were, as expressed in the memoir of Sir Richard Meade, those of a man disloyal to the British Crown, and whose intrigues were regarded as a menace and danger to our rule in India. Bearing in mind all that is said in Mr. T. Thornton’s memoir of Sir Richard Meade in disparagement of Salar Jung, it is pleasant to read that the Governor-General in Council declared that his “subsequent actions”—we presume subsequent to 1877—were declared to be those of an “enlightened and experienced friend to the British Government.” In 1878 Mr. Thornton was no longer at the helm of the Indian Foreign Department. He had been succeeded by Sir Alfred Lyall, a highly gifted and able official, who was not likely to view with approval the conduct of our relations with the Hyderabad Government during the latter portion of his predecessor’s term of office.

The fourth and last chapter of the essay, dealing with

"the present in anticipation of the future," will be read with interest by all who are concerned with the welfare of the Nizam and his State. Mr. McAuliffe wisely abstains from prophesying : as he himself says, "nothing is easier," if the date of realization is put sufficiently remote. He aptly refers to what the late Lord Salisbury said in 1891, that the hope of the future in India lay in the formation of a double bond between the British Government and the Independent States—viz., that of a Customs Union and Defence Union. He justly remarks that, if the proposed Customs Union is carried out, it may considerably affect Hyderabad, "as commercially more than politically will the State develop." Since the Nizam's famous offer in 1887, when the *Times* declared that by it the Nizam showed that union for defence existed between the British Government and his own, Mr. McAuliffe says, nothing has occurred to lower the estimation then given by the *Times* of His Highness the Nizam. He closes his interesting essay by quoting the utterance of the Nizam at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in January, 1903, when, alluding to the pleasure it had given him to be present, he added, "after the custom of my ancestors to show in a simple, straightforward, and soldierly manner, by word and deed, my historical friendship and loyalty." "In the preservation of that friendship and loyalty," the author of the essay rightly says, "the future of the Hyderabad State lies."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF NATIVE LIFE IN BENGAL.

BY R. E. FORREST.

A GREAT deal might be written about this little book.* There is the mere fact of its existence. A book in English, and mostly good English, dealing with questions of social and religious reform, by one in the position of the writer, is a matter of great interest to those who can look back to the opening days of English education in India. The object first aimed at was to open out the great treasure-house of English literature to the people of India, and the Colleges were founded. Then came the measures for elementary education, the enabling the people to read, write, and calculate, and the founding of the village schools. The colleges were used chiefly by those of the lower classes; those of the upper classes held wholly aloof. Then came the measures for the education of those of the upper, the uppermost, classes—those who ruled over kingdoms and principalities, were the owners of vast estates, of the gentry, nobility, and royalties of India, in their own homes or without them—the founding of the Mayo College, whose establishment was fraught with great consequences, and a measure of great boldness.

It is well to be dissatisfied, it is well to say that India wants more roads, railways, and irrigation works; but those who can look back to the time when these were practically non-existent (the railways, of course, wholly so) cannot but think that the work already done in providing them should be looked upon as great and valuable. And so with regard to our educational system—it is well to extend and improve it, remedy the defects that have shown themselves in it, so far as they can be remedied, and are not inherent; but those who can look back on the days of its introduction cannot but regard its work, too, as large and fruitful. In Northern India the introduction of the village schools was looked on as a necessary supplement of the land system. The splendid registration of his holdings and rights and dues lost much of its value to the cultivator when he could not read or write. The object was to deliver him out of the hands of the money-lender, the tax-gatherer, the grasping landlord—to give him a greater capacity for managing his own affairs. That capacity he has gained and displays; testimony is borne to it from many quarters. Permission having been given in the United Provinces to the cultivators to pay their dues, if they chose, direct into the Government treasury, rather than to the landlord, by means of money orders, this was availed of to such an extent as to threaten the influence of the landlord. Formerly it was said of the colleges that their result was to turn out an army of clerks. It was a good result. It was the beginning of the much-wanted middle class. How

* *Studies*, by B. C. Mahtab, Maharaj-Adhiraj of Burdwan. W. Newman and Co., Calcutta; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London, 1904.

could the work of State administration, of the railways, of the great commercial houses, of the banks, have been carried out without them? They began to supply all over the land, away from the great seaports, homes in which the children were in contact with some measure of English speech and knowledge, with English banks, from their infancy, where an education in English was a settled and not an accidental, thing. The progress of a foreign language must be by generations. It is said that education has been sought, not for culture, but to earn a living, to rise in the world. Surely the same motives operate among ourselves. But the rise from daily wages to a salary and pension, from the hut of a labourer to a large, well-provided house, was culture. In the large and important class of natives in Government employ, so largely in the honourable and important branch of the judiciary, there has been a marked improvement in the moral sense. The large new middle class, composed of pleaders, barristers, doctors, journalists, schoolmasters, engineers, merchants, manufacturers, Government servants, who have received an education in English, is an important and recent product of our rule. The leaven has worked; we may not like some features of the fermentation, but we have put life into the long stagnant mass. The seed has germinated; there has been some evil growth—growth disagreeable to ourselves, but, on the whole, a most excellent crop, and we deem it our duty that the great field should be cultivated. The growth has been as great as could be expected from the condition of the field. There are now thousands of educated, English-knowing natives where formerly there were hundreds. The class is not numerous anywhere, but there are now not a few natives in India to whom, in the direction of scholarship and culture, English literature has been what the literature of Rome and Greece has been to like-minded men in Europe. Things happen which thirty years ago would have been deemed impossible. One native represents an English constituency, and sits in the House of Commons; another has been high among the wranglers at Cambridge. Every year many natives are called to the Bar in London, a fact fraught with most enormous consequences for the future of India. Young men of the highest and most orthodox families in the land leave their Zenana homes, to be trained in various institutions after Western methods, to receive an education of which the knowledge of English forms the leading part. Native ladies write English verses, English books, take their place in English society in London. To me it seems no small thing to see in an English magazine, published in India, edited by a native, an article excellently written, with well-marshalled facts and arguments, by a Zemindar of Northern India, in which he upholds and justifies the passage of land into the hands of his own class—that of money-lender; and no Englishman will deem it an anti-climax to note that out of an Indian college has come a cricketer who holds a foremost place among the players of England.

The Indian mind has been quickened to higher issues, to aspirations after a purer faith. Men are abandoning the Hindu system of religion, in itself, whatever men of high thought and holy life there may be in it,

childish, foul, cruel, loathsome, degraded, relic of a far-back age of savagery. New sects have been founded, new organizations for moral improvement. It moves.

"In this book are to be found one or two errors of the kind which people term "Babu English," as if that were the only way in which the people referred to write the tongue designated. Choice specimens of this Babu English are collected, and people laugh much over them. That is all right so long as the laughter is not scornful, or founded wholly on the feeling to which some refer all laughter, the sense of superiority. But that series of papers about "Jabbergie," now published in book form, had better not have appeared. It was not well to affix the epithet Jabbergie to those of an alien race striving to speak our tongue. It would be a political error to consider the educated Bengalis as Jabbergies, just as it was a political error to regard the Irishman as a mere shillelah-flourishing buffoon. The term is offensive. Gibes cut. The thing is not true: the jargon employed does not represent the erroneous writing. In the same way Mr. Kipling, his early Bombay experience vitiating his later knowledge of Northern India, gives us his fantastic Babu talking, his fantastic nonsense, as he skips about among the Himalayas with his open umbrella in his hand. A Bengali Babu has made a remarkable journey in that region, and written an account of it in English. Mr. Kipling's picture can be tested. There is plenty of good Babu English. How do we stand ourselves in regard to the knowledge and use of foreign languages, of those of India? Is there not need to revise and give more common meaning to our translations of the Scriptures into the tongues of that land? Has not the invocation to the Deity, "O God!" been translated, once at least, into "Halloa, God!"? Our attitude towards those striving to use and employ our noble tongue, who have received their education through it, should be one of kindness, interest, sympathy. Surely that should form a common bond. When English education was first started in India the forming of such a bond was one hoped-for good result. The bond between pupil and teacher is held a very close one in the East. "The teacher is more to the pupil than his father, for the one is only father to his body, the other to his soul." The bond was closer in the old days, when the teacher sat with his dozen pupils around him, than now, when the lecturer stands with four dozen listeners facing him. The teachers were then not so alien to the taught, not so much above their heads, above the work. My experience is not recent; I write from the loopholes of retreat; I know nothing as yet of the proposals of the recent Education Commission. I give my remarks for what they are worth. But I can remember the formation of the Education Department in the North-West Provinces, and how the first head of it took great credit for the sweeping away of the amenities and kindnesses of the old system, the making the passing of tests the one thing to be considered, thought about, aimed at. The want of sympathy, of feeling, of the play of human emotion, has been the great drawback of the system. A pupil of one of the old colleges—Agra, Delhi, Bareilly—was proud of his college, and came long distances to

revisit it. Then the eye of pupil and teacher was not fixed solely on the distant University. There have been plenty of able and eminent men in the Education Department in India. But every man sent out to it from England should be most carefully chosen. And should not there be some special preparation for it, as in the Oriental languages?

The educated native often raises antipathies and fears. Let those be duly weighed and considered. But let us rise to a view of the grandeur of the thing as a whole. One dominant feature in the history of the past has been the flow of human knowledge between East and West, from one to the other alternately. Now we have set the tide flowing Eastward—made a new era.

The errors laughed at spring mostly from one cause—the use of big words in small places, of small words in big places. When the latter takes place at the end of a sentence, it produces an anti-climax, a laughter-moving incongruity. In the Onocoolal Mitter book we had something of this sort: “Then in the house was lamentation, weeping and wailing, a tearing of the hair and a beating of the breast—in short, a pretty kettle of fish.” As there is only one sentence of this kind in the book I give it. In the preface the object of the book is declared to be “to point out certain religious and social defects which are found, more or less, everywhere in Bengal, and which, unless checked, will bring her people to a pretty pass.” Expressions such as “rum ideas,” “level best,” are used as if they were equivalent to “strange ideas,” “utmost.” But there are plenty of excellent sentences. We will quote two short ones, for the sake of the spirit as well as of the form. With regard to some uncomplimentary epithets applied to himself, he writes: “Whatever else he may be, he is not a traitor to his convictions, nor has he a guilty conscience to torment him. He depends for every action of his on his honest beliefs, and is a faithful, obedient, and devoted servant of God.” The book, on the whole, is well and clearly written.

With regard to progress and reform the Maharaja is wholly for improvement from within, for “keeping the old furniture with some varnishing and repainting,” as it would be termed, probably, by members of the Brahmo Somaj, whose own procedure in the matter, that of leaving the house, the Maharaja condemns. With regard to religion, he says: “Bengal stands in need of a religion which would combine the spirituality of the *Upanishads* with the simplicity of the *Puranas*, which would so harmonize the cruder portion with the more refined that the former would not seem to its votaries to be at variance with the latter, and which would be neither too intellectual for the masses nor too emotional for the learned. We want a simple form of Monism saturated with the spirit of *Bhakti* and loving submission to the Divine will. Such a religion will suit the peasant and the philosopher alike, being a universal and simple Monism based on the *Advaitism* of the *Upanishads*, and suited to the practical requirements of everyday life. Now we have too much philosophy on one side, and gross idolatry on the other; either *Shad-darshan*, which are very difficult of application to practical life, or crass symbolism, which is bereft

of all spirituality. The two great systems of religious belief in Bengal have," he says, "lost their symbolic nature, and to-day the *Linga* and *Ganripatta*, which were meant to represent the *Parusha* and the *Prakriti* of the *Shankhya* philosophy, or the *Brahma* and *Maya* of the *Vedantists*, are not looked upon in their true light, and Shiva-worship is practised in Bengal by most people for the cure of diseases, and by child-maids for securing eligible bridegrooms. Missions like those of the Christian people should be started, to preach in every town and village to the ignorant masses and the thoughtless educated men the true meaning of symbolism and its identity with real Monism."

In his address to the Brahmos, he says: "Why should Hindus leave their ancient faith, which is the grandest and most liberal in the world, without trying it and finding it wanting? *Hinduism* can never be destroyed. Like the sun, it may be eclipsed, but it cannot be obliterated." Also, "Is it good to do away totally with the symbolism, the nature-worship, of the *Vedas*, which is the ladder reaching to the high pinnacle of *Advaitism*?" Again, "Do not symbolism and nature-worship form a strong basis for esoteric Hinduism? . . . Does a man reach his housetop without the help of a staircase?"

The enemy of God is the idol. It was thundered from Sinai, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," a perpetual injunction against a perpetual temptation. The idol does not raise up to God, but draws down from Him. It does not raise man to the spiritual, but draws him down to the material. The symbol swallows up the thing symbolized. The material cannot represent the spiritual. Any image of the Deity must be offensive to His Majesty. The lustful idol can only represent lust; the childish image childishness; the brutal image brutality. They can only reproduce and perpetuate those things. When founding Brahmoism, Rammohun Ray, says the author, "intended to impart a spiritual religion"; and then he asks in another place, "Is the religion that *Brahmoism* professes to teach good for the unrefined class?" It is from the lowest—that is, the poorest—classes that the great spiritual religions have sprung. Theirs the simple village shrine, not the temple, with its marvels of architecture, its images of great price, jewel-laden, its vessels of gold and silver, its lights, its candlesticks of valuable metal, its music, the clashing of cymbals and beating of drums, its flowers and incense, its recognition of the material presence of the deity, its food offerings, its holy water, its ringing of bells and beating of gongs, its crowd of priests, its day-long ritual—this rises in the rich mart: it means wealth; it is the triumph of the material. It is those who are accustomed to the delights of the senses who desire them in their places of worship too. It is the rajahs and bankers who have built and endowed the great temples. There are many places where it may be distinctly seen that a worship with symbols and images is held by those of the upper classes, one without by those of the lower. There are places in which the former kind of worship has failed to attract the common people, others in which it attracts and demoralizes them. There has been a peasantry on whom

plain living was enforced, iconoclasts, with a high intellectual faith. There are in India millions of people belonging to a religion in which the highest and the lowest hold the same creed, of which the leading feature is the abjuring of idolatry: these are the Mussulmans. The revolt against idolatry infuses a new energy into a nation—raises it to a higher level. The Maharaja appeals to the Brahmos to come back to the orthodox fold. Coming under the influence of a higher civilization and faith, those members of a religion of which the sacred books consist mostly of filthy rubbish, whose mode of worship is base and debasing, whose priesthood is ignorant, greedy, lustful, tyrannous, could not do otherwise than leave it. The Maharaja is wrong in thinking that the ignoble can form a basis for the noble. The evil and the false do not lead up to the good and the true: they block the way; they have to be got rid of. He uses the illustration of a ladder. But on a ladder you can only get on to a higher rung by leaving the lower one; you will never get to the top by continuing to stand on the lowermost one. The clean uppermost chambers of the home prepared on this earth for man are not to be reached by lying in the cess-pool. The unrefined must not be left there.

But apart from the general discussion of the value, or otherwise, of symbolism is the special question of the form and influence of any one symbol itself. We are sorry to find the author writing—we have given the sentence—of the foul symbols of the phallic worship as if he were writing of *x* and *y*: talking of their original symbolic nature—which has been lost sight of, of course—without any reference to their form. The compelling force of circumstances on one in the position of the Maharaja of Burdwan of old customs and the faith of his people is mighty and enormous. He can no more cease to be a Hindu than the Tsar of Russia can cease to belong to the Greek Church, the King of Italy to the Catholic. But on this point he should act. He should clear his estate of these foul images. They are a scandal and a reproach. Representations of the human organs of generation, of the act of coition, would not be allowed to be publicly exhibited in any civilized country. They would be dealt with by the police as contrary to public decency. Let him think of the effect of these things, being under the observation of all from childhood, being worshipped by the women. Their presence in the land keeps morality and decency at a very low level.

In his chapter on "Widow-Marriage" the Maharaja says the subject should receive the most serious thought; that the question of the marriage of child-widows—those who have never in reality been wives—should receive immediate consideration, that being countenanced by the *Shastras*; even if they did not, and enforced widowhood were found productive of great evils, "we should introduce widow-marriage, how much so ever unwilling we might be to break through cherished traditions: for verily a grain of fact is worth many bushels of sentiment, and orthodoxy can never outweigh considerations of morality." Well and boldly said.

In the matter of early marriage he writes well and bravely also. The subjects of widow-marriage and infant-marriage are closely connected, of

course. Infant mortality being high, infant-marriage is greatly the cause of the great number of widows—the appallingly great number. “In the district of Burdwan, out of a total female population of 767,733, there were 215,953 widows of ages varying from four to sixty.”

“A community practising child-marriage is doomed, for it gets more degenerated, physically, intellectually, and morally, from generation to generation.”

The next paragraph throws a strange light on the social condition from which the Hindu community is slowly emerging :

“In towns, and the villages adjoining them, matters are looking much brighter, and many young girls are married at the ages of nine, or eleven, or even twelve or thirteen.”

“But even this is not satisfactory progress.”

He advocates the laying down of the rule “that girls should not be married before the age of eleven, and that in cases of slow development marriage should be deferred even to the thirteenth year.” He would fix the age of consummation at fifteen, in cases of slow development at seventeen.

“Social reform by legislative enactment frequently proves to be either inoperative or a source of oppression. Every natural growth is from within.” Elsewhere he says: “To make real progress, it is essential that we should use our own legs instead of depending entirely, as heretofore, on the go-cart of State help.”

In one of his thirteen chapters the writer deals with the subject of “Prostitution in Bengal,” that being its heading. “The number of immoral women is increasing every day in Bengal, and it is necessary that strenuous efforts should be made to put down the great evil of prostitution.” I believe that of all the great cities of the world, Calcutta and New York are the two in which the prostitutes bear the largest proportion to the population. The Maharaja speaks well on the subject, and no doubt shows courage in dealing with it at all. But he does not touch on the points of the class being a recognised part of the community, playing an open and cherished part in the social life of the land, forming a part of the establishment of temples, all of which connect themselves, in my mind, with the phallic worship and the exhibition of the phallic images.

The writer says, very justly, that “the subjects of pasture-land and drinking-water in Bengal villages are of vital importance.” Those subjects engaged one’s own attention much in the (then) North-West Provinces, where each village has its tank, and where the canal irrigation was a leading factor in the extension of the cultivation. “It is these tanks that have most certainly to answer for the malarial fevers,” which some writers have attributed to the starving of the people by the English Government. The shrinking of the pasturage is a heavy counterbalance to the added wealth, the increased purchasing power of the villages, by the extension of the cultivated area, as well as by the growing of more valuable crops. The lessening of the milk-supply is a serious evil.

But of the added wealth, the increased purchasing power, there is no

question. A year or two ago a Bengal gentleman, revisiting the rural parts of his province, mentioned, incidentally, the great improvement visible in the dress of the people, and how with the women silver ornaments were taking the place of pewter. And here it is mentioned how the village girls must have gold ornaments instead of silver (the wearing of gold ornaments by women of the same class has been noted in the Punjab too), and how they must have "floral-bordered *saris*," "bodices of satin," "though their mothers were satisfied with coarse *dhoties*, and never dreamt of wearing even a plain white linen skirt"; while the cultivator is seen wearing a stylishly-cut shirt and a *dhoti*," "carrying a scarf," all imported from Europe, holding over his head an umbrella, "for fear of getting sunburnt," the Maharaja says sarcastically. The same improvement in the dress of the people displayed itself to one's own eyes in Northern India, and even more strikingly, for the enormous change in the means of transport, due to the making of railways and the opening of the Suez Canal, had just begun to have its influence.

And in this connection I may mention that I have seen in the old days, fifty years back, how great was the need for more and better clothing in that part of India, the generalization that "the people of India want but little clothing" being derived from experience of the deltaic and coast regions. In Northern India the people had to be well equipped against the cold, which tells so much upon them because of previous periods of great heat, dry or damp; against the sudden chills in the rains; against the sharp cold of the winter, more especially at its first coming, when the fevers most prevail. I remember how eagerly in those days the condemned serge jackets of the sepoy were bought up, how the most acceptable Christmas present to our servants was that of a broadcloth coat or jacket. Light, warm clothing came as an enormous boon to the people, and was used, not out of vanity, but because it added comfort and health; it armed them against the vicissitudes of the seasons. The people have purchased cotton and woollen goods from England in ever-increasing quantities because they needed them and could pay for them.

One of the most striking things in the trade of India has been the enormous importation of umbrellas. The people, no doubt, purchased these as articles of display, marks of dignity, of respectability, as well as for their protective power. Their freedom to buy and use them indicated a social and political revolution. Formerly they could not have done so; the use of them was restricted to those of highest rank, sometimes only to monarchs; they were emblems of royalty. In the Maharaja's sarcastic remark is a remnant of the old feeling. Probably in olden times he himself alone could have used them on his estate.

The writer deals with a number of other interesting and important subjects—the Vernacular Press, the Government Educational System, Female Education, Changes in the Dress and Habits of Ladies of the Upper Classes—which time and space prevent me from touching upon. The book has an interest of its own, as exhibiting the working of the mind of one in the position of the Maharaja at a time of upheaval, of transition

and change, held strongly by the past, acted upon strongly by the new, and there the old is very old, the new is very new. And in England, too, is upheaval and transition : enormous changes in social, political, economical, and industrial conditions, in education, literature, religion, the very new giving place to the very newest. It is of the very deepest interest to watch the same process going on under such very different conditions among peoples in such very different grades of civilization. We ourselves seem to be leaving the plane up to which we have been striving to raise India, doffing the garments we wished them to don. The whole condition of thought and feeling under which we have ruled India seems to be changing. What difference will it make when the forms on which we have been striving to mould the civilization of India are changed ?

A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.*

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

AFTER leaving Wellington, next morning we reached Lyttleton by steamer, where a few passengers met their friends and departed to different parts of the colony, and where also our luggage was examined by the Custom-house officials. It was quite a bustling affair to see the different articles dragged out of the huge central cavity of the steamer and swung aloft by the crane, dashing against the sides of their resting-place, and finally crashing down on the quay, where each was claimed by its possessor. It is a very rude and rough way of getting rid of the different kinds of luggage, and though expeditious, being worked by machinery, yet great damage is often done to the wooden boxes and their contents when finally they reach the end of the journey. One box of this kind was completely smashed up, the lid wrenched off, and the lock broken, and various articles destroyed, including an emu's egg, which I had carefully packed in cotton-wool with a cover to insure its safety. This I found out at the end of my return journey to the old country, all this damage being done in the United States, where this kind of work was managed in a very rough manner. At Lyttleton my luggage was left under the care of a porter named Brown whilst I inquired about the time the train started and other details of the journey south, and when I had time to overhaul it, I found my notebook was stolen, in which I had jotted down different items of interest on the journey south; and the deck-chair used throughout the voyage was also *non est inventum*, though I saw it put in the train. There is a good deal of thieving done in this way, for on my return journey one of my boxes was again tampered with at Lyttleton—the key of the expectant thief

* Continued from our January issue (see pp. 124-138).

being left in the lock was evidence enough of his intention.

The train was crowded when we started going south, and at Timaru my sister and brother-in-law awaited me at the station, where we met after an interval of over forty years. Here I stayed several weeks, and felt quite like a resident in this pleasant, enterprising town. It is delightfully situated on the coast, and has a fine harbour, which can safely take in vessels of very high tonnage. It has also a fine seashore on each side of the harbour, where much time may be spent very pleasantly over the different varieties of treasure-trove in the shape of Nature's products, such as small sponges, limpet-shells of different colours, whelks of the same size as those on the coasts at home, many of them with a stone lid or operculum to protect them from their enemies ; chitons, too, in appearance like a trilobite, one small and another of larger size, able to roll themselves into a ball to protect themselves ; a large number of chitons attached to the seaweed, and with it cast ashore ; a pawa or mutton-fish shell of large size and beautiful colours. There are also plenty of fish on the coast, and with a line and bait a basket may soon be filled.

Caroline Bay, on the left side of the harbour, with its pure clean sand, is one of the pleasantest places for idling away some holiday hours, and it has been greatly improved by the Town Council, and as a bathing-place in summer it must be a great boon to the inhabitants. It lies quite open to the Pacific, with its refreshing breezes from that great ocean and the incessant clanging sound of the fierce, stormy waves that hurl themselves on the rocks, which form one of the boundaries of the bay, and prevent the destruction of the land on that side.

Since my visit last year further improvements have been carried out in making a proper approach to the sea, planting cabbage-trees and other shrubs on its landward side, with seats for pedestrians, and a band rotunda for music, etc. In one corner of the bay there was a large collection of big

and small pebbles, some round as a cricket-ball, others flat and round, and others still quite oval, well polished and smooth and of perfect symmetry, ranging from the size of a farthing when oval or flat, and like a boy's marble when round, and many 3 or 4 inches in breadth, smoothed, rounded, and polished by the attrition of their surfaces by the rivers and sea. I had never seen such perfect examples of Nature's workmanship, and collected a number of them from the seashore and even from the roadside, and placed them as ornaments for my bedroom mantelpiece when at Timaru.

I had read a very learned, ingenious, and well-reasoned book on the "Unseen Universe," written some years ago by two well-known scientists—Professors Stewart and Tait—advocating the Atomic Theory as the primordial agency in producing our globe. These atoms, when aggregated, produced during some ages our present solid earth. "At the first," say they, "there may have been only one kind of primordial atom with absolute simplicity of material. As, however, the various atoms approached each other . . . other and more complicated structures took the place of the perfectly simple primordial stuff. Various kinds of molecules were produced at various temperatures, and these ultimately came together to produce globes or worlds, some of them comparatively small, others very large. Thus the progress is from the regular to the irregular. And we find a similar progress when we consider the inorganic development of our world. The action of water rounds pebbles, but it rounds them irregularly; it produces soil, but the soil is irregular in the size of its grains and variable in construction. Wherever what may be termed the brute forces of nature are left to themselves, this is always a result; not so, however, when organisms are concerned in the development." Thousands of these oval and flat stones may be seen in Timaru, and cartloads of them are used in improving the roads or making new ones, all of perfect symmetry, as if fashioned and polished by the hand of man. Darwin, whose

genius and painstaking labours as a naturalist have probably never been surpassed, has written a most interesting book on one of the lowest orders of creation—the earthworm. He writes of it in his book entitled “Vegetable Mould and Earthworms,” that “Earthworms are found in all parts of the world, and some of the genera have an enormous range. They inhabit the most isolated islands; they abound in Iceland, and are known to exist in the West Indies, St. Helena, Madagascar, New Caledonia, and Tahiti. . . . In the Antarctic regions worms from Kerguelen’s Land have been described by Ray Lancaster, and I have found them in the Falkland Islands. How they reach such isolated islands is at present quite unknown. . . . In the dry climate of New South Wales I hardly expected that worms would be common; but Dr. G. Krefft, of Sydney, to whom I applied after making inquiries from gardeners and others, from his own observations informs me that their castings abound. . . .” And he (Darwin) mentions that “there is a species called *Perichæta* found in different localities of a large size, which throw up large tower-like castings. . . .” He says also: “Worms appear to act in the same manner in New Zealand as in Europe, for Professor van Haart has described a section near the coast consisting of mica-schist, covered by 5 or 6 feet of loess, above which about 12 inches of vegetable soil have accumulated.” It is remarkable that throughout all the places and gardens and fields I visited in New Zealand I never saw a worm or any casting such as would indicate its presence in the soil. There can be no doubt that New Zealand was under the sea for a great length of time, as large boulders and immense stones perfectly polished can be seen everywhere in the fields in the country, and if the stones are turned over to get a worm you will not find one. The soil is very rich, and the fine air and sunshine are quite enough to produce all manner of garden produce. In Australia, also in New South Wales, where I resided for some time, there was quite an absence of worms and slugs, and at Berry, about 120 miles from

Sydney, I discovered how Nature preserved and took care of the lower orders of creation. The eucalyptus and gum-trees do not shed their leaves, but, instead, get rid of their bark, and at the lower end of the stem an accumulation of dried loose bark may be found, where all manner of creeping things may be found—cocoons, little bags of eggs of different insects, etc. One day when I was stripping the dead bark at the root of a large tree a huge spider fell down, and standing on its hind-legs, put itself in battle array against me. He looked very formidable, with a body 1 inch in breadth and legs about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. These spiders have a poisonous bite, and thinking discretion as a rule in such cases is the better part of valour, I retreated, and bringing back some chloroform, poured a few drops near where he was standing, which in a short time had quite a pleasant somnolent effect—he slept the sleep of the just, and with a little prussic acid his mortal career was brought to a close. Kind nature thus protects the lowest orders of creation by giving them a dry and pleasant abode during the colder months of the year, and many different species of moth, cocoons, beetles, etc., all live together as a happy family in this pleasant home, but no worms, either there or on the soil, are to be seen. In one of the "Public School Series" books of New Zealand there is one with the title "Nature in New Zealand," compiled by Mr. James Drummond, and edited by Captain F. W. Hutton, F.R.S. At page 71 the following sentence occurs: "The slugs and snails and nearly all the earthworms we see about us have introduced themselves without invitation." As we sailed in the steamer *Sierra* from Auckland to San Francisco, when near Pago Pago the sun set with uncommon brilliancy in the west, flooding the whole ocean with its rays, and shortly after on the sky immediately above the horizon a most lovely picture of a landscape was thrown on this ethereal canvas, depicting a woodland scene with beautiful trees and lakes and villas, all with a glow of a soft, warm, golden colour, such as no hand of painter could produce, with a soft radiance lighting

it up from behind, bringing out every detail of this incomparable picture with conspicuous clearness. Here was exemplified

“The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration of the poet's dream,”

and it would be difficult to explain the formation of such a sublime picture, and how atoms, whether of spray or dust, could have produced such an effect.

But to return : I passed a very pleasant time at Timaru, and had an excellent chance of making myself acquainted with the town and surrounding districts. My nephew took me out in a trap several times with this object in view. The large extent of fine lands with a good soil, ready for the husbandman to receive ample returns for his work expended on it ; the well-kept fields, with lovely gorse hedges in perpetual bloom ; and the farms, in many places embosomed in trees, give an air of peace and contentment that speaks volumes for their industry and Nature's bounty. There are very few of the old native population in this South or Middle Island, though at Temuka, a town about ten miles distant, there are a few with a chapel of their own. In driving there we crossed the river by a very long wooden bridge, and bridges of this sort are essential to the safety of the inhabitants, as the rivers receive after much rain a great body of water, that rushes down from the mountains, and before these long bridges were built many a life had been lost in crossing the stream. In dry weather these rivers are very shallow, and divide themselves in two or more streams. One bridge near Arundel of this sort is said to be about half a mile in length on account of the great space between the two banks ; and when there is not very much water the river makes its way by more than one channel to the ocean.

There is not much animal life to be seen on the roads or in the fields, except the sheep on the land and the sparrows in the field. As everyone knows, the rearing of sheep is one of the very first industries, and when old

enough to be killed and frozen, a very large quantity of it as mutton goes to the old country. Horses are numerous, and every Saturday a sale takes place in the town; and throughout the colony also, in the chief towns, horse-racing is indulged in, and this keeps up a good breed of horses, and is to many of the inhabitants a source of enjoyment.

There are some birds in New Zealand which belong to a prehistoric age, and testify to the great antiquity of their existence as well as the country. The moa, a gigantic bird, 12 feet in height, at one time roamed the country; nothing but its bones now remain. It had no wings, but to balance this defect its legs were long and strong. Another is the kiwi, and its ancestry is supposed to be as respectable as the moa, and like it, has no wings. The weka is another strange bird, and though he has wings, they are of no use to him. Lady Barker, in her charming book, "Station Life in New Zealand," gives an interesting notice of this bird. With some friends she made an excursion to a small island in Lake Coleridge, and was amused at their thieving propensities. She says: "The fragments of our meal must have been a great boon to the colony of wekas who inhabit this island, for as they increase and multiply prodigiously, their provisions must often fall short in so small a place. No one can imagine how these birds originally came here, for the island is at least two miles from the nearest point of land; they can neither swim nor fly, and as every man's hand is against them, no one would have thought it worth while to bring them over. But here they are, in spite of all the apparent impossibilities attending their arrival, more tame and impudent than ever. It was dangerous to leave your bread unwatched for an instant, and, indeed, I saw one gliding off with an empty sardine tin in its beak. I wondered how it liked oil and little scales. They considered a cork a great prize, and carried several of them off triumphantly. They are very like a hen-pheasant without the long tail feathers, and until you examine them, you cannot tell they have no

wings, though there is a sort of small pinion among the feathers with a claw at the end of it." Speaking of the inhabitants, she writes: "The look and bearing of the immigrants appear to alter soon after they reach the colony. Some people object to the independence of their manner, but I do not; on the contrary, I like to see the upright gait, the well-fed, healthy look, the decent clothes (even if no one touches his hat to you), instead of the half-starved, depressed appearance, and too often cringing servility of the mass of our English population. Scotchmen do particularly well out here: frugal and thrifty, hard-working and sober, it is easy to predict the future of a man of this type in a new country." This was written many years ago, and very few drunken men are to be seen compared with the time of her visit, and I may say, as a rule, so far as my evidence goes, the working man is diligent in his work and eager to get it finished; this may be judged from the rapidity with which the wooden houses are built and erected on the outskirts of Timaru. The land also responds to his toil in giving in return for his work a bountiful harvest, and Mr. Sinclair informed me that some fields of wheat grew 6 feet high near Timaru, well filled with grain, giving an extremely large return. I also had the pleasure of having a drive with Mr. Hart, and saw a large extent of country waiting the presence of the farmer to work it, as the soil would amply repay his labour.

In a book on the Antipodes written by W. G. Verschuury, and translated by Miss Mary Daniels, he writes that "we ought not to leave this part of the country without a word about the little town of Akaroa, near Lyttleton, whose historical associations are especially interesting to the French colonists. A certain Captain l'Anglois, being much charmed with the position of Akaroa, bought a large district of land of 30,000 acres in the neighbourhood, and returned to France to seek colonists to settle on his property. The Government encouraged his plan, and supplied an old man-of-war, under Captain Lavaud, to protect the emigrants

on landing. Lavaud was ordered to proceed at once and await their arrival. L'Anglois left Europe with those who had been attracted by the hope of making a fortune in distant lands, and cast anchor in the Bay of Akaroa August 17, 1840. To his great astonishment he perceived the English flag flying where he expected to see his own. The enigma was soon solved. Captain Lavaud, before reaching Akaroa, had stopped at Auckland, and had there met with an English captain named Hobson, who was looking after British interests in that part of the Pacific, and who gave Lavaud a cordial reception. New Zealand had not at this time been annexed to England. In an unguarded moment Lavaud divulged the object of his mission, and boasted of the beauty and the fertility of the adjoining country. Hobson, an energetic but unscrupulous man, believed that there was a great future for New Zealand, and his great ambition was to see that island annexed to England. Therefore, while the dilatory Frenchman was amusing himself on shore, he hastily despatched a small warship in the direction of Akaroa, with orders to plant the English flag there before the arrival of the French. The stratagem succeeded, and Lavaud found himself, to his great dismay, just too late. The British standard had been unfurled on the hill above the bay, and not only Akaroa, but the whole of New Zealand, was added to the British dominions.

In the "New Zealand Year-Book" for 1903 it is stated : "It was here that Captain Stanley hoisted the British flag on August 11, 1840, when he took possession of the Middle Island on behalf of the Crown, forestalling the French by a few hours only. A suitable obelisk commemorating the event has been erected on the spot."

An incident somewhat similar to this happened to Lord John Russell when he was asked at the Colonial Office by an official of the French Government how much of Australia was claimed as the dominion of Great Britain. He promptly answered : "The whole." The visitor, quite

taken aback, found it expedient to take his departure. It was most fortunate that New Zealand was preserved from the intrusion of any foreign power.

Taken as a whole, New Zealand is a country of which its inhabitants may have a just pride, and resembles the old mother-country, though a great deal more democratic than she can ever be. Fortunately it is too far off to be the dumping-ground of many who have not succeeded at home, though a few have come to get their habits changed, but as a rule have only changed the sky, but not their minds. The clear pure air; the beautiful sky; the lovely nights when the radiant moon sends its silvery light over the island so bright that you may easily read a book from its rays; the large extent of rich alluvial soil ready for the plough to raise enormous crops; the five spring months, April, May, June, July, and August, in which seed may be sown with ripened crops before winter; the genial air; the moderate amount of rain; the sunshine with its temperature; the general absence of snow in winter; the fair day's wage for a fair day's work for its industrious population; the absence of pauperism; the fine roads for travelling; the excellent mutton and beef; the abundance of fish round the coast, with salmon and trout in the rivers, all combine to show that it has been prepared for an enterprising, industrious, and healthy population.

AREA OF AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES, ETC.*

	Square Miles.	Population.	Total Public Revenue (Railway and Telegraph).	Gold (£).	Land in Crop (Acres).	Silver and Silver Lead.
Victoria ...	87,884	1,208,705	7,712,099	260,489,210	2,965,681	856,539
New South Wales	310,700	1,379,700	11,178,214	49,661,815	2,278,370	32,341,577
Queensland ...	668,497	510,515	4,327,345	52,751,675	483,460	788,042
South Australia	903,390	360,212	2,386,854	2,388,197	2,236,552	118,630
Western Australia	975,920	194,889	3,688,049	30,149,712	216,824	11,453
Tasmania ...	26,215	174,233	826,163	4,893,588	232,550	2,384,886
New Zealand ...	104,471	787,657	6,152,830	59,159,883	1,501,136	380,806
	3,077,377	4,615,911	36,271,554	459,494,071	9,914,573	36,881,933

* From the "New Zealand Year-Book" for 1903, p. 361, and the "Tasmanian Year-Book" for the same year.

LAND, LIVE-STOCK, ETC., 1901-1902.*

	Horses.	Sheep.	Cattle.	Pigs.
Victoria	392,237	10,841,790	1,602,384	35,370
New South Wales	486,716	41,857,099	2,047,454	265,730
Queensland	462,119	10,030,971	3,772,707	121,641
South Australia	177,969	5,060,540	489,417	89,877
Western Australia	73,830	2,542,844	394,580	61,026
Tasmania	32,399	1,792,451	168,661	58,716
New Zealand	279,672	20,233,099	1,361,699	2,240,024
	1,904,942	92,358,795	9,836,902	1,171,384

	Tons.	£
Phormium or flax	20,852	534,031
Kauri gum	7,430	4,450,223
Frozen meat	—	2,718,763
Wool	—	3,354,563

The area in square miles of the United Kingdom is :

England and Wales	58,311
Scotland	30,463
Ireland	32,531
	<u>121,305</u>

Population in 1904, 42,789,552.

The preceding tables will show in a concise manner the progress of the colonies, not for one year, but since statistics were used to bring together in an annual form the chief sources and interests of the increasing occupation of the land by the immigrants. Colonization has become much easier than it was to our forefathers, who were entirely dependent on the winds as their only motive power, and were for weeks sometimes stranded on the sea, unable to move for the want of it. Now it is quite a pleasurable excursion, with every convenience adapted for the safety and comfort of the passengers, and the voyage taking about half the time the old sailing craft took when the winds were too adverse, or the sea too calm to make much progress,

* From the "New Zealand Year-Book," p. 391, and Walch's "Tasmania Almanack," p. 276.

with the indefinite prospect when you would arrive at the end of the journey.

The comparative tables of the amount of sunshine recorded in Surrey in England and in Christchurch, New Zealand, respectively, during last year (1901), and published in the *Christchurch Press*, afford valuable proof of the brightness of the climate as compared with that of England. The English records were taken at a place near Hindhead, on the Surrey highland, first made known by Professor Tyndall selecting a site for a house there. The district has since become famous as one of the healthiest and sunniest in England, and these characteristics, coupled with its comparative proximity to London, have made it a popular residential district. It is a case, then, of one of the most sunny districts in England being compared with a New Zealand town, which we can hardly suppose to be more blessed with sunshine than many other places in the colony. This being so, it will be admitted that Christchurch comes splendidly out of the test with 1749·59 hours of sunshine during the year, as against Surrey's 1492·2 hours, a difference in favour of New Zealand of 257 hours. Nor is this the most striking comparison. The sun shone here on all but 39 days in the year, while at Hindhead there were no less than 81 absolutely sunless days. The monthly average of days on which the sun shone in Christchurch was 27, in Surrey it was under 24. The winter comparisons are still more forcible. Taking the four months from November to February as the English winter months, and those from May to August as the corresponding months out here, we find that whereas three of the months in England had but 16 days each on which sunshine was recorded, and the fourth had only 15 days, in Christchurch during the winter months the sun was seen on 28, 20, 30, and 29 days respectively. Our worst month was June, with little more than 55 hours of sunshine; but in Surrey December had only 42 sunny hours, January had 54, and February 55. On the other hand, the best English summer

record beats ours. July in Surrey had 229 hours of sunshine, our January had 217; but it must be remembered that summer days in England are longer than with us, just as our winter days are longer than with them.

1902.*

GRAYSHOT, SURREY, ENGLAND.			CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND.		
Days with Sun.	Days with no Sun.	Total Hours.	Days with Sun.	Days with no Sun.	Total Hours.
284	81	1492'2	326	39	1749'59

* From the "New Zealand Official Year-Book," 1903, pp. 444, 445.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

IN this Report we have to make special reference to the sixth edition of the "Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient," by G. Maspero,* which has been entirely rewritten. Its excellence is still more enhanced by this new edition. The work has gained in clearness—that is to say, a great deal on a subject which includes all the ancient Orient, and in which the author explains the numerous troublous events of the old empires of Asia and Africa. The work is divided into five parts: (1) Egypt up to the Invasion of the Hykshos; (2) Earlier Asia before and during the Time of the Egyptian domination; (3) The Assyrian Empire and the Oriental World up to the advent of the Sargonides; (4) The Sargonides and the Oriental World up to the advent of Cyrus; (5) The Persian Empire.

We have always brought to notice, with sympathetic interest, any Catholic publications possessing a scientific value, be they works of free and Liberal Catholics, like the Abbé Loisy, or those emanating from the Ultramontane or Conservative Catholics, like the Abbé Vigouroux. We are also delighted to see the progress which has been made in the publication of the "Dictionary of the Bible" by the last-named scholar.

Part XXV.† has appeared. It begins with the word *Mahanéh-dan*, and terminates with the word *Mathathias*. Amongst the more interesting articles in this part we may cite: *Membré* (Mamre, near Hebron), the tribe of *Manassah*, and *Biblical Manuscripts* (with facsimiles).

We have several new parts to announce of the periodical *Der Alte Orient*, published by the Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft;‡ *Ethiopia*, by W. Max Müller; *Sennacherib, King of Assyria* (705-681), by O. Weber; and *Magic and Sorcery in Ancient Egypt*, by K. Wiedemann.

In the domain of history of religions we must mention the publication made on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Guimet Museum (1879-1904).§ Mr. Guimet has rendered so many services to the science of religions (*Musée*, "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," "Annales du Musée Guimet," "Bibliothèque d'Études," "Bibliothèque de vulgarisation") that we must make special reference to his name.

* Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1904 (175 engravings, three coloured maps, specimens of hieroglyphic and cuneiform writings).

† Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1904.

‡ Parts 2-4, sixth year. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904-1905.

§ "Le Jubilé du Musée Guimet." Paris: E. Leroux, 1904.

In the popular edition of "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher," published by Fr. Michael Schiele-Marburg, we have to point out an interesting pamphlet by Professor D. Bertholet on "The Migration of Souls" (Seelenwanderung).*

EXEGESIS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND HISTORY OF THE
PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

Our readers will perhaps recall to mind that in our Report for April, 1902, we quoted the commentary of B. Baentsch on the "Exode-Levitique.† This commentary had appeared without any introduction, and the indispensable introduction for understanding the commentary has thus been delayed three years. It appeared in 1903, but we did not receive the volume until recently; hence our delay in referring to it. The new volume by Baentsch is entitled, "Nueri [translation and commentary] et Introduction à Exode-Levitique-Nueri."‡ The introduction is brief (82 pp.) and clear, which is a great advantage for a subject so difficult and so complicated.

There is another volume of general interest, viz., "Jerusalem under the High Priests," by Edwyn Bevan.§ The author, who is well-informed, has himself defined in a very exact manner the object he had in view. "The lectures (on the period between Nehemiah and the New Testament) in this book were composed for popular audiences in connection with the Bath and Wells Diocesan Society for Higher Religious Education, and it is not their object to produce what the professed historical student would regard as new results, but to give in a few strokes the general outline and colour of a period which must surely have an interest for everybody who finds any interest in the Bible." The subject is divided into five parts: (1) The End of the Persian Period and the Macedonian Conquest; (2) Hellenism and Hebrew Wisdom; (3) Judas Maccabæus and his Brethren; (4) The Hasmonæan Ascendancy; (5) The Fall of the Hasmonæans and the Days of Herod. We may mention here two interesting monographs, one by W. Spiegelberg about notes of Egyptian philology with respect to the Old Testament. The German title of the pamphlet—"Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament"||—is not sufficiently clear. The list of the words discussed in the pamphlet at the end is more explicit; it includes a hieroglyphical, a Greek, a Hebraic, and a Coptic and Assyrian part. These lists are almost exclusively composed of names of persons and places. The other monograph is a history of the "Jewish Catastrophe under Titus and Hadrian in the Talmud and the Midrash," by D. Spiegel.¶

* Vol. iii., part 2. Halle a Saale: Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1904.

† "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," herausg. von W. Nowack, 1 Abth., 2 Band, 1 Theil. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1903.

§ London: E. Arnold, 1904.

|| Strassburg: Schlesier und Schweikhardt, 1904.

¶ "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Katastrophe unter Titus und Hadrian im Talmud und Midrasch" (inaugural dissertation). Bern, 1903 (only lately come to hand).

We must notice the publication of the second part of the treatise "Baba Qamma du Talmud de Babylone" (German text and translation), by L. Goldschmidt.*

ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: ISLAM—MOROCCO.

Among the Arabic grammars recently published, we must mention that of Captain L. Galland, of the Colonial Infantry, now Governor of the eastern part of the Trarza country in the Senegal. It is a grammar of ordinary Arabic for the use of the officers of the colonial troops, and written by a worthy arabist and an enthusiast of the Arabic language.† It will be reviewed in a future issue of this *Review*.

The "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes," by V. Chauvin, has been increased by the addition of vol. viii., "Syntipas."‡ The author has adopted for the title of this volume the name of "Syntipas," which is suitable for the Greek version, and in order to prevent confusion. The author also establishes the genesis and the connection of the versions of the Syntipas. The following table shows the arrangement :

Original Sanscrit ;
Pahlavi version ;
Arabic version ;

Syriac version (Sindbân) ; Hebrew version (Sindabâr) ; Spanish version ; Tuti-Nâmeh ; Persian version (Sindibâd-Nâmeh) ; the seven vizirs ; Greek version (Syntipas). The ten vizirs, the Sâh Baht, and the forty vizirs contain remoter analogy with the Syntipas.

Chauvin's new volume presents the same interest as the preceding ones : learning, erudition, clearness and preciseness, valuable summaries of tales, explanatory notes, and a bibliography of extreme copiousness.

The publication of the eccentric translation of "The Thousand and One Nights," by Dr. Mardrus, is now completed with the sixteenth and last volume.§ This translation will not contribute to remove the prejudices which exist in Europe in regard to Arabic literature.

"L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études" (historical and philological part, Paris, 1905) includes a very interesting study by J. Halévy on the *Légende de la Reine de Saba*. The Biblical account (1 Kings x. 1-13) rests on a historic event, very probably the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon for the purpose of settling economic relations between the two countries. It is specially in Islamism that the legend has developed (Kurân, Surah xxvii. 16-45 : the army of birds, the valley of ants, the message of the hoopœ to the Queen, etc.). The Alexandrine Greek version of the legend, which gives the name of Nicaulis to the Queen of Sheba, and transforms her into the Queen of Ethiopia, takes a new life in Abyssinia in the thirteenth century, and gives rise to the

* Berlin : S. Calvary und Co., 1905 (6 Band, 2 Lief).

† "Grammaire d'Arabe Régulier" (preface by Dr. E. Montet). Paris : E. Guilmoto, 1905.

‡ Liège : H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1904.

§ Paris : E. Fasquelle, 1904.

Ethiopic legend of the Queen of Sheba, which is a most extraordinary story.

The *Journal Asiatique* of July-August, 1904, has published a very important essay by C. Huart on the Biblical poetry of Omayya. Omayya ben Abu's-Calt, a Meccan born at Taif, "who had read the Books and had followed the Judo-Christian doctrines," remained, nevertheless, a stranger to Islam until his death in 630, eight years after the Hijra. He may be considered as the precursor of Muhammad. C. Huart shows that the Biblical poetry of Omayya, given by the author of the "*Livre de la Création*," is authentic, and consequently anterior to the Kuran; therefore they are one of the sources of the Kuran. The expressions common to the Kuran and to Omayya are therefore those of Omayya. Perhaps Omayya aspired to play the rôle of the Arabian prophet.

In the "*Estudios de erudición Oriental*" (Extracto del homenaje à D. Francisco Codera en su jubilacion del profesorado),* R. Basset has published an interesting fragment (Arabic text and French translation) of the description of Spain from the work of the anonymous geographer of Almeria (twelfth century), which is designate under the names of Ez Zohri and El Fezâri.

It is known that the celebrated translation of "The Thousand and One Nights" by Galland includes "L'Histoire de Codadâd et de ses frères."† This story does not appear in the Arabic manuscripts of the "Thousand and One Nights," translated by Pétis de la Croix; it was surreptitiously introduced in Galland's edition by the editor, unknown to Galland and Pétis.‡ The original Persian, pointed out for the first time by V. Chauvin, has recently been translated by A. Bricteux in *Le Muséon* (1904), with the title of "Histoire de Khodâdâd fils de Nauroûz-Châh et de ses frères."

It is useful that scholars should also write for the general public. We therefore must congratulate O. Houdas on having published his book, "L'Islamisme,"§ which treats in a general manner of the Musulman religion and Islam. The work is well got up, and deserves to be recommended.

It is in the same series of popular works, but written in the spirit of clericalism, one must place the pamphlet by I. L. Gondal, s.s., Professor of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, on "Mahomet et son œuvre."|| For the author the life of the false prophet offers "ce mélange de dévotion et de luxure qui est devenu la caractéristique essentielle d'une religion qui permet aux hommes de placer le harem à l'ombre de la mosquée." The author is not afraid to affirm that "le monde religieux n'est redevable à Mahomet ni d'une idée, ni d'un sentiment, ni d'une pratique."

A case of great interest to Musulmans and friends of Musulmans is now

* Zaragoza: M. Escar, 1904.

† Vol. ii., p. 425, of the edition by Garnier. Paris (without date): the current edition.

‡ V. Chauvin, "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes," vol. vi., p. 71 (compare p. 69). Liège, 1902.

§ Paris: Dujarric et Cie., 1904 (collection des "Religions des peuples civilisés").

|| Paris: Bloud et Cie., 1904, 7 édition (collection "Science et Religion, études pour le temps présent").

being tried in Paris. I refer to the action of Abd-el-Hakim against the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Abd-el-Hakim, Counsellor of State of the Sultan of Morocco, asserts his right of being a Moroccan subject, in opposition to the French Government, who uphold that he is a Tunisian, because he was born in Tunis, though of Moroccan parents. The French Ambassador to Morocco had expelled Abd-el-Hakim from Tangier and Morocco, pretending that he was a Tunisian subject—that is to say, subject to French law and authority. It would appear that the rights of Abd-el-Hakim have been absolutely misunderstood, great confusion arising from an irreducible and endless conflict between European and Musulman law. Musulman nationality is determined by religion, there being but one Musulman nation, and a Musulman on changing his country changes his government (and not nationality), becoming a Moor in Morocco, a Tunisian in Tunis, a Turk in Turkey, whatever might be, in other respects, his origin. The lawsuit of Abd-el-Hakim has caused the publication of a volume in which will be found set forth the statement of facts and the pleadings and replies of M. Lecomte, advocate for the French Government, and of M. Labori, the advocate of Abd-el-Hakim.* All those who are interested in Musulman law and the disputes which arise in its relations with European law will be interested in the book in question.

Much has been said about the influence exercised by Arabic philosophers on the Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages. Two writers equally competent on this subject, one a historian of the philosophy of the Middle Ages, the other an arabist and historian of Arabic philosophy, have now come forward. Appearing to be of sufficient interest to readers of this *Review*, we here give a sketch of their investigations.

The work of F. Picavet,† of which we shall give here but a very short summary, as we intend entering on it more fully in another issue, is full of facts. It is well printed, and fills nearly 400 pp. of octavo size. The perusal of this masterly work teaches much, and is very suggestive. The volume is divided into forty chapters: (1) History of Philosophy in the History of Civilization; (2) Medieval Civilization; (3) Comparative History of Medieval Philosophies; (4) Schools and References of the Philosophy and Theology of the Middle Ages; (5) Real Masters of Medieval Philosophers; (6) The Regeneration of Philosophy with Alcuin and Jean Scott Erigène; (7) Comparative History of the Philosophy from the Eighth to the Thirteenth Century; (8) Rationality and Science in Medieval Philosophy; (9) Restoration in the Nineteenth Century; (10) Taught and Written History of Medieval Philosophy. In the rich material brought together by the author in these ten chapters there is much concerning Arabic philosophers and the influence they exercised on the philosophy and theology of the Middle Ages. But we merely wish to set forth here the original and chief thesis upheld by the author.

Medieval philosophy, according to F. Picavet, is closely associated with

* "La nationalité Musulmane et l'édit de 1778 (Affaire Abd-el-Hakim contre le Ministre des Affaires étrangères)," vol. i. Paris, 1904.

† F. Picavet, "Esquisse d'une histoire générale et comparée des philosophies médiévales." Paris: F. Alcan, 1905.

religion, the object of which is to unite man to God ; they derive, therefore, practical ideas and methods, from the same source, the science and philosophy of Greece, occasionally adapted to Romish tendencies. They thus form, at first sight, a mixture of theological, philosophical, and scientific ideas. The theologic-philosophical conception, which makes of union with God the central preoccupation of human knowledge, predominated from the first century of the Christian era.

It is Plotin who, from a theological and mystical point of view, first gives the synthesis, definitive in its grand lines, of the elements isolated or already assembled by the ancients. It is Plotin, therefore, who is the real master of the philosophers of the Middle Ages, orthodox or heterodox. The author thus comes to formulate this chief thesis : *Plotin is the real master of medieval philosophers, Christians, Jews, and Musulmans.* This very original thesis deserves to be the subject of a special paper, which, as it concerns Arabic philosophy, I hope to be able to lay before the readers of this *Review*.

The pamphlet of M. Asin* on the theological Averroism of St. Thomas d'Aquin is not less interesting than the big volume of F. Picavet. In this pamphlet, well put together and very clear, the author studies the analogy of reason and faith according to St. Thomas, and afterwards according to Averroes. He shows that the compared reading of the texts suggests, above all, the idea of a complete analogy and real parallelism in the attitude of the two thinkers to formulate and decide the problem of faith in its connection with science. Both this analogy and parallelism arise from imitation. St. Thomas has imitated the Musulman thinker. The author explains the other theological imitations of Averroes made by St. Thomas, and in a last chapter, shows the probable way in which these imitations have been made. It is in the *Tehâfot* and the *Quitab falsafa* of Averroes that St. Thomas has, above all, drawn his imitations of Arabic philosophy, and these Arabic works St. Thomas ought to have known by the *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judeos* of Raymond Martin. Is not this thesis of Averroes, in the main, a thesis of St. Thomas? "All truths cannot be known through rational research. There are truths of a supernatural order which are called mysteries, of which reason can understand the existence of, not the essence, on adding belief to the infallible testimony of God, revealed to man through the prophets. Grounds of credibility : the divine mission of Muhammad founded on the miracle of the Kurân, on prophecy, and the dogmatic superiority and moral of his religion." Replace in this quotation of *Tehâfot* the names of Muhammad and the Kurân by those of Jesus and the Bible, and you have a Christian thesis. M. Asin has put as an appendix to his very interesting publication the Arabic text and Latin translation according to the version of Raymond Martin, of the *Epistola ad amicam* of Averroes. We here call to mind another interesting work of M. Asin on the psychology of belief according to Ghazâli,† a work which

* Miguel Asin y Palacios, "El Averroismo teológico de Sto Tomás de Aquino" (Extracto del homenaje a D. Francisco Codera, en su jubilación del profesorado). Zaragoza : M. Escar, 1904.

† "La psicología de la creencia segun Algazel (Revista de Aragón)." Zaragoza, 1902.

has appeared before. It is connected with the same kind of philosophical religious studies.

Musulman theology and philosophy commenced to be the subject of theses (printed dissertations for the purpose of obtaining the title of Bachelor in Theology) in our Faculties of Theology in Switzerland and France. This is, I venture to believe, the result of the development I gave at the University of Geneva to Arabic and Kuranic studies. Two of my pupils have published their theses on these subjects: "*Étude sur l'Islamisme*," by J. Lheureux,* and "*Exposé de l'Eschatologie Musulmane d'après le Coran et la Tradition*," a student's good work, by C. Schmidt.†

Amongst the publications relating to Morocco, I may mention the continuation of the study by A. Mouliéras on the Zkara, "*An Anti-Musulman Zenete Tribe of Morocco*."‡ We mentioned the first part of this important memoir in our Report for October, 1904. The new work of Mouliéras is full of interesting facts, and a special notice of the Zkara will be made in a future Report.

An important notice on Morocco has appeared recently in the summary of the publications of the *École des Lettres d'Alger*. I refer to the book by A. Cour on "*L'Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger*."§ The author is a complete master of his subject, and has discussed it with ability. His object has been to study the relations of the Sultans of Morocco with the Turks of Algeria. This work has entailed long studies by the author, and especially as regards the establishment of the Saadian Sherifs, and still more the Alid Sherifs, the documents consulted coming almost entirely from indigenous sources. This establishment, up to the present, has been little known.

The work of Mr. Cour begins with a very long analytical bibliography of the matter. In the introduction the author speaks of Barbary before the Saadian Sherifs and the Turks, followed in two tables by the genealogy of the principal groups of the Sherifs of Morocco. The author has been well inspired in drawing up these genealogical tables, as whoever has handled this study can testify to its difficulties. As regards the body, likewise, of the work, which is divided into twelve chapters, it is impossible for us here to give a summary, so rich is the material and so complex are the contents. We will be satisfied by explaining its general ideas.

The elevation of the Saadian Sherifs to the throne of Morocco coincides nearly with the creation of the Regency of Algeria by Khair-ed-din, the brother of 'Aruj. The author shows that these two states arose as a result of the same general causes—that is to say, the religious and political reactionary movement of the end of the fifteenth century, Christian enterprise in the Spanish Peninsula against North Africa. The wars of the Portuguese and Spaniards in Morocco excited the fanaticism of the

* Geneva : Société Générale d'Imprimerie, 1904.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Bulletin Trimestriel de Géographie et d'Archéologie*. Oran, July-September, 1904.

§ Paris : E. Leroux, 1904.

Berbers and Arabs, and provoked in the Maghreb a revolution which was directed by the religious confraternities. In this revolution all the dynasties of the Maghreb disappeared, and were replaced by new powers, established with the influence of the confraternities or the Marabouts. We recommend to our readers who are interested in the destiny of Morocco the perusal of Mr. Cour's book; the History of the Struggles and Rivalries of the Sherifs of Morocco and the Turks of Algeria, written in a charming manner and filled with notes.

Before closing I beg to announce the publication of a short introduction to the account of my "Voyage au Maroc," which appeared in the *Tour du Monde* in 1903.*

* E. Montet, "Voyage au Maroc, 1900-1901" (introduction). Geneva: Eggimann, 1905.

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

No. XI.—SYMBOLISM IN GLYPHTIC ART.

IT cannot be disputed that the art of carving, either in wood, stone, or metal, was in ancient times carried out in a most successful manner. Idols, images, sepulchres, temples, and buildings, reared for special objects were often of huge dimensions. This fact is all the more remarkable when we consider how slight were the means of placing weighty stones, heavy beams, and other materials, for which purpose no mechanical appliances could be brought into requisition that would bear any comparison to the steam power and electric force of modern days. To impress this fact upon our minds we have only to look round our great national repositories and view the gigantic specimens of glyptic art wrought out in stone and other substances. Many of these early pieces from Eastern countries were the work of slaves, who toiled under the lash of the whip, and during seasons of tropical heat.

Perhaps some of the most wonderful images and finished sculptures were those undertaken previous to the birth of the Saviour—at any rate, they appeal most forcibly to our admiration, for, by reason of Egypt's splendid atmosphere, many triumphs of this art still exist for the instruction and investigation of the present inhabitants of the globe. The hands that shaped them have long since fallen into dust, their labours alone survive; they have never been excelled, even if equalled.

The history of Japan only dates back 660 B.C., and there is very little beyond tradition to help us to determine the origin of many of its arts which have since the sixteenth century of our era reached such a pitch of perfection, and

of these arts a few only are credited with being purely the fruit of native invention.

In all Eastern countries carving was first dedicated either to religious service, to hero worship, or to the veneration of the dead.

There lies within the vast dominion of the Buddha-loving races who people the Far East a subtle brotherhood which binds them irrevocably together. Although this tie has not taken the form of an open avowal of alliance or friendship, its root is sure and strong, and may some day in the future, not very far distant, declare itself in a manner that will astonish the world! Asiatics have always freely borrowed ideals from each other—the younger from the elder, neighbours from one another—and have accepted their ideals, if not in the spirit of friendship, at least in the spirit of admiration and growing interest.

The earliest symbolic specimens of wood-carving known to exist in Japan bear the date of the seventh century. They are of Korean model, and are said to have been made by a Korean sculptor. In the temple at Nara two colossal idols may be seen. They are known to antiquarians as the Ni Ō, or Guardian Kings. These are of ferocious mien and relentless expression, giving evidence that the first tenets of a florid faith embodied an avenging element—punishment of the faint-hearted, destruction of the pervert, and justice without forbearance to be meted out to the unconverted. Within the first modelling of these fearsome idols is embodied supernatural power, over which no mortal might surmount; but nearly all temples have guardian idols, whose personality is the embodiment of certain symbolic suggestion. The two fierce dogs or lions that typify the male and female elements, guard many a place of worship, and are also found as part of the decorative carving of the celebrated tombs of the Shōguns of the seventeenth century. Inari, the fox god, is constantly met with in the province of Hondo.

Inari represents to the people riches in plenty, rice being

the staple food of the country. Inari also represents other blessings : he is a healer of the sick, and answers the petitions of those who come to him in distress. But there are foxes who portend evil as well as good.

The art of wood-carving in Japan gradually expanded, assisted by those models which found their way into the country through the immigration of skilful Korean prisoners of war, brought over by the Empress Jingu Kōgō, and the Buddhist priests who found converts of the new faith among the Japanese people. Not only within the temples, but as guardians at the portals, some of the most representative work was placed ; and although in some instances the sculptor's name has been lost to posterity, the work has remained. In it is invested true artistic feeling, expressed in passions common to man, and passions attributed to the supernatural. These attributes endow the work of past ages with a merit and value beyond dispute.

When Buddhism found a footing in Japan and the new faith numbered many followers, this art became a medium through which open manifestations of piety were realized. By a decree in the seventeenth century, the Shōgun Hidétada commanded that every house should contain a statue of Buddha. This wholesale demand for carved images did not, however, aid the perfecting of the art, for the necessary skill could not be given to such an excess of patronage, and these later pieces of carving were devoid of the careful labour that had hitherto been productive of such grand results. The Deva Kings, the Sun and Moon Devas, and other sculptures in wood that were undertaken from the seventh to the twelfth century and onward, were marked with a decided show of mastery on the part of the exponents of the glyptic art.

Still the work went on, for the hierarchy of gods and goddesses numbered many hundreds, each being selected in turn for the household shrines—Jizō, the tender guardian of the souls of dead children ; Emma O, the God of Death ;

Kwannon, the Merciful ; Uzumé, the Goddess of Laughter ; and a host of others too numerous to mention. The seven gods of good luck, or the seven patrons of happiness, being, perhaps, those with whom we become best acquainted with in the legends and traditions of the land, may here be described, with their several symbolic objects by which they can be identified. Daikoku is usually accompanied with bales of rice, as well as with a curiously-shaped hammer, which typifies his traditional merit as the god of wealth. His hammer is to remind humanity that it is by hard work alone that riches are attained. Fukurokujin, the God of Learning and Wisdom, is always represented by a preternaturally long head ; sometimes when the carver's fancy revels in caricature, a boy with a fan may be found mounting on a stool behind this learned old god, and brushing away the flies as they settle upon his tall cranium. Ebisu, the patron of honest seafaring folks, is known by the emblem of a *tai* fish which he usually carries under his left arm. Bishamon, impersonating the God of War, wears for his symbols armour of the old type, and is usually provided with a deadly spear and a small pagoda. Hotei is the opposition patron of Bishamon, impersonating contentment, peace, and happiness for all. In the glyptic art, worked out in wood, ivory, or metals, the symbols by which this god is known are numerous. He is equally the friend of all who cross his pathway : he carries a bag full of treasures for distribution, and the emblem of life—a fan—to remind the children to remain obedient all their days to their good and loving parents. Jurojin is usually accompanied with a stag and a crane. He is sometimes known by the name of Toshitoku ; he is very dignified and very grave ; he supports the theory of Fukurokujin, and encourages by his presence the application to study. He is the patron of school-boys, and among some of the symbols by which the carvers represent this god in art is a staff of bamboo, at the top of which a book or a roll of manuscript is appended. He is known by his dignified bearing and by his dress, which is

that of a doctor, with high shoes and a square cap and stole. The seventh or last of this happy community is a woman, Benten, the Goddess of Love, and of Family Happiness, and Goddess of the Sea. Her emblems are musical instruments. She is supposed to dwell in ocean caves, to amuse guests at feasts and dances, or even to take part herself in the latter as well, cheering everyone present with sweet strains of harmony from her well-tuned lute and samisen. She is accompanied usually with a snake or a dragon, as well as other emblems.

One of the favourite subjects of carving, which does not refer to the gods or goddesses, is that of a woodman and his little son, who, having found the fountain of life, known in the Land of Romance as the "Waterfall of Yorō," repaired hither daily in order to fill his gourd with the precious elixir, to lengthen the span of his dear old father's life.

The tortoise, emblem of length of days, the cray-fish, a branch of pine, rats, mushrooms, animals, flowers, and birds, all of which bear allegorical significance, were chosen and favoured by special artists for reproduction.

Japan is a land of symbolism—symbolism that always bears upon religious teaching. Therefore it matters little what object is under treatment, so long as in its form can be embodied some beautiful religious inspiration, like the lamp burning within the alabaster vase. And this feeling is not sufficiently expressed within the object itself, the setting must carry out the theme; therefore, houses or temples, cemeteries or places of solitude, can never be considered complete without being in perfect harmony with surroundings. For instance, the Japanese do not build villages, houses, or temples, and then, if seemingly in the way, lop trees and uproot plantations. They select sites with the greatest judgment, and model their handiwork accordingly. Nature and Art must go hand in hand—the one must sympathize with the other, and hold, as it were, sweet converse together. This is one of the secret charms of a Japanese landscape—this is why all that was formerly

set up by the hand of man appealed so forcibly to the eyes of foreign artists. The grand forestry of Japan has been the crown of its glory. The temples, the wayside shrines, the simple roadside shelters of its patron deities, have all been made beautiful by the suitability of their surroundings. The living picture is not complete without this consideration and friendship between Nature and Art.

The earliest efforts of all Shinto art workmen were marked by extreme simplicity of design, and as Egypt tells us this story in the perfect yet simple profiles of her Pyramids, so Japan repeats the ideals in the upright *tori-i* or gateways that initial the entrance of most temple enclosures.

These *tori-i*, which are scattered all over Japan, are seen from a great distance. They are of Shinto origin, though the form is not unknown in India. The word *tori-i* signifies "bird rest" or roost. They are placed so that when the sun sinks it may appear to find a resting-place upon the horizontal bar, and there momentarily repose. This gateway is emblematic of rest, peace, and the end of life.

The architecture of a Shinto temple owes its origin to the simple primæval hut; only the temple consists of many huts placed close together, whereas the hut used as a dwelling by the early inhabitants was quite a small structure, standing alone in a plot of ground, many as near together as they could be conveniently arranged. The temple of Isé, which contains relics of great price belonging to the Land of the Gods, is a good example of a temple dedicated to the ancient religious worship of ancestors.

Temples signify in a manner the home of the people, representing the want of the community. Speaking of this, it may be mentioned that the Japanese do not use the word "home" in an individual sense. They regard the whole country as the home of every one of the people, individually as well as collectively.

Shinto temples are of plain, unvarnished wood, for the architects seek more by shaping the rafters and by the

distribution of the beams to emphasize any symbolic teaching they wish to convey ; while, on the other hand, the builders of Buddhist temples strive otherwise. Buddhist temples are full of imagery and mystery to the uninitiated : the carved idols, the quaint deities, the sacred flowers, the fabulous animals, the curious designs, the religious emblems—each contains a wordless sermon for moral reflection, and these buildings are embosomed in the stately growth of coniferæ. Flowers and special twining plants are alone suffered to surround these places of worship, that have been set apart from time immemorial for religious service.

The cemeteries of Japan likewise abound in specimens of glyptic art. Wooden monuments are more commonly used than stone, for many reasons, chiefly perhaps, because they are easier and less costly to obtain.

In the Buddhist burial-grounds the eye is arrested by a vast crowd of upright laths of wood, bearing upon their outer edges five notches, which constitute the mystic number of elements without which mankind could not exist. These laths are called *sotoba*, and have to be planted by relatives upon the graves of the deceased at intervals varying from one to thirty days, and onwards at greater intervals. This loving service of remembrance may continue to be kept up for the space of one hundred years.

But the stone monuments are more elaborate than the wooden laths. They vary in shape, or rather in a number of selected shapes, ranging from five to seven. These consist, firstly, of a square base as a pedestal, a cube supported by a sphere, a pyramid supplemented by a cup, with four crescent ridges and tilted corners ; within the cup a pyriform body, with the points turned upwards. These typify earth, fire, water, wind, and ether, the five elements essential to life.

But Nature's loveliest form to the dwellers of the Land of Sunrise is not her luxuriant foliage, her foaming water-

courses, her rugged rocks, her fields of budding, blossoming iris—these, truly, are all beloved, for the Japanese are, and ever have been, Nature as well as spirit worshippers ; but the most gladdening, awe-inspiring form is the simple angle of Fuji San, the Peerless Mountain, the gift of the gods in a single night—the peace-offering after a storm unequalled within the memory of man. The calm, beatified guardian of many provinces, the cone of beauty beyond compare, Fuji San is chosen by artists as the embodiment of absolute loveliness. Its image and the unique angles of its sloping shoulders have been memorialized in countless reproductions, since its form has become the attractive pattern for those endless varieties of fans for which Japan is famous. As a model it is chosen by architects for their conceptions of temple gateways and temple roofs, for the pagoda of many stories, for the shelter of the peasant, for the palace covering the divine rulers, for the protection of the wayside shrine, for the *asa-miya*, or resting-place, within the garden enclosure. Its perfect curves are imitated by the potter for those archaic little cups, used alike for the services of the dead or for drinking-vessels during the ancient ceremony of *Cha-no-yu*, that wonderful ceremony which has influenced for many centuries the character and mind of the people.

It is true the glyptic art of Japan cannot compete with the grand masterpieces of Egypt, with the winged bulls of Assyria, with those glorious sculptured representations of Rameses and other Kings who flourished during the zenith of ancient rule. It cannot touch the beauty of the Elgin Marbles, or the living Greek statuary that has found an appropriate reception within the silent courts of the Ashmolean Museum. These are all unique in the world of art, and remain to prove the consummate skill of man in past ages. But who can resist admiring the Buddha Beautiful of Kamakura—sublime, impassive, majestic—that has braved the storms of centuries, and the tempestuous waves of human passion and vacillation? Who can see that

grand conception of an ideal Master without being deeply impressed with its irresistible attractions?

This colossal image is of bronze. It is shaped and welded together in separate plates, and finished off by the hands of the clever carver. It is nearly 61 feet in height, and so beautifully modelled it may justly be considered one of the wonders of the world. Nearer home we can study the great Eagle, supposed to be the work of one of the most celebrated armourers of Japan. This can be seen and studied in the courts of the South Kensington Museum. This model of the king of birds is fashioned in the finest metals. The wings are splendidly carved—they are outspread—and the feathers are beautifully chiselled. It is lifelike in the extreme, the embodiment of regal power, truly a work of inspiration, by Miochîn Munehara, whose power as a worker in metal has become an established tradition of the land, and whose fame is accepted among the art-loving centres of the world.

Had it not been for art, should we have wooed Japan in the persistent way we did at the commencement of its disclosure, of the unveiling of its beautiful face, radiant in all its newly-discovered charms?

After all, it is the small things that shape our destiny. The grand triumphs cannot come to us, neither can we all seek them for ourselves. It was by the small treasures that Japan became known to us and to the world: by the gems of ivory that were manifested in creations of the smallest dimensions—the *okimino* and the *netsuké*, the sword ornaments and the *kanemono*; by the pieces of pottery, so small in comparison to our own; by the fans of every shape and substance, by little boxes and toys, trays and teapots, that appeared, and appealed to us as things new and individual. These little objects charmed us, and they all assisted to form the bonds of that friendship which has finally ripened into a regal alliance.

Art was in its zenith during the sixteenth century and onwards, when the long-protracted struggles were ended

and the people were willing to accept the new and trusted rule of a military umpire—a lover of peace, who held his own, and yet kept before the eyes of a loyal people a spiritual head to be revered and adored by a nation of true patriots and ancestral worshippers. Heading a long list of Shōguns, Iyeyasu and Iyemetsu both sought to keep the people occupied and happy. Many refined pastimes and amusements were instituted and encouraged that in time became of historical value. Nobles and samurai participating in these ceremonials, beautiful art objects were found necessary for their use during the tea ceremony and the incense parties, games of archery and polo, as well as for the classic performance of the Nō drama; all of which gave an impetus to the call for hand-made objects of unique and artistic merit. For the standing armies, or retainers of the feudal Princes ornamental sword furniture came into vogue, since during the civil wars arms and armour had been but clumsily put together, to meet the large and immediate demands of the combatants. All these requirements were made of double service, and symbolism predominated. The sword furniture was made a medium to convey sentiments of the highest virtues. Humanity, justice, craft, loyalty, perseverance, and unselfish devotion to the cause—these and a hundred other noble traits were constantly exemplified in devices set before the eyes of the soldiers and the youthful population in general, and these lessons have all assisted to lay the foundation of the heroic traits of disposition for which to-day the Japanese army and navy have won enduring laurels and world-wide admiration. How dear was that term of peace instigated by the immortal Shōgun Iyeyasu, after all the savagery, oppression, and fierce disputes of long duration, when the castle was no longer the rich man's fortress, and when cunning and treachery were perpetrated without redress!

The early Shōguns were the greatest patrons of art; for this cause it is little wonder that where these mighty dead repose there should be centred the most perfect work that

hands could offer. It is no wonder that Princes as well as artisans should have contributed to make the enclosure set apart to their memory one of the most beautiful sights of Japan. "See Nikko and die" is a proverbial expression, for there, amid lofty avenues of cryptomeria and majestic growth of trees, the temples and buildings contain some of the most impressive efforts and the most priceless votive offerings, triumphs of art, that inspire alike the sons of the soil who appreciate all that is beautiful and true, satisfying at the same time the eyes and heart of the restless traveller. There is hardly a space of this historic compound upon which the masterpieces of dead artists are not evident.

Lacquer, carving, metal-work, all commingle in one supreme effort of completeness. One court opens into another, only to reveal greater treasures. Tall *tōro* or lanterns in stone and bronze remind us of the riches of feudal Princes, of their endeavours to outvie each other in their votive offerings of great worth. Red lacquer, priceless "black lustre lacquer," gateways of wonderful architecture, rich in carving and surroundings of splendour, all enhancing, as it were, the simplicity of the tomb, that stands alone guarding the earthly remains of a master man. The whole place is a triumph of symbolism; wherever the eye turns it is confronted with lessons to be learnt and remembered. Over the stables are carved the *Three Exemplary Monkeys*—blind, deaf, and dumb to the faults of others.

There, in the cool gray light of the outer stillness, veiled by the soft shadows flung over all by surrounding ancient forestry, repeating his Sutra and telling his rosary of sacred beads, many an aged priest will wander in robes of rich brocade, in keeping with the surroundings, lost for awhile amid the richly-lacquered columns, then crouching in an attitude of prayer amid the masterpieces of the past, dedicated to the service of the dead, knowing but little of the striving world beyond his own limits, smiling his constant smile of welcome to the strange faces that peer into the stillness and intrude upon his religious reveries.

THE CONQUEST OF ABYSSINIA.

BY FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

ABYSSINIA is a country with a remarkable history. For something like 3,000 years it claims to have preserved its independence from a foreign yoke, and to have on its throne a lineal descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In this proud boast it is only equalled by Japan, the ruler of which claims that his dynasty has occupied the throne "from time immemorial." In the three millenniums which separate King Solomon from our own day we have no record of any foreign conquest of the African Switzerland, except the very temporary occupation by the horde of Mussulman fanatics under the great conqueror whose exploits have been handed down to us under the name of Mohammed Gran or Granye—Mohammed "the left-handed." This event occurred in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, just after Abyssinia had been discovered and made known to Europe by the Portuguese, then in the zenith of their colonizing power. Urged on by Prince Henry "the Navigator," the Portuguese voyagers sought long for the land of "Prester John," the semi-mythical Eastern potentate who had kept alive the torch of Christianity when all else had been submerged by the rising tide of Mohammedanism. "Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion," as Gibbon tells us, "the Æthiopians slept near 1,000 years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. . . . In this lonely situation the Æthiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life. Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon, scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; the ruins of Axume were deserted; the nation was scattered in villages; and the Emperor—a pompous name—was content, both in peace and war, with the immovable (*sic*) residence of a camp."

The Mohammedan conquerors had carried their victorious arms right along the north of Africa and southwards along the shores of the Indian Ocean to Zanzibar and Sofala ; but the mountain fortresses of Abyssinia had proved an insurmountable barrier, which had stood high and dry, as it were, above the waves of conquest. Continued isolation led to inevitable decay, and whilst the power of the Abyssinian kings dwindled, the Arabs and Mussulmans not only benefited from their constant practice of the arts of war, but were enabled to take advantage of the scientific improvements in warlike weapons, and especially of the introduction of firearms. It was in 1520 that the Portuguese embassy under Don Rodrigo de Lima arrived at the Court of the King of Abyssinia, who was at that time encamped in his southern province of Shoa, engaged even then with troubles with the Mussulman State of Adel, as the low-lying country extending to the Gulf of Aden was then called. Thirty years before this Abyssinia had been reached by another Portuguese, Pedro de Covilham, who had been sent by King John II. to discover " Prester John " ; but once arrived in that country, Covilham was not allowed to leave it again. No doubt it was his influence that led the Dowager Queen Helena to send an Armenian emissary to Portugal to negotiate an alliance, and it was in reply to this mission that Don Rodrigo de Lima was sent. The history of this expedition by Francisco Alvarez, who accompanied it, gives us our first modern account of Abyssinia.

The narrative of Alvarez, which has been published by the Hakluyt Society, gives us much detailed information as to the condition of the country, its King and people. Abyssinia at that time included those southern provinces in the direction of Lake Rudolf and of Harar, which have in recent years been conquered and again added to the empire by the present Negus, Menelik, whilst on the north the authority of the King extended as far as Suakin on the Red Sea. The King, or Negus, whom Alvarez persists in

calling "Prester John," though there is no reason to suppose that he was so known in his own country, had no permanent place of abode, but maintained his headquarters in Shoa, whence he could the more easily reach the outlying provinces. The Portuguese historian has, of course, much to tell us of the churches and monasteries, which were scattered about the country in great profusion. The land swarmed with monks and friars, and much of the wealth of the country was in their hands.

The momentous events of the invasion of Mohammed, or rather Ahmed, Granye, have been cursorily related by the traveller James Bruce in a brief two or three pages on information which he obtained from the Ethiopian chronicles. This account, though correct in its main outline, is evidently very inaccurate as to details, and especially in its chronology. The Portuguese writers were so much concerned with the religious interests of the country and their desire to bring it under the domination of the Pope that they gave little attention to its material history, and only troubled themselves with this life-and-death struggle so far as it came into their purview. A full record of the greater part of the campaigns of Ahmed has, however, come down to us in the *Futuh el Habasha*, or "History of the Conquest of Abyssinia," by Shihab ad-Din, or Chihabed-Din Ahmed ben Abd el-Qader, surnamed "Arab Faqih." Arab Faqih accompanied Ahmed in his campaigns, and was a witness of much of what he narrates, or took it at first hand from the actors, so that his work is authoritative. He appears to have been the official historiographer of Granye, and his record is full and evidently reliable; and, in fact, so circumstantial that where it differs from Bruce and other writers, the weight of authority will undoubtedly be on the side of the Arab doctor. This work has not been translated into English. It has, however, been translated into Italian by Dr. Cesare Nerazzini (Rome, 1891), and into French by the late Antoine d'Abbadie and Dr. Philippe Paulitschke, and in

another version by M. René Basset.* These three translations have been made from different manuscripts, and show considerable variations in fulness of detail and in minor points, and especially in the transliteration of proper names. In the latter respect, italic and roman letters are so intermingled in the one work, and accents and inverted commas so much used in the other, as to be very puzzling to any but students, and it will be needless to follow these refinements in the present article. The best and most readable translation would appear to be that of M. René Basset, which, though it bears on its title-page an earlier date, did not, as a matter of fact, appear until some years later than that of D'Abbadie and Paulitschke.

It is somewhat curious that neither translator gives a general survey of the events of the time leading up to Granye's invasion, or of its general bearing on the history of that part of the world. Nor do they give us much information about the manuscripts made use of. Dr. Paulitschke, in his introduction, gives some bibliographical information, from which we learn that Basset's translation was taken from a manuscript of the eighteenth century, and in a few pages draws attention to the condition of the country at the time of the invasion, and endeavours to reconcile the dates. Basset gives no general introduction, but his pages swarm with voluminous notes on the various personages and places mentioned. It would have been interesting if one or other had made a general examination of the extent of Ethiopian territory at that time, the wealth and general condition of the country, and the rise and growth of the Mohammedan power on the shores of the Indian Ocean. For this invasion was not an isolated

* "*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie [xvi^e siècle]*," par Chihab ed-Din Ahmed ben Abd el-Qader, surnommé Arab-Faqih. Traduction française et notes par René Basset. Paris, 1897.

"*Futuh el-Habacha : Des Conquêtes faites en Abyssinie au xvi^e siècle*," par l'Imam Muhammad Ahmad dit Gagne. Version française de la chronique arabe du Chahab ed-Din Ahmed, publication commencée par Antoine d'Abbadie, terminée par le Dr. Philippe Paulitschke. Paris, 1898.

event, and the doings of "the Attila of Eastern Africa" have an intimate relationship with preceding events in that region; for a long time previously the rising forces of Islam had tried their strength against the hated Christians of the interior, whom in their proselytizing zeal they desired to win to "the true faith."

About the year 1268 the legitimate line of Solomon was restored to the throne of Abyssinia, after a long period of usurpation, in the person of Icon Amlak, and the growing power of the Mohammedans seems to have exercised this monarch, and kept him in his southern province of Shoa. Bruce suggests that the shortness of the reigns of his immediate successors may have been due to wars with the State of Adel, which had seized on all the territory from Azab to Melinda, cutting off the Abyssinians entirely from the sea coast and from an opportunity of trading directly with India from the ports situated upon the ocean. The great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, has preserved "a famous story of what occurred in the year of Christ 1288," only seven years before he dictated his famous book. He remarks that the Abyssinians were in daily war with the Soldan of Aden (= Sultan of Adel). The King of Abyssinia had declared his intention to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but, being dissuaded, he despatched a certain bishop, who travelled by land and by sea until he reached the holy sepulchre. On his return he fell into the hands of the Sultan of Adel, who called upon him to turn to the faith of Mohammed, and on his refusal ordered him to be circumcised. This done, he was allowed to return to Abyssinia. When the King heard of the outrage which had been done to the bishop, great was his wrath. He vowed that he would not wear crown or hold kingdom if he took not such condign vengeance on the Sultan that all the world should ring therewithal. He assembled his horse and foot and great numbers of elephants, and set out with his army. The Sultan prepared to meet him with a large force, but the Saracens could not stand against the Christians,

and were defeated, and a marvellous number of them slain. The King advanced into the territory of the Mussulmans, wasted and destroyed it, and returned to his own country in great triumph and rejoicing. "And, in sooth, 'twas a deed well done!" quaintly adds the Venetian traveller; "for it is not to be borne that the dogs of Saracens should lord it over good Christian people!"

It is unfortunate that Polo does not record the name of the Abyssinian King. The events bear some resemblance to the achievements of Amda Sion, as given by Bruce, though the latter says nothing of the story of the bishop; but Marco could not have related in 1295 events that did not occur till 1315-1316. Salt, in his version of the chronology, put the accession of Amda Sion eleven years earlier than Bruce, and even then had so little confidence in its accuracy, and was so much disposed to identify the histories, that he suggested that the dates should be carried back further still by some twenty years, on the authority of Marco Polo's narrative. Sir Henry Yule, however, supported Bruce's chronology, and suspected that Icon Amlak must have been the true hero of Marco's story. But why should it not have been Igba Sion, whose reign (following Bruce) lasted from 1283 to 1312? The dates of these Kings can hardly be said to be definitely settled, and it would have been of great assistance in fixing the chronology if Polo had given us the name of his "King of Abash." The kingdom or sultanate of Adel comprised all the tribes now called Danakil, and the capital of the Sultan was, according to Bruce, at Aussa, some distance inland from the port of Zeila, which also belonged to Adel.

The exploits of Amda Sion, who reigned from 1312 to 1342, are taken by Bruce from the Ethiopian chronicles. At this period there was in some of the southern provinces of Abyssinia, besides the Christian nobility, a considerable Mussulman population, which often had the preponderance, and whose fidelity varied according to the energy and power of the Negus. Some of these united against Amda Sion;

but this King proved himself an able and active commander, and defeated them and also the King of Adel, and even advanced as far as Zeila on the sea coast. The events of this war are narrated at considerable length by Bruce.

Saifa-Arad, the son and successor of Amda Sion (1342-1370), also had to struggle against the Mussulmans of Adel, whose King, Ali ben Sabr ed-din, was conquered and made prisoner; but subsequently two Abyssinian armies were beaten. David II. also made war, with success, against Adel. Saad ed-din, the Mussulman King, was conquered and taken prisoner, but, regaining liberty, he recommenced the war. The Abyssinian army this time was defeated; but the Christians soon gained the upper hand again, and Saad ed-din had to take refuge in Zeila, which was besieged and captured, and then fled to a small island near by, where he was killed, with all his soldiers. This happened in the year 805 of the Hegira (A.D. 1402-1403). For twenty years Islam remained under the blow of this disaster, which delivered Adel into the Ethiopian domination. In 1422, however, the Négus Yeshak, or Isaac, was defeated by El Mansur, son of Saad ed-din, and again later by El Mansur's successor, Djemal ed-din.

Djemal's successor, Chihab ed-din Badlai, the Aroué Badlai of the Ethiopian chronicles, recommenced the war, reconquered the country of Bali, and burnt six churches; but was defeated and killed by King Zara Yakob, who had his body cut to pieces and sent to different parts of the country (Ramadhan 849=December, 1445). The next King of Abyssinia, Baeda Maryam (1467-1478), had a varying experience of war and peaceful negotiations with the Mussulmans. Mohammed, son of Badlai, sent ambassadors with presents to the Negus on the pretence of congratulating him on his accession, and made a treaty of peace. But the Mussulmans soon broke faith; Mohammed was defeated and killed, and an advance to chastise the men of Adel was only cut short by the death of Baeda Maryam.

A little later there arose in the country of Saad ed-din (as the territory of that ruler was still called), a leader who seems to have played the same rôle as Granye afterwards did in his relations with the King of Adel and in his wars with Abyssinia. This was the Imam Mahfuzh, called Mahfudi by Alvarez and Maffudi by Bruce. Being Governor of Zeila, he was able to obtain arms from the European merchants. Knowing the habit of the Abyssinians to fast strictly during the forty days of Lent, he chose this season to make his incursions and fall on the people enfeebled by fasting. During twenty-five years he carried his ravages into Fatagar, or Shoa, or Amhara, slaying without mercy all that made resistance, and driving off whole villages of men, women, and children, whom he sent into Arabia or India to be sold as slaves. The Negus Eskender (Alexander) repulsed him, but was unable to follow up his success. This state of affairs continued during the reign of the next King, Naod (1495-1508), though not always to the advantage of the Mussulmans, who at the same time were active in proselytism, and effected the conversion of some of the Abyssinian nobles, who would come over to their side with the whole of their people. This happened with Wanag Jan, Governor of Bali, who first assembled all his chiefs to the number of sixty, and, having made them drunk with wine, caused them to be bound, and then had their throats cut at the gate like so many sheep. He sent a message to the Sultan Mohammed to tell him what he had done, and converted all the men of Bali to Islam.

We now come to the reign of Wanag Sagad, or Lebna Dengel, known also as David III. (the "Prester John" of Alvarez), for the Abyssinian Kings followed the old Egyptian custom of adopting alternative royal names. He was only eleven years old when he succeeded to the throne in 1508, and during his minority the kingdom was governed by his grandmother, the Empress Helena, as Regent. Helena was of "Moorish" or Mohammedan origin, and

had therefore considerable influence with the King of Adel, with whom she maintained peace for some years, thus enabling Abyssinia to profit by the commerce with the outer world, which could only be carried on through the maritime regions in the hands of the Mohammedans. "Trade flourished and plenty followed it," Bruce tells us ; "the merchants carried every species of goods to the most distant provinces in safety, equally to the advantage of Abyssinia and Adel. These advantages, so sensibly felt, were maintained by bribery and a constant circulation of Mahometan gold in the Court of Abyssinia ; the kingdom, however, thus prospered."

But Mahfuzh still continued his depredations, and the young King Wanag Sagad advanced at the head of his army to attack him. When he came face to face with the Mussulman army, Mahfuzh threw out a challenge to any in the Christian army to fight him in single combat. The challenge was taken up by a soldier-monk named Gabra Andryas, and Mahfuzh was slain. The Mussulmans were routed ; the King of Adel fled with four companions, and only escaped, thanks to the treason of the men of Dawaro, who hid him. This event occurred in July, 1517, on the same day, it is said, as the destruction of Zeila by the Portuguese fleet under Suarez. Three or four years later Alvarez was shown bundles of short swords with silver hilts which had been taken in this war, and the Portuguese Ambassador received from the King a tent of brocade and Mecca velvet, also taken from the Sultan of Adel.

Eager as were the Mohammedans to attack the hated Christians, their great desire was to spread the faith of Islam, and in this respect they had made considerable inroads into the mountain recesses of Abyssinia. Arab Faqih does not give us any indication as to how far Mohammedanism had spread into the interior, but no doubt almost all the population of the Abyssinian provinces bordering on Harar professed the Mussulman religion, as well, for example, as those of Ifat, to the west of the

Hawash River. From Alvarez we learn that the "Moors" were very active as traders, and traversed the country from end to end, and he tells us of settlements of them in Amhara and Tigré, some of them of considerable numbers. The Dobas on the eastern escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau were Mohammedans, though subject to the Negus, and the difference of religion led to frequent wars. In the outcome we shall see that these colonies of an alien faith proved a great weakness to the country in withstanding the onslaughts of Granye. It was indeed a case of "a house divided against itself."

The incursions of Granye must have commenced almost immediately after the departure of the Portuguese embassy. Don Rodrigo de Lima bade farewell to the Negus in February, 1525, when the latter was at Aysa or Aussa in Adea, though he did not embark at Massowah till April, 1526. The presence of the King in that distant part of his dominions indicates troubled relations, if not open war, with his neighbours; and it would seem from Bruce's account that he took the initiative, for he says that soon after the death of the Empress Helena (in 1525) the King prepared to renew the war with the Moors, who, in retaliation for the Portuguese friendship for Abyssinia, had cut off the caravan for Jerusalem. "In revenge for this the King marched into Dawaro, and sent a body of troops from that province to see what was the state of the Mohammedan forces in Adel. These were no sooner arrived on the frontiers of that kingdom than they were met by a number of the enemy appointed to guard these confines, and, coming to blows, the Abyssinians defeated and drove them into the desert parts of their own country." But the succeeding sentence shows us that Bruce compresses into a single campaign events which extended over several years. Arab Faqih tells us that an Abyssinian noble, Fanil, of Dawaro, with many other chiefs, had invaded the Mussulman country of El Hubat, that they pillaged it, and led into captivity the women and children.

Ahmed on learning of this started with his soldiers, and came up with the Christians at the river Aqam. Fanil and his companions were protected by coats of mail, and wore on their heads casques of steel, which allowed only the corners of their eyes to be seen. After a lively combat the Christians were put to flight with a number of chiefs and "thousands" of soldiers killed, whilst the Mussulmans did not lose a single man. This event may have taken place as early as 1524.

This Ahmed is generally spoken of by Abyssinian travellers as "King of Adel," or "King of Zeila." To this title, however, he had no claim. He was a cavalier or knight, as we should say, in the service of Abun, the Garad or territorial chief of this region. His nickname of Gran, Graan, Gragne, or Goranha, as it is variously written, means "left-handed," for he held his sword in his left hand. Born about the year 1503, he rose against the Sultan Abu Bekr, who had "turned aside from the precepts of the book and of tradition," and, having killed him, made his brother Omar din Sultan, and found himself strong enough to be the real, though not the nominal, ruler of the country, Omar din appearing to be little more than a puppet. Ahmed, having risen to position and power, collected arms, spears, and horses, and prepared an expedition against Abyssinia. Dawaro was at that time a great southern province of Abyssinia, extending along the river Webi, which separated it from Bali. Into this province the Imam dashed with his eager followers, and captured considerable booty in horses, slaves and beasts of burden. He and his soldiers were about to return to their country, when the people of Dawaro assembled in mass against them. The Imam had a hundred and odd horses; the army of the Christians was innumerable, and the latter killed a great number of the Mussulmans, and took seven Emirs prisoner. The Imam got back to his country with considerable booty. From the time of Saad ed-din and those who governed Harar after him, Shihab goes on, even to the time of the Garad Abun,

the Christians had made incursions into the Mussulman countries, and had frequently ravaged them, and had compelled some of the Mussulman countries to pay tribute. This lasted till the Imam was at the head of affairs; he now forbade the payment of tribute.

Degalhan, Governor of Bali, a province between the two Webis south of Dawaro, having made a raid into the frontier provinces of the Mussulmans and taken their women prisoners, including the mother of one of the Emirs of the Imam, Ahmed marched against him with 100 horsemen, and came up with him at the river Aqam, at a place called Eddir. Though the Abyssinians numbered 600 and odd horsemen, and foot-soldiers as numerous as a flight of grasshoppers, he scattered them like a flock of sheep before a lion, killing many thousands of them, and taking 484 prisoners and a large quantity of cattle and mules, and the booty which had been captured by the Christians. None of the Mussulmans perished. The Ethiopian chronicle confirms this defeat of the Abyssinians in the country of Kabot (or Koubat ?) in the nineteenth year of Lebna Dengel; this would be 1527, not 1524, as supposed by Paulitschke.

The next expedition of the Imam Ahmed into Abyssinia was made with numerous troops and Somalis against Fatagar; they came within a day and a half's march of the King, but met with no opposition, and returned with considerable booty. Other raids under some of his Emirs met with similar success. The Imam then prepared another expedition against the territory of "the infidels," and at the head of a large army advanced against Dawaro, defeated a party of the enemy, and burnt the church of Zahraq. Then, turning to the Hawash River, he divided his troops into three bodies, crossed the river, and defeated a force of the Abyssinians, capturing among the women a cousin of the King, who was afterwards ransomed for fifty ounces of gold. A Christian church at Antukyah was burnt, and a raid into Ifat resulted in the capture of many slaves and

goods. Reaching the town of Gendebelo, which was inhabited by Mussulmans, who paid tribute to the King of Abyssinia, he was received with great honour and a gift of twenty ounces of gold, which, however, Ahmed refused to receive for himself, saying it should be used for the holy war. There were in the town merchants with riches belonging to the King. These the Imam killed, and carried off their goods. The booty taken on this expedition comprised 2,500 slaves, 5,000 head of cattle, and abundance of mules, and Ahmed returned victorious, triumphant and joyous to his town of Harar.

After a short sojourn here he organized another expedition. The King of Abyssinia, who was at Badeqe (perhaps Bulga, on the southern frontier of Shoa), on hearing of the approach of the Mussulmans, retired to Amhara to gather his forces from all parts of the country. In their confidence the Mussulmans advanced on Badeqe without order or precaution. The King had given orders that they should not be opposed until they had entered the town and set fire to the churches; but some of the nobles marched out, met the invaders at the Samarma River, and put them to flight, capturing a great number of horses. The Imam rallied his men, but they could not sustain the Abyssinian onslaught, and many deserted, till Ahmed was left with only forty horsemen and about twenty foot-soldiers. The Abyssinians did not follow the retreating Mussulmans, but decided to await the return of the King. He came with a large army, and, starting off after the Mussulmans, came up with them on the river Modju, at a place variously called Chembra-Kuré, Sombera Kuri, Sanbari Kuri, Shimbra-Core, at the commencement of the new moon of Redjeb, 935 (=the commencement of March, 1529), or three years later than the date given by Bruce. The King had with him 16,000 horsemen and over 200,000 foot-soldiers armed with shields, javelins and poisoned arrows. The Ethiopian chronicle agrees with the Arab author as to the disproportion between the Christians and the Mussul-

man army, which was no doubt diminished by desertions. "The King brought 30,000 horsemen and more; as to his shield-bearers, we could not know the number, for they were very numerous. Of the soldiers of this Mussulman the horsemen, it is said, were not more than 300, and a small number of foot-soldiers." According to Arab Faqih the cavalry of the Imam was 560 men, and the infantry 12,000, some armed with sabres, some with bows and arrows. As the Christians advanced, they were sheltered from the sun by a cloud, whilst the Mussulmans were exposed to the heat of the sun. But in response to the prayers of the Imam (we are told) the cloud passed from over the heads of the Christians to above the heads of the Mussulmans, and sheltered them. At this fear seized upon the Abyssinians. They, however, charged the Mussulmans, and the two armies were soon intermingled in the fray. The left wing of the Mussulmans in the terrible combat took to flight, pursued by the Abyssinians, who killed 3,000 of them. Their right wing was driven into the centre, where was the Imam. There the fight became desperate, till each could not recognise friends from foes. Then the Abyssinians were thrown back on those who followed them, and ultimately fled, thousands of them being killed, till the ground was covered with corpses. Many of their leaders fell on that disastrous day, some of whose names have been preserved by Arab Faqih; and more than 10,000 men of Tigré were killed. The Mussulman losses numbered 5,000, and after this dearly-purchased victory the Imam returned to Harar.

Within two or three months, however, he had again started on an expedition to Dawaro. He met no troops, but captured prisoners and booty, ravaged the country, and left it in ashes. Ras Banyat assembled his troops and opposed the Mussulmans in a narrow pass, but was induced to withdraw and pay a capitation on the promise of the Imam not to burn the churches. This did not, however, prevent the invaders from continuing their ravaging and

making prisoners. Radjih, or Radjib, another Abyssinian leader who had apostatized from Islam, when assured that he would not be punished for his former attacks on the Mussulmans, agreed to show the latter where the Abyssinians had hidden their riches; and for three days the Mussulmans were killing and taking prisoners and capturing booty.

It was the custom of the Imam to leave his camp from time to time with a few trusted followers to explore the country. In this way, with six horsemen and thirty foot-soldiers, he came up with Fanil, chief of Dawaro, but the latter declined a combat. A little later, however, he was put to flight with a loss of about a hundred of his men and the capture of some of his chiefs and a great quantity of horses and mules. Ras Banyat then came up with 600 horsemen and an innumerable crowd of foot-soldiers, and attacked the little Mussulman force (of 200 horse and 500 foot soldiers) with stones from a mountain, but was also put to flight with great loss. In each of these combats, we are told, none of the Mussulmans perished.

The Imam had conceived the project of staying in Abyssinia to conquer it. He sent into the Mussulman countries to exhort to the holy war, and invited them to join in it. But the soldiers replied: "Our fathers and our ancestors were not accustomed to establish themselves in Abyssinia; they made expeditions on the extremities of the territories of the infidels, took as booty cattle or other things, and returned to the Mussulman land. It is not our usage to remain and dwell here." They obliged the Imam to renounce his project, and he returned to Harar with such booty as had never been obtained before, whilst many of the Abyssinians had been induced to embrace Islam.

His next campaign was against the province of Bali, which was governed by Degalhan, brother-in-law of the King. Here the Mussulmans spread fire and sword, and captured Takla-Haimanot, Garad or Governor of Qaqmah, who was sent a prisoner to the Sultan of Aden. In this expedition the Mussulmans pushed on across the great river

Wanbat (which would appear to be the Webi Ganana, or upper course of the Juba) to the country of Malwa (probably the present Mala, on the east bank of the Omo), in the centre of Bali. This place was pillaged and reduced to ashes, the people being carried off to slavery.

After two months only in Harar, the Imam again started for Abyssinia, swearing that he would not return from the country of the infidels, but would conquer it or die there a martyr. He collected a force of 500 horse and 12,000 foot, armed with sabres; and was provided also with seven cannon, manned by about seventy Arabians accustomed to their use. When the King of Abyssinia learned of the arrival of the Mussulmans, he gave orders to dig a ditch at Del-Maida, above Dawaro, as a defence against them; but Ahmed learned from prisoners who had been captured of another road, and so circumvented the Abyssinian defences. When the Mussulmans had crossed the river Arah to Aifars, Degalhan, who had neither the force nor the energy to fight, begged the King to withdraw him. Eslamo, Governor of Fatagar, a brave warrior, was sent to supersede him. He took up his position at Antukyah, or Antakyah, with 6,000 horse and about 100,000 foot, but the Imam attacked him with his much smaller force. His cannon made havoc in the ranks of the Abyssinians, cutting them down one over the other, and the large army was put to flight. This defeat of the Abyssinians took place in the month of Redjeb, 937 A.H. (February or March, 1531). The following day the Mussulmans burnt the church of Antakyah, and then set off in pursuit of Eslamo, killing and taking prisoners and booty; never had there been so many Christians killed since the battle of Chembra-Kuré.

When the King of Abyssinia learned of this defeat, he sent the men of Tigré, under Takla-Iyasus, Governor of Angot, to march against the Mussulmans. They crossed the Hawash and joined Eslamo; but their plans were made known to Ahmed by renegade Abyssinians, and they were attacked and put to flight with the loss of Eslamo and many

other nobles killed and taken prisoner, whose names have been preserved by the Arab historian, whilst thousands of the horse and foot perished. The Mussulmans captured 500 horses, besides mules, slaves and other property. The Ethiopian chronicles mention this disastrous battle of Aifars. Bruce, who gives the name as Ifras, dates it three years too early, and says the King took part in it. The Imam now sent a letter to King Wanag-Sagad asking for the return of two captives taken by Fanil, in exchange for whom he would liberate four Abyssinian nobles, adding that this was not an incursion from which he would return to his own country, as in former expeditions, but that he would remain in the country which he had conquered. The King, on receipt of the letter, killed the two prisoners and sent no reply,

The Mussulmans continued to ravage Dawaro, capturing booty to right and left, and some of the chiefs and people were induced by fear to come over to Islam and pay tribute. The booty was so great that each man had 200 mules and slaves; but the Imam caused his followers to cast these all away, as with them they could not carry on the holy war. He then crossed the Hawash and burnt the church of El Marzir, at the foot of Mount Zeqalah, the King being made acquainted with his approach by the light from the burning church. The Mussulmans then marched to Andotnah (probably the modern Antoto, where are ancient ruins), and burnt the residence of the King, with its pictures, and images of lions, men and birds painted in red, yellow, green, white and other colours. The King saw the burning of his palace, and would have come up with the marauders but for the flooded Hawash. How this river could have separated him from the enemy is not clear, for he was then at Waj, in the Shoan bend of the Hawash, and was immediately after in Warabba, on the same side of the river. However, the identification of the places mentioned by Chihab ed-din is not, perhaps, definitely settled. The Mussulmans must have somehow got on the eastern or right bank of the Hawash. When the river had lowered, they crossed it,

captured some cannon which had been abandoned by the Abyssinians, burnt a great church belonging to the Abuna, or patriarch, who was buried in a coffin in the middle of the church, and obtained much gold, silver and silk, until all, great and little, had become rich.

The King now fled in fear to the borders of Damot, a province which then appears to have extended to the sources of the Hawash. Wasan-Sagad came to him and reproached him, saying that what had been done by Granye was only on account of his tyranny and injustice towards his people. This was why God had given the Mussulmans the advantage over him, and why they had ravaged Dawaro, Fatagar, the royal town of Badeqe, and the territory of Berarah, and had burnt (the body of) the patriarch and his church. Then he exhorted the nobles to be men, and fight for their King, their religion, and their country. He wrote to the Imam that he had collected an army of the men of Guragué, Gafat, Damot, Enarya, Ez-Zeit and Djimma, and advised him to be satisfied with the booty he had taken, and return to his country. But the Imam returned an insolent message: he would not abandon the country he had conquered, but would possess the whole of Abyssinia. In Ramadhan, 937 (May, 1531), he marched against the King in Damot.

The entrance to the province of Damot was, through the narrow defile of Masar - Mechek, protected, in the fashion customary in southern Abyssinia, by one or more enceintes, pierced by gates carefully guarded. The Imam commanded that the gate should be widened, the stones broken, and the trees cut down till a wide road was opened for his army. This was done. The King retreated to an inaccessible mountain, to which there was only one road of access, called Djoradji. The Imam, however, managed to find another way hidden by trees and thorns, and, getting to the rear of the King, drove him from the mountain and from Damot, and captured two of his shums or governors. It was now autumn, when it was the custom of the

Abyssinians to remain four months in their houses, whilst rain fell night and day, transforming the soil into mud, and rendering travelling impracticable. The cold was so great that 300 of the Abyssinians died. At Gabargé in Wadj the King was joined by Wasan-Sagad, who accused the King's followers of cowardice in abandoning a country covered with inaccessible mountains, with narrow roads, and easily defended against the enemy. Their predecessors had never seen such infamy.

Meanwhile, the Mussulmans were fatigued, and their camels so exhausted by dragging their seven cannon that they had to abandon these, as well as the six cannon they had captured from the Abyssinians. They pushed on to Gabargé, however, the King again fleeing before them, and burnt the churches of Andagabtan and Daradbani in Shoa. The treasures captured included dishes of silver, images which resembled beasts and birds, each made of silver, a great quantity of fine cloths, and two curtains such that neither Persians nor Arabs knew the like; their value amounted to 100 ounces of gold. The inhabitants of Warabba and Shoa submitted to the capitation, and remained at peace in their homes. Being told of the celebrated and much-venerated church of Dabra Libanos, to which pilgrimages were made from distant parts, the Imam sent the Emir Abu Bekr Qatin there with 300 horsemen. On his arrival the monks fled, but some of them returned, saying that if he burnt their church he should burn them also; so they seated themselves in the midst, waiting for him to set fire to it. But others said to him that he would gain nothing by burning the church, and if he would renounce this project they would give him what he would in gold and silver and silk, and the men of the town would pay capitation. The Emir agreed to this course, and the people brought him two vestments, with plates of gold 150 ounces in weight, and plates of pure silver of the same weight. But whilst the monks thus negotiated with the Emir, another Mussulman went secretly to the church and set fire to it.

Seeing this, the monks emulated one another in throwing themselves into the fire, like moths against a lamp. This event took place on July 17, 1531 (Whiteway, in his edition of Castanhoso, 1902, gives the date as July 17, 1530). At Badeqé, too, the men of Berarah conducted the Imam's men to the treasures of the King, and they returned with gold and silver and silks.

It not being the custom of the King to march, then, whilst the rains were on, he placed under Wasan-Sagad a considerable army, composed of men of Dawaro, Gojam, Fatagar and Ifat, to go against the Mussulmans. In an engagement with the Imam, however, Wasan-Sagad was wounded and captured, and his followers fled. Some thirty other notables were also taken prisoner, and all, with Wasan-Sagad, were put to death. This victory insured to the Imam the command of the country which we now know as Shoa, and the greater part of the inhabitants professed Islam. Ahmed wished to sojourn in Fatagar until the waters of the Hawash had lowered enough for him to pass into Dawaro to convert the inhabitants there; but hearing that this would not be for two months, he decided to go to Dabra Berhan. (The church of Dabra Berhan, Sir W. Cornwallis Harris tells us, was destroyed by Gragne.) He gave to Chamsu the government of Ifat, and the men of that country became Mussulmans. There was a church there built by King Eskender, who had given to it objects of gold and silver. There was a great book of which the leaves were of gold, as well as the binding; it contained the Gospels, and required two strong men to carry it. Chamsu burnt the church and seized the riches, and brought them to the Imam, who marvelled at them. The Imam despatched fifty Emirs to different parts of the country to complete its subjugation, and conversions took place wholesale, 20,000 being converted, with their wives and children.

King Wanag Sagad, who was in the country of Wadj waiting the end of the rainy season, when he heard of the

death of Wasan-Sagad, decided to abandon to the Mussulmans the territory they had conquered, and retire to Amhara. This is a vast territory, abundant in resources, and surrounded by mountains, and reached by passes through the mountains ; every entrance to it was protected by guards, from the Abawí or Blue Nile to the province of Angot and Lake Haiq. Placing guards at the five entrances to the province, he took up his position on the amba or fortified mountain of Wasel. Ahmed soon followed him into Amhara, and, approaching Amba Wasel, saw the white tent of the King perched on the top of the mountain. To deceive the people of the country his men were dressed in Christians' clothes, and pretended to be Christians, so that they were not discovered till they were close to the foot of the mountain. The Abyssinians had been lulled by a false report that Degalhan had defeated the Mussulmans, and that they had retreated to Fatagar. With the Imam in the van were thirty horsemen and fifty foot-soldiers ; they put on their coats of mail and commenced the ascent of the mountain. They had got half-way up, when a drunken Mussulman set fire to a church at the foot of the mountain ; the Abyssinians saw this, and prepared themselves for battle, when the Mussulmans burst on them, shouting "God is great !" and charging with their lances. The Abyssinians fell back on the tent of the King, who came out, and mounted his horse with his guards, 400 in number. The rest of the army, bearing shields, formed a considerable mass. The Imam ordered his followers to charge, and they charged as one man, breaking into the midst of the Abyssinians. For an hour they fought together, and then the Abyssinians fled, followed by the Mussulmans, who killed many of them, till they took refuge on a high mountain called Hagua, abandoning their horses to the enemy, and climbing the mountain on hands and knees. The King escaped on foot, leaving his tent, with his throne and arms, to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, hiding himself in a tree from the pursuing Mussulmans,

continued his flight in the night. The pursuers stopped when the sun went down and the rain fell, and came back to the Abyssinian camp, where their companions had already lit fires (for it was very cold), and they soon loaded themselves with the gold, silver, horses, mules, silk and royal vestments in innumerable quantity, and took "thousands" of beautiful women and sons and daughters of noble families. The tent of the King was by the Imam's orders cut to pieces. This battle of Wasel took place on Wednesday, the 16th of Rebi I., 938 Heg. (October 28 1531). The Ethiopian chronicle says that the King established himself at Hagua, and was driven out on the 22nd of Tekemt (October 19). The King was now a helpless fugitive in his own country, and was never again in a position to offer a pitched battle to his enemies.

The cold was now so great that the water was frozen, and many of the Mussulmans perished. Coming to the district of Bet-Amhara, and seeing the royal church there, the Imam asked how many churches there were there. He was told a great number, among which were Makana Selasse, Atronsa Maryam, Dabra Nagadgad and Beta Samayat. That of Makana Selasse (" Dwelling of the Trinity") had been built by King Naod, father of King Wanag Sagad, who was occupied in the planning, construction and ornamentation in gold for thirteen years, leaving it unfinished at his death. Wanag Sagad gave his best care to completing the work of his father, who was buried in the church, which took him twenty-five years. The church was entirely covered with plates of gold, which shone like a burning fire; he also gave to it vases of gold and silver. It was 100 cubits wide, 100 cubits long, and 150 cubits high, and was all of gold, covered with incrustations, mosaics(?), pearls and coral. Atronsa Maryam (" Throne of Mary"), situated on the left bank of the Abai, was projected by King Zarea Yaqob; but he died before it was realized, and it was his son Baeda Maryam who carried it into effect. He made magnificent presents to this church,

endowing it liberally. Ahmed ordered all these churches to be burnt. He himself first went into that of Makana Selasse, and viewed it with admiration. Its roof and inner courts were covered with plates of gold, and garnished with golden statues. Giving leave to his men to take what they would, it was burnt. The church of Ganata Giyorgis, built by King Eskender, was also burnt.

Much more of the wealth of the King was discovered and appropriated by the Mussulmans, and the inhabitants of the country were induced to point out where the treasures were hidden; one even offered to guide the Imam to where the King lay hidden with fifteen horsemen, but the Mussulmans found that the King had fled across the Bashilo River into Begemeder. The princes of the royal family of Abyssinia were at this time confined on the Amba Geshe, an almost impregnable mountain fortress. This amba was attacked by the Garad Ahmuchuch, who found the guardians sleeping over their fires. Awaking, they drove the Mussulmans back with rocks and stones. Some reinforcements arriving, they attacked the Mussulmans, and, after several attempts, being more numerous, drove the latter off (14 Rebi II., 938 Heg.—November 25, 1531). The Garad Ahmuchuch was taken prisoner, presented chained to the King, and afterwards killed. The Abyssinians cut off the heads of the dead, and presented them with the horses to the King.

The Imam's army next started for Angot, and camped at Lake Haiq. The church of Dabra Azhir (probably Dabra Egziabher, "Convent of the Saviour"), which was resplendent with gold, and contained much treasure hidden in its recesses, was plundered and burnt. Bruce gives the date of the burning of this church as December 2, 1528. Returning to Lake Haiq, Ahmed sent a messenger to the inhabitants of the island in it, calling on them to submit, and to give up a prisoner who had been taken in a former expedition, when the Sultan Mohammed was routed at Del Maida thirteen years before. He had been instructed

by the monks, and knew the Gospel by heart, "but his heart remained attached to the faith." The messenger swam across the lake, but the islanders threw stones at him, and would not let him land; nor would they submit or deliver up the prisoner, but defied "the magician" who could climb mountains. But this was a lake—let him come to them if he could.

The Imam appealed to his Arabs, who with logs of wood and cords constructed in three days two great rafts and two small ones, to which were afterwards fastened inflated skins of cows. The Christians, seeing the raft, were struck with terror, and sent the prisoner to the Imam to offer their submission. They afterwards sent their patriarch, to whom Ahmed promised to spare the church on condition that they concealed nothing, and he sent men with the patriarch to bring all the riches. They brought back crucifixes of gold and silver, enough to make 100 loads; chandeliers of gold, with gold chains in innumerable quantity; books whose leaves and binding were of gold; innumerable golden "idols," large dishes of gold, and a great mass of cloths and silk. Three rafts, which had been constructed to carry 100 men each, were filled with gold and silver and silk. The rafts returned from the island a second and a third time filled with riches, and the Imam marvelled at the spoils, and forgot all the treasures he had seen before.

The Vizir Addolé, whom the Imam had left behind in Fatagar, had been subjugating Dawaro and Bali. The Imam now went to meet him at Dabra Berhan, and here, on January 10, 1532, the two armies came together in grand review. The horsemen of the Vizir were 3,000 clothed with armour, and 3,000 without armour; the soldiers armed with white shields were 20,000, and he had as many archers, etc. The cavalry of the Imam comprised 5,000 horsemen, clothed with brocades and coverlets of gold; their armour left nothing to be seen but their eyes; their casques were like mirrors. The quantity of booty divided was such that sales were only made in gold; when

one wished to buy anything he took a handful of gold, went to the market, and made his purchase ; weights were not required. The price of a mule rose to forty ounces of gold.

The emissaries of the Imam had been busy in the southern provinces : Ifat, Gedem and Chodjarah had embraced Islam ; the El Maya people had submitted to the Garad Chamun ; Abd en Naser, who had been given the government of the country of Hadya, had subjugated and imposed the capitation on Ganz and Kambat ; the Vizir Modjahid had reduced the country of Wadj and Gabargé, and had also conquered the country of Suf-Gamo and Bahr-Gamo, supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Lake Abbaya, near 6° north latitude. The Vizir Addolé had attacked Addaluh (or Adalih), Governor of Bali, between the two Webis, and defeated him near Zillah, with a loss of 100 nobles killed and 100 taken prisoner, and about 3,000 horsemen and foot-soldiers killed (July-August, 1532), after which all the inhabitants of Bali, great and small, had embraced Islam. Yakim, who had been sent to conquer the country of Warabba, towards the sources of the Hawash, had been welcomed by the Arabs and merchants and travellers from the Sudan, who had brought presents to him. Resistance, however, had been made by Aklil ; but he had been driven off with a loss of over 1,000, and the people had agreed to pay a tribute of gold, corn, honey and butter. Almost the only instance of non-success was the experience of the Imam himself at Lake Zuai. In this lake there were said to be three islands, on each of which were three churches, and here, it was reported, the King had deposited his holy arks and other valuables for safety. Doubtless inspired by his great haul at Lake Haiq, Ahmed hankered after the treasures on these islands. He gave orders that boats should be constructed to reach them ; but his men were not provided with the materials, and he had to give up the project. The remembrance of this abortive effort is still preserved in the country, and

these islands are said to be the only point in Abyssinia not ravaged by Granye.

After having conquered all the countries—Dawaro, Bali, Hadya, Ganz, Wadj, Warabba, Fatagar and Ifat, so that there only remained about a third of Abyssinia (the northern portion) to conquer, the Imam convoked the Emirs and chiefs, and after thanking God for enabling him to conquer the country, proposed that they should send for their wives and children and establish themselves in Abyssinia. Accordingly, letters were sent to the Sultan Omar din. Batia Del-Wanbara, the Imam's wife, and many of the wives of the Mussulmans came and met the Imam in the territory of Aifars.

The King of Abyssinia, who was in Angot, seems to have made another feeble effort to drive the Mussulmans from the country. He sent Ras Banyat into Warabba, but the inhabitants of the province rallied to the Mussulmans, and the Ras had to retreat without success. The season of rains having come to an end, the Imam was again on the offensive, eager for the conquest of the remaining northern provinces. Sending the Vizir Addolé to conquer Damot, where the Governor fled on his approach, he summoned the Emirs, who were scattered throughout the country, to join him at Dabra Berhan. Abyssinia was conquered, he said ; there only remained Tigré, Begemeder and Gojam, and he proposed to march against these provinces. Proceeding first to Lake Haiq, he left there on the 14th of Ramadhan, 939 Hegira (April 9, 1533), and camped below Amba Wasel, where the Abyssinians were entrenched under a son of Degalhan. The Mussulmans climbed the mountain ; the Abyssinians retreated to the summit, and wished to descend on the other side, but the Imam had posted the Emir Hosain there. Caught on both sides, they were taken prisoners to the number of 4,000, and made to accept Islam, as did their chief, who, however, succeeded in escaping four months after. Then the Imam proceeded to the Amba Geshen, on which the

royal princes were confined, and which had been ineffectually besieged by the Garad Ahmuchuch two years before. This mountain could only be ascended by means of ladders. The Imam besieged it for two months (May-June, 1533); then the first entrenchment was taken, whilst rocks and stones were showered down upon the assailants from above. The following day the besieged abandoned their second fort, pursued by the Imam from the rising to the setting of the sun. The Imam had obtained from Zeila a great bronze cannon and two small iron cannon, served by Indians. Under cover of these the Imam encouraged his men to assault the fort, whilst he himself watched that no relief should come from the King. Half of his army, under Zaharbui Mohammed, advanced against the fortress; the defenders fired their cannon against the assailants. The fighting lasted the whole day; stones and rocks fell on the Mussulmans like hail, though, we are told, none of them was hit. At last, realizing that the place was not to be captured, the Imam ordered his men to give up the siege, and withdrew to Angot.

Having learnt that the Christians were assembled at Lalibala, where were the famous rock-cut churches, the Imam marched against that place. Though the way was a difficult one across a mountainous country, and rain fell continuously, he pressed on, travelling even by night. The cold was so intense that many of his men died on the way. At Lalibala he found the monks assembled round their church, ready to die in its defence. The Imam inspected the church, the like of which he had never seen. It was cut in the rock, as were the columns that supported it. There was not a piece of wood in all the construction save the "idols" and their shrines. The Imam called together the monks, and ordered them to collect and bring wood. They lighted a fire, and when the fire was hot Ahmed said to them: "Now let one of you and one of us enter," wishing to see what they would do, and to test them.

Their chief said : "Willingly, I will go in." But a woman who had adopted the religious life arose, and said : "It is he who expounds to us the Gospel ; shall he die, then, before my eyes ?" and threw herself into the fire. The Imam cried : "Drag her out !" They dragged her out, but part of her face was burnt. Then Ahmed burnt their shrines, broke their stone "idols," and appropriated all the gold plates and silk textures he could find.

The King and his followers seem not to have been very far off, for their effects, baggage and provisions, with the daughter of the King's sister, were found by Chamsu and a party of scouts on the banks of the river Harrar (or Arri, a tributary of the Takazze). The baggage and niece of the King were brought to the Imam, who took the young girl for his concubine. She bore him a son. Chamsu was attacked by the Abyssinians, but he offered battle and killed 3,000 of them ; the rest fled. Those who were taken prisoner afterwards had their heads cut off by the Imam's order. The King ordered Degalhan to occupy Mahkuah and the mountains which gave access to Tigré, that the Mussulmans should not be able to pass. The Imam advanced to Mahkuah, and went daily towards the mountains to reconnoitre. One day, whilst so engaged with six horsemen, he was attacked by some assailants who were hidden in the trees. The Mussulmans drove them off, but the Imam's cousin, Zaharbui Mohammed, was killed by a poisoned arrow. The next day the Imam started to avenge his cousin ; he advanced towards the mountain. The Abyssinians ranged their troops against him ; but the Mussulman footmen penetrated their ranks, receiving their stones on their shields, "and God put the infidels to flight." The Mussulmans went up and camped near the church of Manbara Maryam, on a mountain near Gargara. There the wife of the Imam, Batya Del-Wanbara, gave birth to a son. Qargara, which is now represented by the village of Gargara, south-east of Chelicot, is spoken of by Chihab ed-din as abundant in corn

and honey. In the siege of the mountain the Mussulmans had suffered from want ; now they were relieved. The Imam ravaged Endarta ; he killed the inhabitants and pillaged their riches. Then he went to Tamben. The Shum of this province marched against him, but was routed, with a loss of more than 3,000.

Raqat, Shum of Agamé, assembled his horsemen and his footmen, and barred the road to his country. The Imam left Tamben with his companions, and advanced against the mountain defended by the Shum. Stones and arrows fell on their shields like drops of rain. They pushed into the midst of the enemy, who took to flight, pursued by the Mussulman cavalry until they came to a precipitous mountain. Throwing himself over this, the Shum escaped with a broken arm.

The Imam then turned back to march against Aksum, the ancient capital of the Kings of Ethiopia. Learning from Mussulman inhabitants of the country that the men of Tigré were assembled, with their women, children and riches, on a mountain, he divided his army, and placing one body under Abd en Naser, with orders to climb one side of the mountain, he with the rest advanced to the other side, and reached it before the sun had risen. Thus, taken on both sides, the Abyssinians were routed, and those who were captured were, by the Imam's orders, beheaded. None escaped ; the Mussulmans killed them in the forts, in the ravines, in the woods. The ground was covered with their corpses, so that one could not walk on it. Of 10,550 not one escaped.

The King of Abyssinia was in Waggara, a mountainous province north of Gondar (Arab Faqih must have been misinformed in saying Wagada in Begamder), when he learnt that the Mussulmans had arrived in Tigré and were ravaging it. The Ethiopian chronicle informs us that he left Waggara in the month of Tahasas (December) for Aksum, where he celebrated the feast of Epiphany (January, 1534). This is no doubt what Arab Faqih refers to when

he writes of the King : "He brought out the great idol from the church of Aksum ; it was a white stone, encrusted with gold, so great that it could not go out by the door. They were obliged to make a hole in the wall of the church on account of its size ; it was raised and carried by 400 men into the fortress of the country of Siré, called Tabr, where they left it." This was no doubt the stone altar in the principal church of Aksum, that of St. Mary of Sion. This venerated stone was, according to tradition, sent from Mount Sion by the Apostles in the time of Queen Kandake, to whom legend attributed the construction of this church.

The Imam, on learning that the King was at Aksum, immediately started for that town, receiving the submission of parties of Abyssinians and exterminating resisters on the way. On reaching Aksum, he learnt that the King had left there six days before for the country of Mazaga (Ras el Fil or Gallabat). The Sultan of that country, Makatter, sent a letter to the Imam, saying : "Come to join me before the Christians kill me." Ahmed started the following day, burning on the way the church of Abba Samuel in Siré. It was a magnificent building, ornamented in all colours. The monks were assembled there to the number of 500. They were all massacred in the interior of the edifice, so that the blood ran out of the door. The Mussulmans marched day and night across the desert to Mazaga, suffering much from lack of provisions. Hunger drove some of them to feed on the fruits of the tamarind called *homar*, which they found in abundance. They came in touch with bodies of Abyssinians on the way, and when they reached Mazaga were received with rejoicing by Makatter. Ill though he was, he mounted a horse, clothed in a coat of mail, and marched to meet Ahmed with 15,000 Nubians and 500 footmen. Scouts informed the King that the Mussulmans had reached Mazaga, on which he was seized with fear, and immediately started for Gojam with his army. The Imam espoused the daughter of the Sultan

Makatter, and stopped ten days, and then set off to pursue the King, saying he would not cease to follow him. Makatter died three days after, and his son Nafi was proclaimed Sultan by Ahmed.

The Imam then made a rapid march to Dembea, a fruitful and well-watered province lying along the great lake from which the Blue Nile issues, and learnt that the King was eight days in advance of him, and had gone to Damot. Pushing on, his scouts came in touch with the rearguard of the Abyssinians near the church of Enferaz. The King in his rapid flight had thrown away his tents, trunks, beds and cuisine, and the Mussulmans breakfasted on the food he had left. Ahmed closely followed him around the eastern shore of the lake, as if he were hunting a wild beast. He counselled his men when they came among Christians to act and talk as Christians, so that the latter mistook them for friends, and by this means they got into the midst of them. At the place where the Abai leaves Lake Tsana the Mussulmans came right upon the King's party, who were crossing the river by a road so narrow that they crushed against one another. Here Mussulmans and Christians intermingled, the Abyssinians having no suspicion that they were amongst enemies; and the Imam was in the midst of them, his sabre in his hand, but unable to use it on account of the narrowness of the way. The Christians pressed against his horse, and in reply to their inquiries he said that he was such and such a noble, and his companions said the same, and that they were come to help the King. At this they were received with shouts by the King's followers. Learning that the King was behind, the Imam and some of his companions turned back, and the King nearly fell into his hands, only owing his escape to the swiftness of his horse as he fled before his pursuers. Numbers of the King's men fell on that day, including the Akabé-Saat, a high dignitary of the church; and Amata Dengel, sister of the King, was taken by the Mussulmans.

After staying a month in Gojam, the Imam again crossed the Abai with half his army on his way to Tigré, first sending aid to his Governors in Dawaro and El Maya, in case the Abyssinians whom he had put to flight should attack them. He travelled by way of Lake Haiq to Aksum, where he met the Vizir Addolé. His followers were exhausted with their long march. Tigré was much impoverished by the war; provisions were scarce and dear, and the greater part of the combats in Tigré had provisions for their objects. Thefts of mules by prowlers round the camp were of frequent occurrence. The day the Mussulmans entered Tigré each of them had 50 to 100 of these animals; when they left they had no more than a mule or two each.

Before the arrival of the Imam, Addolé had sent the Vizir Abbas across the Mareb River into Sarawé. Tasfa Leul, the Governor of that province, on his approach hid in the forests, and Tidrus, one of his cousins, was entrusted by the Mussulmans with the government. But Tasfa Leul fell on him unawares and killed him. Addolé, being sent by the Imam, was also attacked in a wood, and fell covered with wounds. The Abyssinians cut off his head, and sent it to the King, who was then in the country of Wafila, south of Lake Ashangi. He received it with beating of drums and playing of flutes, and had it publicly announced to his people, and the rejoicings continued eight days. Tasfa Leul next attacked Abbas. His troops were armed with bows, javelins and shields, and were innumerable; the Mussulmans had 100 horsemen and 500 shield-bearers. The men of Sarawé advanced boldly to the attack, the leaders clad in coats of mail, boasting that each of them was worth five of the horsemen of the enemy. The Mussulmans bravely met the attack. Tasfa Leul was killed, and his followers, on seeing him fall, turned and fled, pursued by the Mussulmans, who killed them all; not one escaped. The heads of Tasfa Leul and his sons were cut off and sent to the Imam. The inhabitants now submitted, and paid capitation.

It is curious that Arab Faqih does not record the destruction by Granye of the church at Aksum, the memory of which is preserved in the Abyssinian books and also in popular tradition, and of which we hear from Bruce, Salt, Bent and other travellers. Bruce says that "the town was burnt, and with it many of the richest churches in Abyssinia—Hallelujah, Banquol, Gaso, Debra Kerbé and many others." Theodore Bent says that Gran destroyed the church at Aksum, and robbed it of its treasures, and the tradition of the horrors perpetrated by him was at the time of Bent's visit (1893) still retained in Abyssinia. The Mussulmans seem to have been like a flight of locusts in the country, destroying everything, producing nothing. Their sojourn of a year in Tigré so impoverished the country that their provisions were exhausted. No more mules or asses were left, and the greater part of the Mussulmans had to walk and carry their baggage on their backs. The plague, too, broke out in Sarawé, and many died of it, including the infant son of the Imam. So great, indeed, were the misfortunes that befell the Mussulmans that many deserted the profession of Islam and went back to Christianity. The Imam proposed that on account of the scarcity they should leave Tigré and go into Begamder, a region abundant in goods, where they would make their capital and their residence, and would build mosques; when they made an expedition into another country they would leave there their riches, their wives and their mules. To this his followers assented. He first appointed Governors over the newly-conquered territories. Afra was made Bahr-Nagash, Tasfawi had the government of Sarawé, and Zer-Senai that of Hamasen, whilst Dokhono (Arkiko, opposite to the island of Massowah) was given to the Sultan of Dahlak, with whom Granye had made an alliance, so that it would appear that his authority now extended to the sea coast. In Siré, a mountainous district west of Aksum, Didjnah, the Abyssinian Governor, had been allowed to remain in command of his province on

condition of paying a tribute of horses, fifty Mussulman horsemen being placed with him in the interest of the Imam. Somewhere about this time—namely, on the 19th of Hedar (about November 15, 1535)—the Emir Chamun, with forty horsemen, met the King of Abyssinia in Amhara with a much superior force, and put him to flight with considerable loss.

Samen not having yet submitted, the Imam had to make a *détour* in order to reach Begemeder. He therefore entered the country of Mazaga, and fasted there during the month of Ramadhan, 941 (March, 1535). The people of Mazaga gave hospitality to the Mussulmans, and the Imam celebrated in their country the fête of the breaking of the fast. Setting out again for Begemeder, the Imam learnt that the road was barred by a force of Abyssinians under Saul, son of Takla-Iyasus, who occupied a narrow pass in the mountains. Efforts to break through proved unavailing ; but Ahmed, with twenty horsemen and a small number of foot soldiers, got round another way, and the Abyssinians, taken at a disadvantage, were driven off with considerable loss in killed and prisoners. Of the chiefs none escaped except Saul, who fled into Samen, a mountainous and difficult country. The Imam wished to follow the fugitives, but was told he could do nothing, for there were no roads for cavalry, and the country was the most difficult in all Abyssinia. Ahmed replied that he would not abandon Samen till it had been converted. He liberated Ganzai, brother of Saul, who had been taken prisoner in the fight, and appointed him Governor of this province, detaining Ganzai's wife, whilst Ganzai started to convert the country. But the latter abandoned his wife and fled. Owing to the neglect of the defenders, Bahr Amba, a precipitous mountain stronghold in Samen, was scaled by a small force, and forty captives were brought back to the Mussulman camp and decapitated.

Samen was inhabited by Falashas, a Jewish people who had long lived there in a state of independence, but had

been brought into subjection some forty years before ; and the Abyssinians, who had fortified the Bahr Amba, were therefore regarded by them with hostility. They came secretly to the Imam, offering to help him against their enemy. Ahmed gave them soldiers to support them, and they climbed the mountain, put in chains the Abyssinian garrison, and brought them to the Imam, who had them all killed. Whilst the Imam thus brought about the subjection of Samen, the Vizir Abbas established himself in Waggara, and the Vizir Modjahid conquered Begemeder. Towns and mosques were built in Waggara and Darha, and the inhabitants cultivated for the Mussulmans and paid capitation, as happened also in the countries of Wafila and Kanfat, between Begemeder and Wag.

The Imam next proceeded to Dembea, a delectable province on the shores of the lake which never suffered from drought, produced horses as great as oxen, and which had a gold market. Ahmed chose this for his residence, built mosques there, and divided the province among his companions, and the Mussulmans enjoyed repose whilst the inhabitants cultivated the land for them. The Christians, chiefs and soldiers who did not wish to obey the Mussulmans took shelter on the islands in the lake, and, when the Imam sent to them to claim the capitation, refused to pay it, thinking themselves secure in their isolated position. But the Imam gave orders to cut great trees and dig them out in the form of boats, and whilst this was being done went into Gojam and ravaged that province, and brought the inhabitants into captivity.

When the Imam returned to Lake Dembea (or Tsana), the boats were finished. He had them fastened together in couples, embarked himself on one of them, and the Arabs navigated the others. As they approached the island of Galila the Christians came out in about fifty of their small, quick-sailing, grass-made boats swift as birds. The Mussulmans met them on the water, and fought them with slings and stones, and as their stronger structures dominated

the smaller craft, they put the latter to flight and landed. The island was plundered, and the convent upon it burnt, says Bruce; it was one of the principal places where the Abyssinians hid their treasures, and great booty was found there.

With the submission of the people of Dembea the "Futuh el Habasha" of Chihab ed-din, as we have it, comes to an end. It is evident from the closing words that it is the first book of a work entitled. "Tohfah ez-Zeman," or "Tuhfe ez-zeman" ("The Gift of the Present Time"). But the second book has not come down to us. If it was ever written, it may have been destroyed, perhaps accidentally, perhaps by order of Granye's widow, for the relation of the remainder of the doings of the Imam and his followers in Abyssinia would redound less to the honour of the Mussulmans. The book that we have leaves off when Ahmed had arrived at the zenith of his success. Starting at first with a small force, he had gone on strengthening his hands, and, by attacking the country piecemeal, had by degrees got the whole of Abyssinia into his power. Yet not quite the whole. Some of the mountain recesses had not been penetrated, and away in the extreme south-west Kaffa and some other countries, once tributary to the Negus, long continued to maintain an isolated Christianity and their independence, till in our own day they have again been added to the Ethiopian Empire by the present Emperor Menelik.

Subsequent events are told us with some fulness by European writers—Castanhoso,* Bruce, and others, for the Portuguese played an important part in preventing the conquest of Abyssinia from becoming final and complete. But in view of the evident carefulness and reliability of Arab Faqih, we should have welcomed his further record

* "The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543, as narrated by Castanhoso, with some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez, and Certain Extracts from Correa." Translated and edited by R. S. Whiteway. Hakluyt Society, 1902.

of Granye's doings ; for, apart from possible exaggerations in the numbers of combatants and killed, and his very natural religious prejudices, his statements may be received without question. It would be well if some Arabic scholar would translate his work into English, and if to this were added a general view of the state of the country before and after Ahmed's campaigns and the rise of the Mussulman power in East Africa, its value would be increased.

Of the two or three years subsequent to 1536 we know little. Bruce tells us of a message sent by Granye to the King exhorting him to submit and make peace, to which the King returned only a haughty and insolent reply. Early in 1539 the King's eldest son, Victor, was defeated and killed by the Garad Othman ben Djauher whilst on his way to meet the King, and a little later Lebna Dengel was himself defeated by Emar. He fled with scanty forces to the country of Salamt, and took up his quarters in a mountain called Thielemfra, but was driven from it by Iyoram, Governor of the district (July 7). In 1539, also, Minas, the fourth son of Lebna Dengel, was captured with his two cousins, and a second attempt by the Vizir Modjahid and Amduch on the royal amba of Geshen was more successful than that of Granye. The amba was surprised, probably by treason. Incalculable riches, which had been amassed since the time of Icon-Amlak, and those which had been deposited there since the commencement of the war, were pillaged, and the members of the royal family collected there were massacred. At last the troubles of the poor fugitive King came to an end with his death at Debra Damo on September 2, 1540. Realizing that, unaided, he could not drive the Mussulmans out of his country, he had five years earlier despatched John Bermudez (who had accompanied the embassy of Don Rodrigo de Lima, and had remained in Abyssinia after its departure) to implore help from the King of Portugal, with the promise that when his dominions were recovered from the Mussulmans he

would submit himself to the Pope. But the Portuguese were so much engaged in contending with the Turks in the Red Sea that it was not till a few months before his death that Lebna Dengel learnt that the King of Portugal proposed to send him 300 trained men, and it was not till the second year of his son and successor, Galawdewos (Claudius), that the promised aid arrived. It was a poor inheritance to which Galawdewos succeeded. Though young, he seems to have shown some powers of generalship, and to have been successful in his first encounter with the Mussulmans ; but he had to yield to overwhelming numbers, and was driven by the Imam Ahmed into Shoa.

Don Christovão da Gama entered Abyssinia in July, 1541, with 400 men, and, pressing southward after the rainy season, attacked and repulsed the Imam Ahmed in two battles near Antalo (April, 1542), but was himself wounded and captured in another engagement, and put to death four months later. His men bravely united in defence of the Queen-mother, and were a month or two later joined by Galawdewos, and with him defeated the Mussulmans in Woggera (February 6, 1543), and again on the 21st of the same month at Wainadega, when the Imam himself was killed. After the death of Granye the war was continued by Nur, who appears to have succeeded to the title of Imam, and who married Granye's widow ; but Galawdewos, with the aid of the Portuguese, succeeded in reconquering the northern and central provinces, and even took and burnt Harar, though he was himself defeated and killed by Nur in 1559. Nur did not follow up his victory, and the Mussulman domination of Abyssinia was now at an end, though the country long suffered from internal dissensions fomented by the Jesuits.

The success of the Mussulmans in overrunning Abyssinia had been due to two causes : the able leadership of Granye, who not only showed a thorough mastery of all the arts of generalship, but had the power of infusing an enthusiasm into his followers which made them invulnerable, aided by

improved weapons of offence. Firearms had been introduced into Arabia in 1515, and Mohammedan merchants, aided by the policy of the Turks, brought these weapons to Zeila; as they had not at that time reached Abyssinia, the relative power of Mohammedan and Christian was entirely changed, and the genius of the Imam Ahmed enabled him to take full advantage of the improved armament. His Somali armies were accompanied by regular bodies of matchlock-men, who were usually Turks from Zebid in Southern Arabia. It was not until 1530 that the Abyssinians had got one or two cannon, which were worked by two renegade Arabs. We must not regard Granye as a mere marauder or brigand chief. Arab Faqih shows him to have been a typical Mussulman prince, with elevated and generous sentiments, disdainful of money, severe, just, faithful slave to the spoken word, at once a model of courage and religious fervour, devout, prudent and courteous, and a religious zealot of the first order. He never omitted to make a just division of the booty, and when each one had received his share and the public treasury was satisfied, he did not hesitate to burn what was left. He recompensed separately with portions of the booty the troops who served his artillery, as well as those of his guard who remained in the rear and could not take part in the general pillage. The fact that he himself taught the Koran to the converted, above all to children, testifies to his religious zeal.

The effects of the Mussulman conquest of Abyssinia have been far-reaching, and may be said to be felt even to the present day. The impoverishment of the country by the carrying off and destruction of its wealth was most serious, and Abyssinia has never since shown such a high state of civilization or such riches, either on the part of the Sovereign or of the churches, as was the case before the time of Granye. The weakening of the Abyssinians enabled the Turks, who had but a short time before secured the domination of Egypt, to wrest from them the

Red Sea littoral, and to place an effectual barrier on all hopes of progress from exterior sources. It is only in quite recent years, especially since the abandonment by Egypt of its possessions along the Red Sea coast, and the advent of the English, French and Italians, that intercourse with the outer world has been fully resumed, with effects that are already most marked. The general impoverishment of the country, too, rendered it the less able to contend with the unscrupulous intrigues and machinations of the Jesuit missionaries, whose only care was to bring the Ethiopian Church under the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, and who were only finally expelled after they had reduced the country to civil war. But perhaps the most far-reaching effect was the bringing into the land of an alien people, who followed neither the Mohammedan nor the Christian religion, and who overran and cut up the country, and reduced its Sovereigns to a position of servitude. It is in 1537 that we first hear of the incursions of the Gallas into the southern provinces, impoverished and denuded of their fighting men after years of warfare with Granye. Bali, Dawaro and Fatagar were first overrun, and pouring northwards in different columns the Gallas steadily engulfed Shoa, until it was completely cut off—even as it is to-day—by colonies of these invaders. And so for more than three centuries the Ethiopian Empire remained cut up into independent fragments, only united again in quite recent years. The Portuguese soldiers, after the defeat and death of Granye, were sent into Dawaro and the south to try to withstand these invaders ; but the effort proved ineffectual, and the Galla hosts pushed on till they swamped the country. They now form a considerable part of the population of the country, though they do not occupy the position which they once did, and are subservient to the Tigreans and Amharans, the older Abyssinian stock. The story of their irruption and rise to power is an interesting one, and may, in part, be traced in Bruce's pages, but it is too long to enter

on here. Probably it could not have been achieved but for the numbing influence of Granye's raids. Now, at any rate, Abyssinia may congratulate itself that it is freed from the incubus that has so long lain upon it, and that it has entered upon a period of prosperity and power as a nation whose friendship is sought by the great Powers of Europe.

A TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

PART II.*

9. DEPARTURE OF SOME OF THE PARTY; ANGKOR, THE SIREN, PERSUADES THE AUTHOR TO STAY.

“Ces débris ont pour moi d'invincibles appas,
Ils parlent à mes yeux, ils enchaînent mes pas.”

CASIMIR DELAVIGNE.

EARLY next morning, December 29, circumstances compelled our party to leave these historical sites and return to the prosaical, muddy region of the Great Lake, where the steamer returning thither from Battambang—the last available chance for proceeding in comfort to P'hnom-p'hēñ—was to call for us in the afternoon. Most of the members of our party were pressed for time, having to reach Saigon in time to catch either the homeward or the China-bound French mail-boat, due to leave in three or four days time, and could not afford a longer stay; hence they had, with great reluctance, to leave.

As for myself, however, I was lucky enough to receive by wire from Saigon the welcome news that the steamer for Bāngkōk was not to leave for another eight or ten days. This, under different circumstances, would have been most inopportune, but now proved to be a very boon to me, as it allowed me the opportunity of devoting a few more days to the other Khmēr monuments of the neighbourhood.

But how was I to return at the end of that period? That was the question. A journey overland by way of either Battambang or Khôrāt would have entailed more time than I could have spared, besides covering ground

* For Part I., see this *Review* for April, 1904.

for the most part already well known to me. And as to returning by descending the Great Lake and its outlet on the chance of picking up a steam-launch to convey me to P'hnom-p'hēñ, no few difficulties had to be overcome. Last, but not least, was the danger of navigating the treacherous Thalē Sāb in a little craft at this season, when the lake could not be implicitly trusted. For when the "inland sea" of Kamboja takes it into its head to be rough and full of the boast of, at one time, being a real sea, ploughed by big merchantmen and marine monsters, it can repeat its ancient habits, and make things positively unpleasant for a frail river craft. Its freaks and occasional outbursts are well known to those who navigate it, and I remember, amongst others, the hint that had been given me by the skipper of the *Bassac*, in the course of a conversation I had with him on the subject of the Great Lake: "Never trust yourself on the Thalē Sāb in a small boat." Apart from these considerations, which had, after all, but very little weight in my decision, there was the far more serious concurrent one that, in the event of the lake becoming rough, delays and stoppages in the navigation would certainly have occurred, capable of tending greatly to delay my arrival in time at my destination. It was a very hazardous undertaking from this point of view; but at last I decided to take the risk and stayed.

The Siāinese Commissioner of Siem-rāb, who had returned to his post the day before, and the Deputy-Commissioner, who had all the time so obligingly assisted us, upon hearing of my intentions and of the puzzling dilemmas that confronted me as regards my return, most kindly undertook to make all necessary arrangements for me. Instead of going back by the way I had come—viz., by the mouth of the Siem-rāb River, which was both unnecessary and unprofitable—I was to take a new route, combining the advantages of a shorter journey with a fresh archæological field. A fairly sized row-boat, tolerably safe for coasting the Great Lake, with a selected Khmēr crew used to such expeditions, both to be arranged for by

the *Amp'hō* or Siāmesé district official of the neighbouring sub-district of Rolūos, was to await my arrival at the mouth of the Rolūos River, a watercourse debouching into the lake lower down to the Siēm-rāb River, and therefore somewhat ahead of me on my way back. This was the very simple and final programme agreed upon: I was to journey overland from Siēm-rāb to the headquarters of the Rolūos district, which short trip would give me the opportunity of visiting several of the best monuments of the golden age of Khmēr art existing that way; and from Rolūos I was to proceed towards the mouth of the stream flowing past there, where the boat would lie in wait for me. The rest of my movements would depend entirely upon the conduct of the deity of the Thalē Sāb, with whom I should have to arrange matters. That being readily agreed upon on my part, and a tolerably safe line of retreat thus having been somehow arranged for me—as behoves the chief of any expedition, even when such merely consists of only one's self and a "boy"—I found myself with a few days at my disposal to devote to a more careful visit to the monuments of the Angkor group.

Nor was this my only good luck, for Dr. Stönnér, a member of our party who had been delegated to the Hānōi Congress by the Royal Berlin Museum of Ethnography, was also to remain—happily for him—for an even more protracted stay, in order to study the same monuments. A first-rate companion and a very enthusiastic student of Oriental subjects as he was, I could not but rejoice at the happy combination of circumstances that had drawn us together, and at the pleasant turn matters had taken, and I forgot all about the Thalē Sāb bogey.

Thus it happened that Angkor, the Khmēr siren, kept me for a few more days within the magic circle of her charms. Hence we bade that morning a regretful farewell to the other members of our party who had to return. Exceedingly agreeable companions had they been for many a day on our journey out here, and now we were to part, for no one knew how long, dispersed by force of circumstances

over the most dissimilar quarters of the globe. The parting over, a pathetically touching one for all, Dr. Stönnér and myself made ourselves at home at the Siem-rāb rest-house, now evacuated by the bulk of our party. However, as I was wholly unprepared for the protracted stay I had so suddenly decided upon to make, and for the consequent lonely journey down the Great Lake, I found myself under the necessity of laying in a stock of essential articles and provisions, and making other preparations for the forthcoming trip. As, moreover, the day before had been such a busy one for us, we decided to devote the present one to comparative rest, so as to be able to attend to our arrangements, and to visit at the same time the no little interesting town of Siem-rāb and its environs, of which we naturally had so far obtained but fugitive glimpses. Accordingly, we arranged our programme for the present and subsequent days, until my hour of departure was, in its turn, also to come. And after having occupied the morning in putting our things into some kind of order, and procuring what we required, we set out in the afternoon for a stroll round the little town.

10. SIEM-RAB (MONDAY, DECEMBER 29).

The present town of Siem-rāb extends for over two miles along the banks of the Angkor River. The wooden dwellings, mostly thatched with palm-leaves, are flanked on both sides, and hemmed in from behind, by plantations of areca, cocoanut, and palmyra palms, besides orange-trees and banana-plants and pine-apples, which last grow admirably everywhere. In the little stream, possessing a fine sandy bed, but with scarcely more than two feet of water at the present season, are built at frequent intervals little weirs, at the tail-end of which are fixed Persian wheels, set in motion by the current, for raising water to irrigate the adjacent gardens. These wheels are curious light structures, exhibiting remarkable ingenuity, for they are made entirely of bamboo canes and laths. There is not the slightest trace

of iron or even a nail in the whole framework ; rattans serve as bindings. Instead of buckets, bamboo tubes are employed, fastened all round to the periphery of the wheel, and disposed in a slanting manner. These fill up as the wheel plunges down into the stream, and pour out their contents, on reaching the summit of their course, into a wooden spout which conducts the water to the plantations on the banks. Such wheels are locally known as *Rohat-tiük*, and are identical with the Siamese *Rahat-nam*. The plantations thus irrigated are partly orchards and partly coconut, areca, betel, and pine-apple gardens. Damar-trees (*Dipterocarpeæ*) are plentiful in the environs ; the oleo-resin extracted therefrom is chiefly employed in the manufacture of torches. The wood used for this purpose, in combination with the oil, is taken from a tree called *Thlók*. The trunk of the damar-trees is sawn into planks, which serve to build the walls of many of the houses. The posts of these are obtained from *Reang* (*Pentachme Siamensis*) and *P'hchek* (*Vatica*, or *Shorea robusta*, the classical *Sāl* of Buddhist hagiology and Induepopée). Water-buckets of interlaced bamboo slips are also made, coated all over with layers of resin obtained from the two last-named trees. These about sum up all the industries and manufactures of Siem-rāb. A fairly well-stocked market enlivens the eastern bank of the stream, the prominent features of which are several Chinese shops plentifully supplied with tinned provisions, household and agricultural implements, and cotton goods. There are, moreover, a few stalls where fresh supplies of food, fruits and vegetables are displayed for sale early in the morning.

The majority of the population is Khmër ; the rest consists of Annamese and Lāu, with a fair sprinkling of the indispensable ubiquitous progeny of John Chinaman. The Khmërs of the place are remarkably well formed, and tolerably handsome in feature, although not equalling in this respect those of Battambang. The Lāu use Khmër as their medium of oral communication, and have, as a rule, almost entirely forgotten their mother-tongue.

On the whole, Siem-rāb is an important centre, and the population is prosperous without being exactly wealthy. The sufficiently fertile soil would still more enrich its inhabitants were they less indolent. Notwithstanding, Siem-rāb is considered as the second province in order of importance in the basin of the Great Lake, Battambang ranking an easy first, and favourably comparing, as regards both opulence and population, with C'hieng Mãi. The town of Siem-rāb contains about 15,000 inhabitants, and the district yields at the present time an annual revenue of nearly 100,000 ticals, which is collected by the local Commissioner and forwarded to the Chief Commissioner of the *Monthon Būrap'hā* (*Pūrva Maṇḍaha*), or "Eastern Circle," residing at Srī-sup'hon (*Sri-sobhana*).* Still, with the improved methods of administration which are being gradually introduced by the Siānese Commissioner, who has been but recently established there, the economical status of the people will further improve, accompanied by a corresponding augmentation of the revenue. Meanwhile the disorder and lawlessness that reigned supreme under the old régime, when the affairs of the province were entirely in the hands of an extortionate local Governor, have completely ceased, and tranquillity, as well as security of both life and property, reigns instead, so much so that for over two years crime has been unknown, even that of petty larceny and cattle-lifting, which is the pest of other districts. The benefits of the new administration should soon bear fruit in the shape of improvements of land communications and waterways, increase of trade and agricultural produce, and the general welfare of a long-oppressed people.

In former days *Siem-Rab* was undoubtedly the shipping port and mart of the capital. Its name, pronounced *Siem-reab* or *Siem-reap* in Khmër, belongs to this language, and

* Since the beginning of the present Siānese year (April 1, 1903), however, the Governor of Battambang has been made Chief Commissioner, and the headquarters of the administration of the Circle have been accordingly transferred to Battambang.

means the "Subdued [lit., "flattened"] Siānese." It is, according to local tradition, accounted for from a defeat there inflicted upon the Siānese invaders. This event is said to have occurred in the time of King *Paduma Suriyavarman*, a very vague and quasi-mythical personage, who may be identical with *Sūryavarman I.*, the Great, of that name, known to have reigned from A.D. 1002 to 1049, when Kamboja was still in the zenith of her power.* Things entirely changed, however, during the second half of the thirteenth century A.D.—or, to put it more precisely, from about 1259—when the Siānese, having got the upper hand and entirely freed their own country from Kambojan domination, which had weighed upon it for some seven centuries, not only successfully resisted all attempts made by the Khmers to reassert their authority upon Siām, but carried the struggle into the very heart of Kamboja itself, and for ever crippled that now fast-declining power.

The account of the Chinese embassy of 1296-1297 to Kamboja throws a most reliable and important light on such events. The statement relating thereto is as follows: "It is said that during the war with the Siānese the Khmers have compelled all the people to fight."† "In the recent war with the Siānese the country has been completely laid waste."‡

In A.D. 1595-1596 the Siānese annals of Ayuthia inform us that *Müang Nakhōn Siēm-rāb* (*Nagara Siem-rab*) was taken by assault by the Governor of Khôrāt pursuant to instructions he had received from King *Narēsr*, who was then on the point of making his second expedition to Kamboja, which proved fatal to its capital, Lawek. From the fact of *Siēm-rāb* being here termed a *nagara*, we must assume that it was then, and had been long before that, a walled city. If so, it must have been dismantled after the

* See, in connection with the above events, my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1898, p. 147, and January, 1899, p. 163.

† See the already quoted new translation of this account in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, vol. iii., 1902, p. 176.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

assault referred to, for we do not hear of any disaster having happened to it after that, and we know for certain that for some undetermined period before 1839 the town was without walls, inasmuch as a citadel had to be built by the Siānese in the latter year, in order to be able to hold it and the surrounding district in subjection.

The construction of the citadel in question was commenced (according to the Bāngkōk annals) in January, 1839, by the Siānese General P'hyā Rājasubhāvati.* Acting under his King's orders, 2,883 Siamese and Mōñ, whom he had brought with him from Bāngkōk, when leaving on December 27 preceding (1838), together with another 10,000 men impressed into service locally and from the surrounding districts, were employed in brick-making,† lime-burning, and digging the foundations. The citadel possessed a length (parallel to the river-bank) of 12 sens (480 metres), and a width (landwards) of 10 sens (400 metres). By the beginning of April, 1839, the walls and bastions had been completed, but the moat had yet to be dug, and the earthwork of the ramparts to be commenced. All being quiet in Kamboja, P'hyā Rājasubhāvati returned to Bāngkōk, leaving his lieutenant P'hyā Sihārāj Dējō to carry out the remaining works. Everything was in readiness by the middle of May. Thus Siem-rāb could again boast of walls and bastions befitting a real *nagara*, such as it used to be.

* Aymonier is completely mistaken when he says ("Le Cambodge," Paris, 1901, p. 403) that Siem-rāb was built "vers 1834 par le général siamois qu'on appelait Chau Khunn Bodin." This General, whose correct title and name were Chāu P'hyā Bodindr Dēc'hā (*Patindra-tējā*), built instead the new walled city of Battambang in 1837-1838, and not Siem-rāb. Aymonier is again wrong in the date for the foundation of new Battambang, which he places (*op. cit.*, p. 285) in 1834. He is as a rule, it should be remembered, a very uncertain authority on the modern history of either Siām or Kamboja; whilst being, on the other hand, a far more reliable, and perhaps an almost unique, one on Khmēr antiquities, especially inscriptions.

† A good many laterite blocks taken from the ruins of neighbouring Khmēr monuments have, however, been unsparingly used, judging from present evidence.

Since the period of its restoration it appears that the official name of the city has been slightly modified into *Siem-rath* (= *Syama-rastra*, "Siānese Land"), with the evident object of doing away with the unpleasing association the old name conveyed of a Siānese defeat.* But this attempt at tampering with history—or, at any rate, with time-honoured tradition—was just as inconsiderate and useless, as it was powerless to obliterate the fact. It would therefore be, not only wise, but an act of reparative justice, to restore its former name to the city in future official documents; but for the vulgar it will always continue to be *Siem-rāb*, and nothing more. Defeat after a hardly-fought war is no dishonour to a nation, and in the present case there is, in further extenuation, the overwhelming sum of evidence adduced above, that the town and district were retaken not long afterwards by the defeated side on or about 1259, and at least twice again, in 1595 and 1838. Therefore, all I would say to Siām in this matter is: Forget and forgive!

Returning now to the newly-built citadel referred to above, this was totally abandoned several years ago by both the local authorities and the population, on account of its unhealthiness, its inhabitants being carried off by death after even a short period of residence. At the time of Mouhot's visit (January, 1860) it was still, of course, the seat of government for the province, and that distinguished traveller, heaven knows on what authority, quaintly calls it "New Ongcor,"† an imaginary nickname that has been repeated, parrot-like, in more than one effusion published by tourists.

As I said before, the place is absolutely deserted, and, with its walls overgrown with rushes and its desolate appearance, it looks more like an abandoned suburban

* See in this connection my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1899, p. 163.

† "New Ongcor, an insignificant little town, the capital of the province" (Mouhot, "Travels," London, 1864, vol. i., pp. 282, 283).

cemetery than anything else. In the centre rises a unique building, a little shrine graced by a finely-sculptured figure of Ganēsa in sandstone, evidently taken from some old monument in the neighbourhood. Behind this stands a pillar daubed with vermilion and gilt. It is the *Lak-muang*, or central pillar of the city,* dedicated to the *grama-devata* or tutelary deity of the place. Ganesa seems to play here the rôle of *Neak Ta Klang Muang* (godling of the centre part of the city), as he appears to have formerly done also at Lawek, the old Kambojan capital.† His statue here is likewise painted red, and gold-leaf is applied to it by votaries, who furthermore make offerings of incense, sticks, and *batr* (*patra*), or triangular leaf-platters replete with food of different kinds. Such oblations are profuse, as a rule, in the event of illness, in order to obtain a prompt recovery.

It was getting dark when Dr. Stönnner and myself, bidding farewell to the citadel and its guardian Ganesa, whose task has now become a perfect sinecure, returned to our bungalow not altogether dissatisfied with our stroll through Siem-rāb of the past and present. We were now fully equipped for the proposed little campaign, and the day of comparative rest had imparted to us the renewed vigour necessary for the carrying out of the programme we had decided upon.

11. ANGKOR THOM REVISITED (DECEMBER 30).

The rising sun saw us once more on our way to Angkor Thom, where the day was to be devoted to a more thorough and prolonged examination of its ruins. The Siamese Commissioner at Siem-rāb had most obligingly placed at our disposal one of the local

* Apparently a survival of, or adaptation from, the worship of *Bhīmsen* (Bhīmasēna), to whom pillars (*bhīmāth* or *bhīmgada*, "Bhīm's clubs"), or even unshapely stones covered with red paint, are to this day dedicated in India, red being a colour abhorred by demons (see Crooke's "Folk-lore of Northern India," 1896, vol. i., pp. 90, 91).

† See Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. i., p. 217 *et seq.*

officials thoroughly acquainted with the country, and more especially with its ancient monuments. This official, Lúang Song by name, proved in fact an invaluable and intelligent cicerone. Then fifty-four years of age, he possessed a natural predilection for the relics of Khmër grandeur, and his rudimentary notions had vastly improved during his experience as a guide to several preceding explorers, to whom he had been of great assistance, learning from them in return the art of taking squeezes of inscriptions, mouldings of bas-reliefs, and the like, in which he had attained remarkable proficiency. I cannot speak of his services except with praise, and may confidently recommend him to such future explorers as may be fortunate enough to secure his assistance through the favour of the Siāmesse Commissioner. He, moreover, made himself useful in many other ways, taking entire charge of the transport and other necessary arrangements, such as the hiring of men, etc., thus relieving us completely of such troublesome tasks. As he, in addition, speaks Siāmesse as fluently as his own native tongue (Khmër), he further proved for us the best interpreter procurable, and a fountain-head from which to extract information at first hand, instead of obtaining it in dribblets, filtered through the erring channels of an ignorant and blundering sham of a dragoman.

Having reached the precincts of Angkor Thom, and taken the trail running along the outer bank of the old moat bordering the eastern section of the city walls, we proceeded first to the Gate of the Dead, or *Thvĕa Khmôt* (Dvār Khmôch), which is the first entrance one meets with on that side of the city when coming, as we were, from the south. A causeway, flanked by a stone railing surmounted by *nāgas*, runs eastward from it for some 1,000 yards to the stream (Angkor River), crossing it to Tā P'hrom (a group of extensive ruins) on the eastern bank.

After having inspected the gate aforesaid, we retraced

our steps, making a circuit to the stream in order to visit the ancient bridge spanning it in front of the little shrine named *Chau Sai Thewadā*. This bridge—called *Spean Thmo-Krôm*—is built of stone blocks with pointed arches, which are, however as in most Khmër constructions of the kind, of a very narrow span (1.35 metres). Owing to this defective arrangement, the arches of the bridge have been blocked by the detritus of the stream, whose tail-like forks have turned round at their eastern end, and have since flown unconcerned in its new channel. With the exception of this drawback, the bridge is a tolerably fine work of art, consisting of about twenty arches, of which fourteen only remain intact. As to *Chau Sai Thewadā*, it is a completely battered and crumbling structure, struggling in the deadly embraces of the relentless jungle, which is to be deplored, not so much for the building itself as for the beautiful carvings with which it was lavishly adorned.

From thence we betook ourselves to the ancient causeway leading to the city, which we entered this time by its other eastern gate, situated at some 520 yards further to the north than the Gate of the Dead. The entrance now reached is in a better state of preservation than the others; it rejoices in the name of *Thvea Chei* (Jaya), the "Gate of Victory." Within the city we shortly found ourselves in the presence of ruined buildings: the *prasads P'hveah Pithu* (Vara Bodhisatva) and *Sū-plöt*. The etymology of the latter's name is fancifully given as *Sū* (sūor) = "to walk" (on a rope), and *Plöt* = a "leather rope," the tradition or story being that ropes made from buffalo hides were fastened to the pinnacles of the towers (of which there are half a score or so standing in a row) of this structure, over which local funambulists used to dance, with a bunch of peacock feathers in each hand, for the amusement of the multitude.

Westwards, and about 250 yards away from this row of towers, stretches a lofty terrace over 200 metres long by

about 14 in width, the upper edge of which was formerly crowned by a *naga* railing. In the centre there arose the royal pavilion, from which the King used to witness the pageants and other displays provided for on the esplanade in front; the rest of the terrace on either side of the royal pavilion was evidently intended for the accommodation of his retinue and the principal officials of the kingdom, as is the custom to this day both in Siām and Kamboja. This terrace is accordingly known as the *P'hreah Banlea* (*Balla*) or Royal Belvedere.

It is at the northern extremity of this terrace, on the ruins of a former kiosk, that stands the famous statue of the Leprous King or *Sdsit* (Sdach) *Komlông* of Khmër legend, now sheltered by a humble roof of palm-leaves. Quite independent of the impression one is likely to receive from the squalid surroundings, which add nothing to enhance the attraction of the statue, I am inclined to think that the merits of this work of art have been a little too much boomed by former travellers, as it does not present in my humble opinion anything particularly striking. A perhaps superior work may be a similar statue still extant in the Kulên hills, on the spot where this famed but wicked Rāja Vēna of Further India had ultimately established his residence in order to seek, though in vain, in the limpid headwaters of the Angkor River the cure for the loathsome disease that his similarly-afflicted confrère of Indū legend had succeeded in finding in the waves of the Sarasvatī.*

* In the legendary account of early Khmër history preserved in Siām, this leper King of Kamboja is named *Krung Phān*—i.e., King *Bāla* or *Vāla* (perhaps a clerical slip for *Bāṇa*?). Strange to say, I notice many points of resemblance between the tale of his woe and that of Janamejaya's, King of Hastināpura. *Krung Phān* is stated to have become a leper through the blood of a *Nāga* King, whose head he had severed in battle, having spurted on his body. Later on he is said to have caused the death of a *Brāhmaṇ* who had tried to cure him. Similarly Janamejaya was, according to the *Purāṇas*, sorely afflicted with leprosy as a punishment for having sought to exterminate the whole *Nāga* or serpent race. He, moreover, also killed a *Brāhmaṇ*, in expiation for which sin he had to listen to the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* from the mouth of Vaiśam-

A score of yards or so to the westward of the terrace above referred to arose the palace enclosure, embellished by numerous superb edifices, the ruins of which are strewn about the site. Some among them, like the *P'himan Akas* already noticed above (§ 8) and the *Ba Pñon*, are still partly extant, but in a much-shattered state. As regards the *P'himan Akas*, I may here add that it is thought to be the *Yasodhara-giri*, erected by Yasovarman (A.D. 889 to *circa* 908). It is, moreover, probably the other golden tower mentioned in the relation of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja, as rising within the precincts of the King's private apartments, and on the summit of which the Sovereign used to sleep. The natives pretend (the story continues) that in the tower dwells the soul of a nine-headed Nāga, who is the lord of the soil of the whole kingdom. This spirit appears every night in the shape of a woman, and it is with her that the King first lies. At the second night-watch she disappears, leaving the King free to enjoy the society of his wives and concubines. Should the spirit not appear on a certain night, it is a sign that the moment for the King's death has arrived. Furthermore, should the King miss the meeting for a single night, some calamity is sure to happen.*

pāyana, by whom he was afterwards cursed in consequence of his patronage of the Brāhman of Anga, who followed the Vājasaneyi branch of the Yajur-Veda. Krung P'hān was similarly cursed by the colleagues of the saintly man whose death he had caused. Query, therefore, is not the Krung P'hān legend a reflex of the Indū story relating to Janamejaya? The Khmēr King in question hardly seems to have been a really historical personage. It is true that the history of the years 1296-1297 anonymously refers to him as a King of yore who had contracted leprosy, but this is insufficient evidence to argue that a King of Kamboja—rather than of ancient India—is implied. Equally suspicious is Aymonier's suggested identification of the Sdeit Komlōng with Yaśovarman (A.D. 889 to *circa* 908), the founder of Angkor Thom. According to the legendary account above referred to, the body of the leper King after his death, and those of his concubines, were transformed into stone, in which form they are still visible on the octagonal mount of the Kulēn range.

* See the already quoted *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. ii., pp. 143-145.

I myself have but little doubt that the *P'himan Akas* may have served as a temporary sojourn for the King, although I incline to the opinion that Khmër monarchs must have resided, as a rule, in some other building—very likely a wooden one near by. For it has ever been the custom of Kings, both in Siām and Kamboja, never to dwell in apartments that had been occupied by their predecessors, especially if these did not belong to the same lineage. The private apartments of preceding Sovereigns are, as a rule, set aside for other purposes, chiefly connected with funeral commemorations or religious ceremonies, and the successor takes up his abode in a new building specially erected for the occasion. It is therefore more probable that the Khmër Kings visited the *P'himan Akas* by night merely for the purpose of performing some rite in honour of the spirit or ashes of their ancestors; and thus the *P'himan Akas* may well have served as a sort of palace *columbarium*, where the urns containing the remains of some lately deceased Sovereigns were kept.*

I cannot enter here into details as regards the arrangement of the palace, which can still be traced to a large extent by the ruins. Portions of the walls of the enclosure are still standing, which formed a double enceinte all round, of a rectangular shape, and separated by an intervening moat. The inner wall of these enceintes, about 20 feet high, encompasses an area of 435 by 245 metres, of which the short sides run from north to south. Six monumental gates (of which two on each of the long sides, and one on each of the short ones) gave access to it from the exterior. The most magnificent of these was the eastern one, which is provided with three entrances, and opens towards the

* During the halcyon days of Kambojan grandeur, funeral monuments were often erected to deceased Kings, which were, in my belief, no mere cenotaphs, but real ἡρώα, or sepulchral chapels, in which the urns containing the ashes of the dead were kept (see, e.g., Lelai and P'hrah Khô below). But later on, when art declined and the degenerate Khmërs ceased to build monuments, the ashes of deceased Kings must have been kept in palace *columbaria*.

terrace, fronting, as we have seen, the eastern side (the principal one) of the palace. The gates are built of fine blocks of sandstone, while the walls of the palace enclosure consist of laterite.

Before leaving the precincts of the palace I must mention the exquisite sculptures, some of which are in alto-relievo, and adorn the wall facing the basement of the terrace just referred to. They mostly represent battle and hunting scenes. The latter are the most notable, on account of the stamp of truthfulness and reality which they possess. Above all, a fine bas-relief, representing a deer-hunt on elephants, struck me as masterly. One of the elephants grasps a large deer with its trunk, and the pachyderm next following has seized in the same manner a fawn, struggling almost Laocoön-like, in the convulsions of death. The elephants are ridden by men armed with lances and javelins. At some distance ahead walks a servant carrying food in parallelopiped hampers, balanced one in front and the other behind, on a pingo-pole. This manner of carrying things continues to be adopted by coolies at the present day. Other scenes represent the hunt of the wild buffalo, and even fights with rhinoceroses and tigers taking place in the very midst of the primeval jungle. Tourists should not neglect to view these exceedingly well-executed sculptures.

After having made the tour of the palace and visited several ruined edifices surrounding it on the northern and eastern sides, which would take too long to enumerate, we proceeded a short distance southwards to the far more important and impressive building now known by the name of *Ba Puon*, the etymology of which is with the usual naïveté traced to *Ba* = "boy" + *puon* = "to teach," "to train." The common notion is, in fact, that youngsters were here trained in theatrical acting and dancing! The main part of the monument consists of a series of seven terraces supported by walls of sandstone, rising in decreasing tiers to a height of fully 28 metres, on the top of which

rose a tower, now totally collapsed into a heap of débris, rearing its summit to a height of some 50 metres from the level of the ground. The roof of this tower—as appears from tradition and from the story of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja—was covered with sheets of copper which had probably been formerly gilt, so that the structure formed together with the gilt domes of the Bā-yôn and the *Phiman-akas* a splendid triad of most fascinating objects. According to the Chinese account just referred to, this copper-roofed tower was even more conspicuous and impressive than the other two gilt ones. “It is these monuments,” the narrative proceeds, “that have given rise, in our opinion, to such high praises of a rich and noble Kamboja (*Chên-la*) as merchants have, since their advent, lavished upon that land.”* Moura thinks† that this seven-tiered pyramidal structure of the Bā-Pūon symbolized Mount Kailāsa, and compares it to the Javanese Kalisari and Buru-budur! But nothing is more absurd than such comparisons and identifications as he and other empiricists of Khmēr archæology have been foisting upon a too benevolent world for the last thirty years or more. The most elementary knowledge of Indū and Further Indian

* From the new translation in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. cil., pp. 142, 143. Chao Ju-kua, writing about 1240 from information gathered from preceding accounts of Kamboja, and from merchants and envoys who had journeyed thither, is most explicit on the subject of the Bā Pūon, but the allusion he makes I have not so far seen either identified or quoted in any work on the antiquities of Kamboja. He says: “In the extreme south-west [of the royal palace: this locates beyond any doubt the monument he speaks of, and establishes its identity with the *Bā Pūon*] rises a bronze towered structure surmounted by twenty-four bronze pagodas [domes], and guarded by eight elephants in bronze [the guardian elephants of the eight quarters], each of which weighs 4,000 katis” (“Aus der Ethnographie des Tschau Ju Kua, von Friedrich Hirth,” in *Sitzungs berichten der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1898, Heft iii., p. 496). The observations between brackets are mine, and so is the identification of the structure here described with the *Bā Pūon*, which rises to the south of the royal palace of Angkor Thom, the main portion of the building—i.e., the towered monument—lying quite close to the south-western corner of the palace enclosure.

† “Le Royaume du Cambodge,” Paris, 1883, vol. ii., p. 273.

mythology teaches us that Kailāsa, the Silver-white Mountain, should never be represented with a copper or copper-gilt casing, but in a bright silver coating, except for such structures, if any, on the summit representing Siva's palace. Both from the disposition in seven tiers and its gilt appearance, the merest griffin can see that it is a question of Meru with its seven surrounding mountain ranges; of such a building, in fact, as appears in every Siānese capital, whether with a Brahmanic or Buddhistic character, under the name of *P'hū Khán Thōng*—i.e., the Golden Mountain.* Were there still any doubt left, it is dispelled by the mention of the statues of the guardian elephants of the eight quarters (*Lokapālas*) in Chao Ju-Kua's account, which mythical creatures are, in Indū mythology, placed round Meru, along with the regent deities of the eight points of the compass. Stone figures of elephants may be seen standing to this day at the corners of each of the seven terraces, supporting the basement of the central tower; and little turrets of exquisite design crown the porches of the third platform, through which staircases lead up from below. Such elephants may have been gilt of yore, or else the bronze figures alluded to in the narrative must have disappeared.

Leaving the Bā-Pūon by the causeway paved with stone slabs which leads from it eastwards for some 250 metres to the triple gate that formed the principal entrance to its precincts from that quarter, we reached the *sala* or resting-shed of an unprepossessing modern Buddhist monastery, situated to the south, and not far westward from the Bā-yōn. Here, in the very midst of the most superb ruins of the

* See, for more technical details about the Kailāsa and Meru, my monograph on the "*Cūlākanta-maṅgala* ; or, The Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siām," Bāng-kōk, 1893, pp. 95-109. On p. 96 I have stated therein: "Meru is the Golden Olympus, hence called *Hemādri* (the 'Golden Mountain'), . . . and Kailāsa the Silver Olympus, styled in consequence *Rajatādri* (the 'Silver Mountain')." In ancient Siānese literature the latter is styled *P'hū-P'hūak*—i.e., the "Silver [-white] Mountain" (see *op. cit.*, p. 164).

Kambojan capital, we finally sat down to do honour to a well-earned although belated tiffin, which had for some time been waiting for us. Shortly afterwards, whilst strolling about the wooden buildings of the monastery to find some of its inmates with whom to have a little conversation, I noticed one of the monks busy hewing a plank with an axe, instead of using a saw, the use of which is not even now quite general in Kamboja. This apparently trifling detail is of no small interest, as it recalls a passage in the narrative of the 1296-1297 Chinese mission to Kamboja, where the same peculiarity has been observed and duly made a note of. "The carpenters," the narrative runs, "have no saws, and only work with axes. Thus, to make a plank requires plenty of wood and a good deal of work."* This shows that the Khmërs, the real Khmërs, are still, in point of handicraft, at about the same stage they were seven centuries ago. Of course, I shall revert in due course to the bubble of the so-called Khmër art and civilization, set adrift by the empirics of Kambojan archæology, in the special chapter that shall hereafter be devoted to the discussion of such topics, while limiting myself here to point out that, if I have so far spoken of ancient Khmër masterpieces of art and the like in these pages, it was merely in a conventional way, and with the object of avoiding being misunderstood if using terms other than those to which the public has been hitherto accustomed through the publications of the delicious empirics just referred to.

After a parting look at the Bā-yōn and other neighbouring ruins, which we had not previously had the opportunity of examining in detail, we returned to Siem-rāb, reaching it just in time to take, before dark, one of those pleasant, refreshing baths that its river offers to the weary traveller.

12. MOUNT BA-KHĒNG (WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31).

Early in the morning we were off again on the warpath—I mean on the track leading towards Angkor Thom, in the

* New translation, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

neighbourhood of which lay the theatre of our exploits for the time being. Shortly after having passed Angkor Wat, and at about three hundred yards before reaching the southern gate of the old Kambojan capital, we turned to the left (westwards) towards the foot of P'hnom Bā-khēng, the art-treasures of which we proposed to visit that morning. A short climb up the steep staircase, now corroded by the wear and tear of so many centuries, brought us near the summit of the hill, where a terrace has been cut out of its eastern flank. On the floor of this terrace one notices two rows of square mortices carved in the rock, which served for the insertion of square stone pillars supporting a covered gallery leading to the sanctuary on the top of the hill. Only a few of the pillars remain standing; of others one sees but the fragments scattered about. Two chapels, likewise built of stone blocks, rise on either side of the passage, and are now occupied by rude statues of Buddha.

Near by, half-hidden among the foliage of the banana-plants and fruit-trees, adorning a small cultivated patch, appear the wooden structures of a Buddhist monastery inhabited by Annamese monks who have here fixed their hermitage, and keep, with great comfort to visitors, the plateau clear of the inroads of the all-pervading jungle. What a contrast between this unpretending scenery and the time when the summit of this hill was the scene of bustling pageants and mysterious and weird ceremonies, including, very probably, the sacrifice of human victims!*

* The history of the Chinese Sui Dynasty ("Sui-shu," A.D. 581-617, chapter lxxii., p. 8) mentions a mountain in the neighbourhood of the capital, named *Ling-kia Po-p'o* (*Linga-parvata*, and not *Lañka-parvata*, as Professor Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 506, erroneously suggests), on the top of which rose a temple ever guarded by five thousand (other versions say *one* thousand) soldiers. The temple is sacred to a deity termed *Po-to-li* (either *Bhadreśvara*, i.e., Siva, or *Bhadreśvari*, his wife, i.e., Kālī or Durgā, and not *Bhadra*, as Hirth translates), to whom human sacrifices are made. Every year the King proceeds to this temple to immolate himself a human victim during the night. So Ma Tuan-lin's version in Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation ("Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine," Méridionaux, Gênevè, 1883, p. 483). Professor Hirth, in translating the

The narrative of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja speaks of a stone tower rising at half a *li*'s distance (*circa* 150 to 200 metres) from the southern gate of the city, and adds that this structure was erected in one night by *Lu Pan*, the supernatural architect, here meaning *Viśvakarman*, the celestial artificer of Indū mythology, better known as *Viṣṇukam* (*Viṣṇukarman*) in Siām and Kamboja. The stone tower in question has severally been thought to correspond either to the monument on the top of P'hnom Bā-khēng, or to the brick tower named after King Paksī Chōng-krōng, which lies at the foot of the same hill on its northern side. I incline, however, towards the former alternative.

While on the subject of the Chinese relation just alluded to, I may be allowed to state my humble opinion towards clearing up the disputed point as regards the tomb of Lu Pan mentioned therein. "The tomb of Lu Pan," the

corresponding passage from the "Sui-shū," distinguishes between the *Līṅga-parvata* and the temple of *P'o-to-li*, which latter he locates to the east of the city. Of course, the capital here referred to is not Angkor Thom, which had not then been built. But Chao Ju-kua, in about 1240, mentions *en passant* this very temple of *P'o-to-li*, to whose deity very cruel sacrifices were made. This information may be drawn from old sources, but may also be quite recent, and apply to some temple near the then capital, Angkor Thom, which I have good reason to think is the one on P'hnom Bā - Khēng. Shrines of Bhadrēśvara were erected in many parts of Kamboja. The Sanskrit Khmēr inscription of Samrong—a hamlet lying at about two and a half miles to the north-east of Angkor Thom—refers to a shrine erected to *Śrī Bhadrēśūdrī* or *Śrī Bhadrēśvara*, called the *Śrī Bhadrēśvarīśrama*, in A.D. 1106, and states that this was the deity of *Līṅgapura* (see Aymonier's "Cambodge," vol. ii., pp. 390, 391). There is, therefore, a great probability that we have here the equivalent for Chao Ju-kua's *P'o-to-li*, and the shrine may be the one on Mount Bā-Khēng. Moura ("Le Royaume du Cambodge," vol. ii., p. 367) came to the same conclusion as regards the *Līṅga-parvata* (the second part of which term he was at a loss to explain); but he thought to locate the *P'o-to-li* shrine at *Prāsād Kēu*, a monument lying to the east of Angkor Thom on the further (eastern) side of the river (p. 359). His opinion is, however, of but little weight in connection with Khmēr antiquities, and his bulky work, though painstakingly brought together, is bristling with mistakes and inaccuracies, especially in its archæological portion.

account tells us, "is situated at about 1 *li* (300 metres) from the southern gate of the city, and has a circuit of some 10 *li* (3,000 metres). There are several hundreds of little edifices in stone." There can be no doubt, as has already been suggested, that the immense mass of buildings here referred to cannot be aught else but Angkor Wat. The circuit of the wall enclosing the area within the ditch running round Angkor Wat measures about 3,750 metres, which would be approximately "some 10 *li*." A far more serious drawback is, of course, the trifling distance of "about 1 *li*" assigned to the space separating Angkor Wat from the southern gate of the city. The real distance is about one mile, say 5 to 6 *li* in Chinese measurement. There is, therefore, an error in the Chinese text, which is not surprising considering the less gross misascribed distances even in modern European authors, such as, *e.g.*, in Mouhot himself, when he tells us (vol. i., p. 285) that it takes "about a couple of hours" to reach Angkor Wat from the citadel Siem rāb (one and a quarter hours would be more than sufficient), and, *mirabile dictu!* that the buildings of the royal treasury at Angkor Thom occupied, according to tradition, "a space of more than [*excusez du peu*] 300 miles!" (p. 278).

But in spite of the drawback of the incorrect distance above referred to, the mention of the "several hundreds of little edifices in stone" furnishes us with a clue for the identification of these structures with those of Angkor Wat. I observe, in fact, that Hwang Hsing-ts'êng has a passage in his "Hsi-yang Ch'ao-kung Tien-lu," published A.D. 1520, where he says of Kamboja: "At the season of New Year a display is made of apes, peacocks, white elephants, and rhinoceroses in front of . . . [lacuna], which is called the 'Feast of the Hundred Pagodas.' On the day of this feast incense is burnt and worship is offered to Buddha."* Now, this passage is taken from Fei Hsin's "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan" (published A.D. 1436), where, in the sentence 百塔之會

* *China Review*, vol. iv., 1875-1876, p. 61.

(*Pai-t'a-chih-hwei* = "Meeting, or Festival, of the Hundred Pagodas"), the last character is replaced by 𠵿 (*chou* = "island"). The same reading, it seems, occurs in the account of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja, for Rémuyat has translated here "*l'Ile des Cent Tours*." The passage, therefore, applies to the period when the Kambojan capital was still at Angkor Thom.

Now, what can this "Isle of the Hundred Towers" be, except Angkor Wat, isolated as it were from the rest of the land by the immense ditch that surrounds it? And the Buddhist festival referred to as held there at the time of the New Year is probably the same noticed above by myself as taking place at the same season down to the present day. The latter is, therefore, a mere continuation of the former custom.* The existence of such a custom for Angkor Wat, coupled with the other circumstantial evidence adduced above, concurs, in my opinion, in establishing beyond any possible doubt the identity of the "tomb of Lu Pan" of the Chinese narrative on the 1296-1297 embassy with the Angkor sanctuary. And it is quite likely that, if this name *Lu Pan* refers to some legendary personage then commonly supposed to have been entombed there, instead of to the builder of the monument, it may be meant for *Rāvana*, of which it would be a clumsy transcript. The representations on the bas-reliefs of the Angkor Wat galleries of the epic war against *Rāvana*, ending in the defeat and death of this wicked potentate, may well have contributed to the belief of ignorant people, and more especially of Chinese strangers entirely ignorant of Indū mythical lore, that his remains lay entombed in the sanctuary itself. I shall revert more fully to these points afterwards, merely confining myself to

* I should not think that the Chinese New Year is meant, in which event the ceremonies held might have reference to the Māgha festival of Buddhists. But this seems hardly to be the case. From the displays described, it is evident that the rejoicings and religious ceremonies held were really connected with the Khmēr New Year, the season for general merriment and merit-making, usually falling on or about the beginning of April.

observe here that, from the various extracts quoted above from Chinese writers on Kamboja, it plainly follows that in the thirteenth century Angkor Wat, if not as yet converted into a Buddhist shrine, was at any rate already the scene of periodical Buddhist festivals. This, being very important, should be taken note of.

Returning now to Mount *Ba-khëng*, I shall give, for whatever it may be worth, the commonly accepted derivation of its name as related to me. This is traced to the fact of the ferruginous limestone forming the hill being harder than that employed in the Angkor structures, whence the hill came to be termed *P'hnom Ba-Khëng*, which would thus mean the "Hill of the Hard Stone." If so, the designation must be comparatively modern, for *Khëng* = "hard" is almost certainly a purely Thai (Siānese) word. The softer sandstone of Angkor and neighbouring monuments is called *Thmō p'hók* (lit., "Mud-stone"), whereas laterite is known as *Bai-kriēm* (lit., "Dried [or parched] Rice").

Having completed our examination of the ruins on the terrace above mentioned, we climbed up the steps leading to the sanctuary—or, at least, to whatever little is now left of it—on the top of the hill. Very little can be distinguished of its ancient shape and disposition except the basement, rising in three decreasing tiers, completely overlaid by the fragments of the domed structure once surmounting it. As a reward, however, one obtains from this eminence, of some 100 metres in height, a magnificent view of the surrounding country, all strewn with the glorious remains of past Khmër grandeur—a matchless panorama that amply repays one for the trouble of escalading the hill. The densely-wooded plain beneath stretches away farther than one can see, being limited only on the north-east, some twenty-five miles away, by the long bulwark of the P'hnom Kulën range. At about twelve miles towards the east the little summit of P'hnom Bôk emerges from the surface of that gently ruffled and undulating sea of deep green vegetation which

almost completely conceals the extensive ruins of the Kambojan capital, although lying quite close at hand, so that, unless told, one would scarcely suspect their existence under the dense foliage. Again, at about twelve miles towards the south, rises a unique landmark which catches the eye, the rounded top of P'hnôm Krôm, enwrapped in a haze of vapours, indicating the proximity of the invisible expanse of the Great Lake. Finally, towards the south-east, and little more than a mile away, culminate quite distinct, and in all the indescribable charm of their glory, the numerous domes of Angkor Wat, surrounded by a phantasmagoria of porches, galleries, and pavilions. A most sublime vision almost "too fair to worship, too divine to love"! Incomparable and most eloquent example of human genius and faith immortalized by monumental art; a priceless legacy of the old Further-Indian to the modern degenerate world; a lasting memento of the divinely inspired giants for dull-witted and emasculated pigmy sluggards, utterly incapable, in their crass idiocy, not only of adequately appreciating, but even of feeling the slightest interest in it!*

After having descended from P'hnôm Bă-khêng, and before leaving definitely the scene of so many thrilling memories of the past, I could not help paying a parting visit to the ever-captivating sanctuary, the endless beauties of which I yearned to enjoy once more, as well as to examine it more leisurely than I was enabled to do before.

* See in this connection what Warington Smyth relates of his experience of ancient native sentiments as regards the sanctuary in his "Five Years in Siam" (London, 1898, vol. ii., p. 236): "As we all sat smoking in the evening before the cruciform steps of the main entrance, a Cambodian monk asked why people came so far to see a building which was half grown over by the jungle, and inhabited by countless bats. The reply came from the old Tongsu, who was on his knees gazing at the dark façade before him, 'I came because I had never seen it.' The reason was unintelligible to the dull Cambodian, but it was sufficient for the enterprising Shân." Just so; not content with their callous indifference to such art treasures, the modern Khmërs doubtless look upon as fools those who take the trouble to journey from afar in order to see what these people consider to be mere heaps of rubbish. Oh, the old adage about pearls being cast before swine, etc.!

There, accordingly, with my no less enthusiastic companion, I spent the rest of that forenoon, devoting my attention especially to the gallery of the interminable bas-reliefs. Late in the afternoon we returned to our quarters at Siem-rāb, where I had to complete the preparations for my journey, as the start was fixed upon for the morrow.

The close of the year of grace 1902 was duly honoured that evening—strange and unexpected contrast with local surroundings!—with the luxury of a couple of bottles of excellent champagne which our friends had managed doubtless by design and admirable forethought to hide amongst our things, convinced that we should find them in due course. We understood at once, on discovering them, the meaning of the pious trick they had played upon us, and our thoughtful companions of the first part of our journey were not forgotten in the toast with which we heartily honoured them, as well as other persons no less dear to us, who were still farther away. No more touching toast was ever, perhaps, drunk by these two waifs of the West, in the stillness of the night, in the sleepiness of remote Siem-rāb, and amongst the weird surroundings that evoked so many memories of an entirely different character.

13. DEPARTURE FOR THE RUINS OF THE LĒLAI GROUP (THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1903).

The first day of the New Year marked also a new departure for me—a transition, as it were, from an old to a new world.

At a quarter past seven I left Siem-rāb definitely, accompanied by Dr. Stönnner, who, after visiting with me the famous monuments of the Lēlai group, desired to see me off at the very outskirts of the scene of our archæological ramblings.

The Siem-rāb stream was easily forded by our bullock-carts; then, leaving behind us the gardens fringing its eastern bank, we proceeded eastwards by the trail across an open plain dotted with rare clusters of shrubs. Here

abound turtle-doves, parakeets, cranes, and a variety of other birds which seem, happily for them, to completely ignore the guiles of the sportsman's gun, as they do not in the least appear to dread the approach of insidious man. These parts offer, accordingly, promising bags to the tourist prompted by energetic proclivities. But we had brought no guns with us, as the quarry we were in quest of was of a quite different nature.

Our caravan consisted of six bullock-carts, of which three were for myself, "boy," and sundry paraphernalia ; one mounted by Lúang Song, our inseparable cicerone, and the other two for the use of Dr. Stönnér and his servant. At 9 a.m., having travelled some ten miles, we reached Lélai.

This exquisite monument is composed of a pyramidal basement in three tiers, rising like an islet in what was formerly an extensive but shallow pond. On the top of this platform, some 20 feet in height above the present level of the ground, stand four square brick towers in two rows, two dedicated to Siva and two to his spouse. The towers are most richly decorated, not only with eight stone niches, each containing statues of guardian godlings (*āraṁśas*), but with doors embellished with exquisitely sculptured lintels, and, what is far more important, skilfully executed Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on the sandstone frame and posts of the doors. These epigraphic records, conjointly with a superb bilingual stela erected near the eastern entrance to the platform, tell the tale of the origin and object of the monument, which we thereby learn was raised by King Yaso-varman (A.D. 889 to *circa* 908) in honour, and on occasion of, the exequies of his father Indra-varman (A.D. 877-889), in July, 893.

By the side of this splendid monument a modern Buddhist monastery named Wat Lélai has been built, from which the name *Lélai* (locally pronounced *Lolei*) has been given to the ruins. This term, equally puzzling to the natives as it has been hitherto to every foreign visitor and student of

local antiquities, Aymonier included,* doubtless represents, in my opinion, the Pāli toponym *Pāṛileyyaka*, designating a forest country existing in North India between Kosambī and Sāvatti. There, in the Rakkhita grove, Buddha is recorded as having dwelt for some time, during which a white elephant came to offer him water, and a white monkey a comb of honey.† Hence any Buddhist shrine or monastery containing a representation of Buddha while dwelling in that wild solitude is called *Parileyyaka*, a term corrupted in Siānese into *Pā-Lelai* (which spelled thus detached conveys the meaning of "Lēlai Forest"), and still more perverted in Khmēr into *Palilai*, or simply *Lolei*. Two Buddhist shrines are known to me besides the one bearing the latter name. One, called *P'hreach Palilai*, is a ruined monument (originally Viṣṇuitic) situated right opposite the western gate of the north wall of the royal palace enclosure at Angkor Thom. The other, *Wat Pa-lelai*, is to be found in Western Siām, near Sup'han.

No Buddhistic statue justifying the name now exists for certain in the *Lolei* monastery, but this is no sufficient plea for rejecting the relationship, because such a statue may have formerly stood there. The *uposatha*, or holy assembly hall, presents nothing remarkable except the peculiarity that here, as in most such buildings in Kamboja, the eight *sīma*, or boundary stones marking the consecrated area, are placed in the interior of the hall, and not on the exterior, as in Siām. The *vihara*, or idol-house, is also very often absent in Kambojan temples.

* All he can do is to report the absurd native explanation, according to which *Lēlai* or *Lolei* derives from *Ālai* (*Ālaya*) = "regrets." But this suggestion, as he himself says, is valueless. If those who authoritatively treat of Khmēr antiquities took the pains of learning a little bit of Buddhism and Brāhmaṇic tenets, as well as a little Pāli or Sanskrit, these being the indispensable foundations for such studies, their books would be less marred by mistakes of every kind, and their labours far more fruitful of reliable results.

† See "Mahāvagga," x., 4, 6 *et seq.*, and 5, 1; also "Jātaka," 428, Introduction, etc.

P'hreah Kū.—Having completed our visit, we turned our steps due south towards the neighbouring monument of *P'hreah Kū*, which lies at about 1,000 metres or so from the preceding one. Its plan is somewhat simpler than *Lolei*, as it consists of a vast laterite enclosure, now under the unchecked dominion of the jungle, with six brick towers in two rows at the centre. These are similar in shape and ornamentation to those of *Lolei*, although not so large and beautiful. Like the former, they have the principal entrance towards the east, false doors being built on the other sides. Inscriptions occur as plentifully here as on the other monument, nor is there any lack of a stela with a digraphic inscription. From such epigraphic documents we learn that the edifice was erected by King *Indra-varman* (877-889) to his father *Prithivīndra-varman* (who does not appear to have reigned), in January, A.D. 880. The three towers of the front row were dedicated to *Siva*, and those of the rear row to the latter's spouse. Two mutilated statues of the *P'hreah Kū* (*P'hrah Khô*, *Vara Gô*), or Sacred Bull, forming the vehicle of the god, still remaining in front of the sanctuary, gave origin to the present name of the monument, edifyingly spelt *Bacou*, *Baku*, and even *Prea Con*, in the effusions of the usual empirists. The characteristic of its towers is that, unlike those of the neighbouring buildings of the same group, they are covered with a layer, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, of a strong plaster, which was formed into exquisitely beautiful mouldings.

Ba-Không.—Once more we were bending our steps due south towards the other monument of the same group, called *Ba-Không*, which lies at about 2,000 metres from *P'hreah Kū*, and 3,000 metres from *Lēlai*, aligned on a single row with these two. It is an extensive but much dilapidated building, completely different in plan from the preceding ones. As many as eighteen domed towers, all of brick-work, rise on the area, encompassed by the outer enclosure and by the ditch running round it. A second and inner

enclosure surrounds the space occupied by the sanctuary proper. This consists of eight towers similar to the preceding, and a central pyramidal platform rising in five tiers to a height of about 13 metres. On the top of this was a structure of which only the basement remains. Four staircases formed of large slabs of sandstone give access to the summit from the four sides which face the cardinal points. Monoliths tastefully sculptured, representing elephants in complete harness, adorned the four corners of each tier of the pyramid, their size decreasing at each successive tier, so as to enhance the loftiness of the monument.

From these particulars the reader will see that the edifice now under consideration was erected on a somewhat similar plan to that of Bā Pūon (see § 11), and must similarly have been intended to represent Mount Meru with the heavenly abodes all round. The towers are in rather a dilapidated state, and present little worthy of note except a few bas-reliefs and fragments of Sanskrit inscriptions, from which can be made out that the foundation dates from the reign of Indra-varman (A.D. 877-889). The sandstone, here lavishly employed, especially in the central structure, is similar to that of Angkor Wat. From the fact that, according to Aymonier,* the central pyramid is sometimes designated *Ba-yôn* (*i.e.*, *Parganka*, or "throne," as we have shown), it may not be unlikely that the King—as the tradition recorded by Mouru goes†—was in the habit of proceeding to its summit every year in order to witness the nautical festivals held around while the country was flooded by the Thalē Sāb. Or he may have temporarily sojourned there for some other purpose; otherwise we must come to the conclusion that the central platform in question merely supported the throne of the deity (*i.e.*, either Indra, or Siva, or the latter's symbol, the *linga*).

The conventional name now vulgarly applied to the

* "Cambodge," t. ii., p. 428.

† "Le Royaume du Cambodge," t. ii., p. 377.

monument is *Ba-Không*, which would mean "large gong," but such an etymology has infinite chances of ultimately proving absurd, for *Vakon*, as a name of a district, occurs in one of the neighbouring P'hreah Kū inscriptions,* and thus very probably represents the actual *Ba-Không*. Below, quite close by the rear of the principal structure, stand the wooden buildings of a modern Buddhist monastery, surrounded by clusters of tufted cocoanut palms, which yield a deliciously cool shade, and form a pleasant retreat for the weary traveller desiring a rest during the torrid heat of mid-day.

14. MÜANG SŪTR.

It was well past noon when we left, bound eastwards, for the neighbouring Müang Sūtr, which we reached about 1 p.m., halting at the office of the *Amphö* (here established and sent from Bāng-kōk), which had very kindly been placed at our disposal for luncheon. The office in question was a cosy, neat wooden structure just recently erected, furnished with tables and chairs, a luxury that I was to enjoy for the last time until I re-entered the pale of pinch-beck civilization.

Müang Sūtr-nikhom-khet (*Sūtra-nigama-ksetra*) is the Siāinese official name of the place, which now forms the headquarters of the *Ralūos* district. Formerly the seat of administration was farther up the little watercourse passing through here, at the village of *Ralūos* (or *Rolūos*),† from which the district became known. It had to be transferred some thirty years ago to the present site, where a village of about forty houses has since sprung up. The reason for the removal was to afford more ready access to boats ascending the little local stream. The village is situated, in fact, near the edge of the muddy flat periodically

* See Aymonier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 448, 471. While on this subject I may draw attention to another toponymic in such inscriptions, viz., *Pralāi Vāt*, which is not unlike *Wat Pālelai* or *Pārīlayaka*.

† This is the name of a tree (*Careya arborea* ?) yielding very light wood, used for making floats for fishing-nets (see Moura, *op. cit.*, t. i., p. 24).

flooded by the lake when at its flow. The district numbers some 13,000 inhabitants, and extends towards the east as far as the frontier post of Dān Ralūh which borders the French possessions.

In Khmēr the stream is called *Stüng Ralūos* or *Prek Raluos*. But a short distance up its embouchure from the lake lies—perched on piles—the almost insignificant village of *Kampong P'hluk*, "Landing of the Ivory," marking at the season in question the extreme limit of navigation. This was the place I had to proceed to in order to continue my journey by water.

It was 3 p.m. when I had, with great regret, to bid farewell to Dr. Stönnner, the genial companion of the few days passed together in roaming about the ruins of Kambojan grandeur. It was a touching adieu, such as might be given on the threshold of two different worlds. He was to remain in the fascinating world of archæological researches so dear to us both, while I was to return to the realm of brick and mortar, of whitewash and tinsel, the mongrel result of a new-fangled civilization badly grafted on the old local one.

Mounting one of the local bullock-carts waiting for me, and followed by three others, one of which was occupied by a petty official sent by the *Amp'hö* to accompany me to the landing-place and to help me embark, a most monotonous drive commenced through an equally monotonous plain full of pools of mud, and intersected by creeks of splashing mire almost like ink. Through these we had to wade sometimes axle-deep, and then, for a change, we would cross tracts of high coarse grass, all bespattered with mud. Southwards, in the distance, over the brown desolate moor, a green line could be descried, marking the low jungle margin of the Great Lake. Not far to the east lazily meandered the local apology for a watercourse which

". . . baignant lentement la plaine languissante
Ne porte qu'une eau croupissante
Dans des marais fangeux que couvrent des roseaux."

By 5.15 p.m., as the day was about to close, we reached a blind offshoot of the Ralūos stream where the boat arranged for was waiting. It was one of the usual native roofed crafts, about 25 feet in length, and provided with three long oars worked standing, almost like those of a Venetian gondola. In a few minutes I and my belongings were safely embarked. Then, bidding farewell to the petty official and the cart-drivers who had accompanied me, I was off.

In about an hour a motley group of bamboo hovels, perched high upon poles above the miry banks, so to speak, of the river—answering to the name of Kampong P'hluk—was reached. It was already dark, and a brief halt was here made in order to take in some provisions—especially water and rice—for the trip. In the pale light of smoky, resinous torches carried to and fro by the villagers, these needful preparations were soon completed. The headman of the hamlet came to greet me, and brought the welcome news that the dreaded lake was perfectly calm: "*Rolok syngob*," he cheerfully informed me ("The waves have quieted down"); so that progress could be made at once, taking time by the forelock. I did not hesitate a single moment, and at once gave the order to start.

Whilst we were swiftly moving downstream, the kind-hearted headman shouted out for the last time a hearty godspeed, recommending me once more—this was about the tenth time—not to forget, by any means, after my arrival in port, to send back by the boatmen a *sambot* (letter or note) that might reassure him, as well as his superior authorities of Ralūos and Siem-rāb, of my having safely reached my destination. The good fellow was most anxious, I should say almost trembling, for my safety; and I could see that his mind would not be at ease until the longed-for *sambot* from me reached him. He felt, naturally, a good deal of responsibility weighing on his shoulders about the safety of my person, and had accordingly selected the most experienced and trustworthy boatmen his village

and neighbourhood could boast of. I am sincerely thankful to him for his painstaking exertions on my behalf, and regret the moments of anxiety the poor fellow must have passed on my account.

Meanwhile the Great Lake came in sight, ominously gloomy, but calm and silent as a garden-pond. A few more pulls, and we debouched into its wide expanse, turning round to the left so as to coast its eastern margin. It was now 8 p.m., and from this time the deity of the Thalē Sāb was arbiter of my destinies for as long as it pleased him or her. The die had been cast, and it was now an open question as to who should turn out to be the winner.

To be continued.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, January 30, 1905, a paper was read by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), late Financial Commissioner, Punjab, on "The Place of India under Protection," Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair. Among those present were: Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, P.C., G.C.S.I., M.P., Right Hon. Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.S.I., and Lady Lyall, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Ollivant, K.C.I.E., and Lady Ollivant, Mr. T. R. Buchanan, M.P., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel J. W. Thurburn, C.S.I., Colonel and Mrs. Picot, Major Alexander King, D.S.O., Major Hon. Douglas Forbes-Sempill, D.S.O., Surgeon-General Lionel Spencer, C.B., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. H. F. Evans, C.S.I., Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Skrine, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. T. Sperati, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Bomanji Jamsetji Wadia, Mr. S. J. McConechy, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. L. G. Maxie, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Pennington, Mr. Arthur Santell, Mr. L. R. Dave, Mr. H. D. Pearsall, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. W. Wavell, Mr. S. D. Mohammad, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Miss A. Smith, Mrs. Y. T. Green, Mrs. and Miss Henli, Mr. S. R. Manga, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. Safford, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Rev. J. F. Hewitt, Miss H. Malony, Mr. Anandi Persad Dubé, Mr. Musseldan, Mr. O. Reynell, Mr. Begnell, Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, Mr. D. P. Arseculeratne (Ceylon), Mr. Sinha, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

MR. THORBURN, before reading his paper, said he would like to explain that he was not an expert, only a "man in the street," and chiefly interested in the Fiscal Question because he was deeply interested in India. All that he had attempted to do in this short paper was to bring together facts and arguments, which were accessible to everyone, bearing upon the probable position of India should this country adopt Protection. He had also ventured to draw what appeared to him to be an unavoidable conclusion from those facts and arguments. Personally, he regretted that conclusion, because all his life he had believed himself to be a Fair Trader, and even now, were it possible to devise a strictly limited and properly safeguarded scheme of Protection for some of our industries, he would welcome it, provided that it was drawn up on absolutely business principles, and, above all, was just to India. Amongst the silt brought down by the rivers of fiscal oratory and literature which had inundated the country during the last twenty months, there were to be found as many traces of India as of radium in the sea. Take, for instance, the speeches of those two great statesmen, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain. It was while speaking in Edinburgh in October last that Mr. Balfour discovered that there was a

Fiscal Question connected with India. He then promised us a conference with the Colonies, and tacked on to that promise "and with India." On the previous Thursday, when speaking to his constituents in East Manchester, he had taken the precaution to draw up his fiscal ideas on half a sheet of notepaper, which sheet would be historical, and while mentioning the Colonial Conference, he ignored India. Not until a few weeks ago did Mr. Chamberlain discover India, when speaking at Preston, and then he only mentioned it when directly challenged, and said, with reference to the alleged injustice of our treatment of India, it was "a question of morals," and, further, that he was confident he should be able to arrange a tariff under which this country would take more of the products of India, and India more of the products of this country, in substitution for those which she now takes from foreign countries. Totalling up the words spoken by Messrs. Balfour and Chamberlain, it would be found that, out of a million words, fifty had been thrown to India. But, after all, India was the greatest asset in our Empire. Were we to lose India, we should lose our Empire and half our trade, and should gradually sink down into a position but a little better than that now occupied by Holland; whereas were we to lose our Colonies, our strength would hardly be impaired. So deeply did he feel the necessity of our being just to India that, in the coming elections, he personally would be prepared to give his humble vote and interest on behalf of that party—be it Radical, Conservative, or Labour—which would pledge itself to give India fiscal autonomy, a right possessed by the smallest of our Colonies, with a white population no larger than that contained in any ten acres of this city (London); whereas India, a continent with a population larger than that of Europe, has no such right, and is treated by us as our "tied house."

The paper was then read.*

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT thanked Mr. Thorburn for sending him a copy of his paper beforehand, but regretted that even with this assistance he was hardly able to understand the purpose of his title, or what fiscal measure he proposed. The title of the paper was "The Place of India under Protection," yet Mr. Thorburn told them that Protection for India would be impossible, and wound up by saying that he could not conceive of any statesman or any party in England agreeing to it. In his opening remarks Mr. Thorburn went more clearly for Protection than was to be understood from reading his paper, because he had told them that he would refuse to give his vote to anyone except those who would advocate complete Protection for India in respect of its own industries, and in that case he feared that Mr. Thorburn's vote would remain unpolled. Mr. Thorburn, in his description of England's past policy with regard to India, condemned it very strongly as wholly selfish, and spoke of the thralldom under which India had been held by our manufacturers, and of the injustice of not allowing India to have a free hand in the establishment of her own tariff. But it seemed to him it was never wise in any case of historical criticism to apply to the conduct of affairs in a past century—or even a past half

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

century—the sentiments of moral principles prevailing at the present time. He did not think anybody could read the history of our relations with India without feeling that the greater part of what Mr. Thorburn had said was undeserved. No European country, he said, would have treated one of its dependencies better than we had treated India. But though it might be thought now that our policy had been selfish and unwise, it was not considered selfish and unwise at the time, and he would appeal to Lord Reay to say whether, if comparison were made of our treatment of India with the treatment of Java by the Dutch, we should suffer by the comparison. To one passage in the paper serious objection must be taken by anyone conversant with the facts. Speaking of the gradual reduction of import duties until they were almost entirely abolished in 1879, Mr. Thorburn said : “Struggle as she (India) might for considerate treatment, she was as a child in the grip of a giant.” To speak of the reduction of import duties as having been due to want of consideration for India was unjust and mistaken. That reduction was carried out under the commanding influence of Sir John Strachey. He was at that time in close communication with Sir John Strachey, and he knew there was nothing further from his mind than the idea of being influenced by party politics or influences from at home. He was consumed with an absorbing passion for the good of the country, firmly believing that what India chiefly wanted was cheap food and cheap clothing, and he was of opinion that a step would be taken in that direction by wholly abolishing the import duties. Sir John might have been wrong, and he might have thought too much of the consumer and too little of the producer ; but however that might be, no one was entitled to cast a stone at him as being wanting in consideration for the people of India. As to a system of financial tariffs, he failed altogether to appreciate the line of thought in Mr. Thorburn's mind. He did not seem to have realized the way in which a system of this kind would operate. They had read that morning of the German commercial treaties conceding, in return for the raising of the import duties on grain, the right to levy higher import duties on the manufactures of Germany. The preferential tariff system, he imagined, would act in precisely the converse way. The representatives of any two countries would consider what mutual concessions should be made, and what either could give to the other without suffering any loss which would not be compensated by benefits. Mr. Thorburn complained that so little had been said about India in this discussion on preferential tariffs, but that probably was due to the fact that the people who were most concerned in it, who had given special attention to the proposal so far as it concerned India, had been to a certain extent snuffed out by the disapproval of the Government of India. That seemed to him to show that, though the idea of a preferential tariff might be a thoroughly fair and just one, if the countries concerned did not see their way to striking a bargain, *cadit questio*, and the thing was at an end. With regard to the scheme he had put forward in the *Empire Review*, Mr. Thorburn opposed it, as he understood, principally on two grounds. One was that, though the tariff manipulation proposed would certainly promote British trade, it would only do so at the expense of India.

He could not think how Mr. Thorburn could have written that sentence, having already told them that the abolition of the heavy duties on tobacco, tea, and so forth, would be a benefit to the country. He thought what Mr. Thorburn really meant was that, whilst such tariff manipulation would certainly benefit both Indian and English industries, it would do so with a certain degree of risk as regards India—a risk which weighed so heavily on the Government of India that they thought it closed the possibility of all discussion. That risk, however, seemed very much less serious to the financial member of the Council, Sir Edward Law, and in the paper referred to, he (Sir Charles) had attempted to show how extremely unlikely it was that foreign countries would put on such hostile tariffs as would prohibit the imports of articles on which a large proportion of their population were dependent, either for consumption or for manufactures. With regard to Mr. Thorburn's other objection, that the benefit to be conferred on India was very small, he quite agreed that it would not be very great, and his scheme was never put forward with the assertion that it would do anything very considerable towards promoting Indian industries, but he thought it went considerably further than Mr. Thorburn admitted. As to tobacco, for instance, Mr. Beighton, in an excellent paper read before the Association at the previous meeting, had dealt with the prospects of the extension of tobacco cultivation, and pointed out that both the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco might be improved with immense benefit to India if a fresh market could be found by the reduction of the duty in England. Then with regard to tea, Mr. Thorburn maintained that the only effect of the abolition of the duty would be to benefit a handful of Anglo-Indian planters; but what did he say as to the hundreds of thousands of coolies who were engaged in producing tea in parts of India which had previously been jungle, and were now centres of habitation? Was there nothing to be said for the benefit accruing to them from having been taken from the crowded districts of Bihar and the Upper Provinces and this new employment having been found for them? It was surely a mistake on Mr. Thorburn's part to decry that because benefit was also conferred on a small number of planters. What Mr. Thorburn had said reminded him of the attitude of some Indian papers towards the Dufferin Fund. Disregarding the medical benefits conferred on women and children these writers attacked the fund because it afforded employment to a number of English and Eurasian women. "It is not unlikely," said Mr. Thorburn, "that India will block the way against any common scheme of tariff revision"; but there could be no such common scheme, as all tariff revision must be confined to the two contracting parties, and each system of tariffs would stand or fall separately. A preferential tariff would be a different thing with India from what it would be with Australia, South Africa, or Canada, as a preferential tariff must vary according to the differing conditions of trade of the countries concerned. But though he differed so much from Mr. Thorburn in many points, he agreed with him heartily in his desire to encourage diversity of occupation in the passage in which he said: "To give the real 'India' that variety of livelihood without which, in spite of roads, railways, and irrigation canals, scores of millions

must suffer at short intervals from the effects of scarcity and famine, she must have flourishing home industries." Ever since the report of the Indian Famine Commission of 1898, in the writing of which he had some part, he had never ceased, in season or out of season, to preach that as the great panacea against famine and the great source of the prosperity of the country ; but it must come slowly and by gradual and painful efforts, mainly on the part of the people themselves, and not to any great extent on the part of the Government. He saw no royal road to attain that end, and he did not think Mr. Thorburn saw any either. Possibly Mr. Thorburn would advocate a rigid system of Protection as the royal road, but the idea of such a system being allowed was really outside practical politics ; and even if the results desired could be obtained by Protection, it was to be feared that as much injury would be produced by the establishment of that system as benefit created.

MR. BEIGHTON said that when he read Mr. Thorburn's paper he felt the same doubt as Sir Charles Elliott had just expressed as to Mr. Thorburn's own standpoint with regard to Protection. He was very much in the same position as prominent members of this Opposition, who found themselves quite unable to understand Mr. Balfour's attitude towards fiscal reform. When Mr. Thorburn spoke of the advisability of giving help towards "the protection of young industries," he appeared to be a fiscal reformer of a quite advanced type ; but the whole of the last portion of his paper consisted of an argument that fiscal reform was impossible in India, because of the selfish sacrifice of the interests of India to those of Lancashire by successive English Governments. A great deal has been said of the despatch of Lord Curzon's Government on the "Question of Preferential Tariffs." He thought this despatch had been somewhat misunderstood, and that it did not contain the wholesale condemnation of the modification of Indian tariffs which had been attributed to it. He would, at any rate, like to draw the attention of the audience to a sentence in the second paragraph of the paper which he thought of great importance : "A reference to the terms of the resolution in question shows that the recommendation in favour of preferential tariffs was of an extremely general and indefinite character, and that it was hedged round with qualifications and provisos calculated to admit of almost any limitation, variation, or exception when applied in practice to the conditions of any particular Colony. There is nothing before us in the nature of a definite scheme on the suitability of which to Indian circumstances we can pronounce with confidence." Lord Curzon goes on to observe on the difficulty of determining on *a priori* grounds the practicability of a "general policy not clearly defined" ; but, having regard to its importance, "we consider that the attempt should be made." Surely it was obvious that this introductory observation, which indicated clearly the difficulties felt by Lord Curzon's Government in examining an abstract policy with no definite data and no scheme before them, necessarily detracted very greatly from the value of the conclusions to which they had come, which could not have any finality. He thought also that, for a similar reason, the present debate, unlike those which usually took place at the meetings of the East India

Association, was of rather a shadowy and academic character. The discussion was, in fact, premature. Before they could come to any conclusion as to the suitability of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to India, a definite scheme, or at any rate certain definite proposals, must be laid before them. This could not possibly be formulated until after the Conference with the various Colonies had met and come to some decision. Before the Conference met, at which no doubt India would be represented, he trusted that Lord Curzon's Government would appoint a Commission, consisting of eminent financial experts, as well as representatives of the principal industries of the country, with power to call witnesses and take evidence. Until this was done, no conclusion could be arrived at as to whether tariff reform on a considerable scale was practicable or desirable.

There was much in Mr. Thorburn's paper with which he found himself in agreement, although he thought the persistent attack on the Home Government went altogether too far. He quite sympathized with Mr. Thorburn in his reference to the treatment of Indian immigrants into the Transvaal and Natal, although he must confess—he hoped Mr. Thorburn would forgive him for saying—he could not see what this subject had to do with Tariff Reform. The subject of the Indian coolies was constantly cropping up at the meetings of the East India Association, like the head of King Charles I. in Mr. Dicks's memorial. Notwithstanding the constant complaints against the Home Government which pervaded the earlier part of the paper, and the Cassandra-like prophecies that the interests of India would never receive adequate consideration, there was a sudden *volte-face* towards the end of the paper, in which the lecturer said that the “era of unjust mandates probably ended in 1894,” and from that time India had been treated with fairness. In a previous page Mr. Thorburn had actually expressed satisfaction with the present cotton duties, in which he (Mr. Beighton) could hardly follow him. The paper was a most perplexing one, and, he ventured to think, was in some respects self-contradictory. He thought that public opinion in India, as becoming a more potent factor every year; the voice of India, as represented in the recognised organs of public opinion, received constantly wider recognition, and it was exceedingly unlikely that India, though she might never become the absolute mistress of her own fiscal destinies, would ever again see her interests sacrificed to those of the mother-country.

Sir Charles Elliott had anticipated what he had intended to say about the extraordinary observations of Mr. Thorburn as to the tea-planters. As he had repeatedly observed on public platforms, he thought the tea industry one of the most beneficent enterprises in India. But, apart from this, how could the tea industry be placed upon a different footing from other commercial enterprises where the interests of capital and labour must be more or less identical? The prosperity of the employer would be reflected in the higher wages of labour, or in the increased number of hands to whom work could be given. As he had stated at the outset, though the discussion was, he thought, premature, he would make one or two observations in which he thought some readjustment of taxation could be made in certain articles even under the existing fiscal conditions. Mr. Thorburn

had spoken of the taxation of Indian tobacco in England. He was well under the mark when he said it amounted to 250 per cent. of its value ; it was more like 500 per cent. In his recent paper on tobacco, as some of the audience would recollect, he had advocated a rebate in England owing to the greater weight of Indian tobacco than that of other kinds, and he strongly advocated a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty, such as existed in 1862, on imported manufactured tobacco in India. These changes could be carried out without infringement of the present fiscal principles, and would bring a contribution of Rs. 10,00,000 (10 lacs) to the Exchequer. Then, again, as the able writer in the *Times* on Indian affairs had pointed out a short time ago, there was nothing contrary to the canons of Free Trade in putting an export tax on commodities of which the exporting country is the sole producer. The Governor of India's despatch contained a list of articles of which "India enjoys a practical, if not an absolute, monopoly," the value of which amounts to 16½ millions sterling, including jute, indigo, til, myrabolam, and opium. These could all bear an export duty, and when the sum so obtained was added to the 10 lacs, which he had ventured to suggest could be obtained from the enhanced duty on imported manufactured tobacco, a considerable amount would be available for the reduction of the salt duty—the most indefensible of all the burdens on the population of India.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said he only rose to say a few words, as the Chairman had asked him to do so, for his views were entirely in accord with the conclusions of the paper, and the opinions arrived at by the Government of India. He might claim to have anticipated those opinions, because in his letter of resignation a year and a half ago, which he wrote before he had received the opinions of the Government of India, he put in the forefront of his reasons his firm belief that no system of preferential tariffs or of retaliation could do otherwise than injure India's commerce. That opinion had been strengthened by everything that had passed since. People were, perhaps, a little too apt to look at this Tariff Question simply from the commercial side. Trade was, no doubt, an instrument by which the different parts of an empire would be bound together, but could only have that operation if its regulations were just, prescient, and unselfish. If the fiscal policy should be narrow and selfish, the operations of trade would be not towards consolidation, but towards disintegration. The policy of preferential tariffs and retaliation was based upon selfishness. The object, as he understood it, of tariff reformers was to prevent manufactured goods from foreign countries coming to this country, as everything that came in in the shape of manufactures from foreign countries took away from the employment of people here. But was that an argument which could bind together? If the argument was sound as regarded Great Britain, it was sound as regarded every separate fiscal entity, whether Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or India. We were to give preferential treatment to the Colonies because they had adopted a protective tariff to keep our goods out of the country. To allow India to adopt a protective system under which she would be in as favourable a condition to bargain with England as the Colonies was certainly not to be allowed, and therefore

at the very outset, attention was called to the fact that India, being dependent, could not adopt that system which allowed the Colonies to claim preferential treatment. There was one part of the Government despatch to which no one had as yet alluded—viz., the effect that these proposals might have upon the national Exchequer. The position of India was a very remarkable one, because her agriculture and her fortunate conditions of climate and soil enabled her to produce very cheaply a gigantic amount of food and raw material, and it was never necessary in India—excluding, of course, Burmah—to import food from outside even in the worst of times. The price of food had always been so low that it would not pay as a commercial transaction to import food. Her ability to borrow money from this country for the purpose of improving railway communication had increased the quantity of raw material she could export, of which this country could not take much more than one-fourth, and the excess she sold to other countries. Every year the balance of trade between England and India was against India, inasmuch as we exported to her more goods than we imported, and every year she had to meet heavy obligations to this country, and this she effected by her sales of raw material to other countries. Just conceive what the effect would be if, by a clumsy effort to improve our fiscal system, we upset this great system. Every obstacle placed in the way of India selling her raw produce to this country would increase the amount of raw produce she would have to send abroad in order to pay her debt; and when it was considered what a frightful financial earthquake the inability of India to pay her debt would cause, even the most ardent fiscal reformer would, he thought, hold his hand before he had fully mastered the intricacies of international exchange. Mr. Thorburn had done but scanty justice to the motives which prompted the Government of India and the Government of England in their policy of abolishing the cotton duties. The three people who were responsible for that were the late Lord Salisbury, himself, and Sir John Strachey. In the presence of this distinguished gathering of Anglo-Indians, he would say unhesitatingly that Sir John Strachey was the ablest finance Minister India ever had. The idea of Sir John Strachey truckling to anybody when the welfare of India was at stake would be dismissed offhand by anybody who knew him. Sir John Strachey was of opinion that it was for the benefit of India to make India a free port, and he thought he was right, looking at the matter from the Indian point of view. Lord Salisbury and himself had to look at it from the English point of view. So long as there was perfect equality of treatment, as between two great industries situated in the same empire, no bad political feeling was raised, but the moment tariffs were introduced political complications arose. The duty in favour of India was only 5 per cent., but that 5 per cent. gave India an advantage over Lancashire. Supposing the case of two brothers, one with a mill in Lancashire and the other with a mill in India: the latter would have an advantage of 5 per cent., which was not very much. But what happened? Every Indian influence, including members of the native ports, clamoured and put pressure on the Indian Government to keep the 5 per cent. on; the Lancashire members here were imploring Parliament to get rid of that

5 per cent., and nothing in the whole course of his political career had impressed him more with the danger of this kind of tariff obstacles, and the bad feelings they created, and the disintegrating effect they had. There was nothing he looked back to with greater satisfaction than his having been able to get rid of that trouble, and to put the competitors on terms of equality. And what was the result? That cotton difficulty being at an end, when the famine broke out there was no part of England which subscribed so liberally as Lancashire, the competitors of the Indian manufacturers. He thought England might fairly say that in her treatment of India she had throughout been actuated by high and unselfish motives. They might have been wrong, but nobody who had been long at the India Office could come to any other conclusion than that England had treated India more generously than any other country had treated any dependency or colony. The one desire throughout had been to award her just and fair treatment, and, by bringing India into contact with the accumulated hoards of wealth in this country, to accelerate her progress and develop her industries.

MR. FRANCIS SKRINE said that the controversy as to India's status was the veriest hair-splitting. She was neither a dependency nor yet a colony, but an integral and indispensable factor in the British Empire. Her happiness and loyalty were far more important to us than those of any of the ring of republics which we fondly styled Colonies. Time was when we governed India by strictly commercial standards—when full play was given by our forebears to the “knavery and strength of civilization,” denounced by Erskine during the impeachment of Warren Hastings. That the old leaven had not yet disappeared was shown by the “mandate” of 1894. The speaker was glad to hear from Lord George Hamilton the secret history of that despatch. While the Government stood absolved of truckling to Lancashire, the fact remained that the “mandate” profoundly shook the confidence of Indians in British justice.

The East India Association was inspired by broader and less selfish considerations. It regarded Englishmen as trustees for the good government of India, and in its eyes the starving hand-loom weaver of Bengal ranked with the cotton princes of Manchester. Now, everyone was agreed as to the duty of India's rulers to relieve an overtaxed soil by promoting manufactures. The lower classes were admirably adapted to the factory system, and if India had been given fair play she would long since have been self-supporting in the supply of all necessities of life. What were the facts? Cotton goods accounted for more than a third of her imports. In 1903-1904 she sent us £16,000,000 worth of raw cotton, and bought from us nearly £20,000,000 worth of piece goods. Did such a state of things commend itself to common-sense?

Indians were no longer inarticulate. There were many thousands who could think and speak for themselves, and Mr. Skrine ventured to aver that if the educated classes were polled, they would be, to a man, in favour of Protection, not only against foreign countries, but against the United Kingdom itself, which had killed indigenous industries by the score. Looking at India's sea-borne trade from another point of view, it was a signifi-

cant fact that only 27 per cent. of her exports went to the United Kingdom. Again, they consisted mainly of raw materials, which were necessary to England's existence as an industrial community, while the great bulk of Indian imports from the United Kingdom were manufactured goods. What fiscal advantage could we offer India which could compensate for the dislocation of her vast and growing trade with foreign countries? Sir Charles Elliott had suggested that the introduction of preferential tariffs in India would be a question of bargaining between the two countries. In view of the history of our relations with India, one might as well talk of a bargain between a wolf and a lamb! The speaker therefore heartily assented to Mr. Thorburn's conclusion—that India could not be included in any scheme of Imperial Tariff Reform.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that, although it was contrary to the usual practice of the East India Association to pass resolutions at their meetings for the reason that the majority of those present were not members, it had been thought convenient on this occasion to frame a resolution which might give greater force to their deliberations, and be laid before the Government for their consideration. To secure the necessary unanimity, he had divested the resolution of anything of a party or polemical character, and he trusted that representatives of the different lines of thought of the subject of Fiscal Reform might unanimously accept the declaration now laid before them—viz. :

"That the East India Association desires to record its unanimous opinion that in the Imperial Conference on the Fiscal Question about to be summoned by the Government, India should be assigned a place proportional to her importance in the Empire, and that her representatives should include independent and influential members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries."

If, as Mr. Thorburn had mentioned, Mr. Chamberlain in one of his speeches had declared that preferential treatment for India was chiefly a moral question, members of the East India Association would, he thought, be quite willing so to consider it, seeing that fiscal questions between India and England were to be regulated by justice, which represents the highest ethics, this justice being complicated by many conditions and obligations affecting the two countries. All that the East India Association desired was that justice should be weighed out to India in any discussion of preferential tariffs. His own opinion was in favour of the views which Sir Charles Elliott had put forward, which, he believed, would prevail with people who knew India thoroughly, and were most anxious for her interests. Nor did he sympathize with the nervous dread of inquiry which seemed to be so common, nor with the fear of reprisals from countries which could reasonably expect nothing else.

Mr. Skrine had deprecated the use of the word "dependency," but, after all, India was a dependency, and a just assertion of her rights was now becoming more important and urgent, owing to the greater burden which was every day being placed upon her of the frontier defence of the whole Empire. That was a constantly increasing burden, and there was

no reason to believe it was likely to diminish. Under these circumstances, every effort must be made to develop the internal industries of India. With regard to the interesting opinion on the Fiscal Question that had been recorded by the Government of India at Simla, it was given on a telegraphic demand, hastily and under great pressure of work, and he had some reason to believe that the Government themselves were conscious that the opinion was superficial, and were prepared to revise it. There was every hope that the rights of India would not be ignored in the future, as they had unfortunately sometimes been in the past, though not to the extent that Mr. Thorburn had said. He had every hope that when this question should be fairly threshed out between the two Governments, treating the two countries on equal terms, India would receive its full measure of consideration.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, in seconding the resolution, said he thought every member of the assembly would agree that India should be as fully represented at the Conference as the resolution proposed.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

LORD REAY said that no one could approach this subject without a very deep sense of responsibility, especially those who, like himself, had been closely connected with the question—a Governor of Bombay, having to deal with the trade of Kurachi, Bombay, and Aden—and it had given him great pleasure to find the policy of 1894, with which he was connected by association with Sir Henry Fowler at the India Office, approved by the lecturer. To do nothing in connection with this matter which could be in any way prejudicial to the interests of the 300 millions of their Indian fellow-subjects must be paramount to every other consideration, and his views as expressed here, or as he should express them in Parliament, did not therefore differ in any degree from the language he should hold if he were elected to one of the legislative assemblies of India. It was his firm conviction that any artificial trammels imposed upon Indian exports or Indian imports could only be detrimental to the trade and industries of India. No Protection was needed for the development of Indian industries. All the Indian industries wanted was the introduction of capital and the introduction of skilled supervision. They had in India a most important asset for the development of new industries—cheap labour. In addition, Indian industries were less exposed to the vicissitudes of English industries, such as strikes. There was absolute security for capital invested in India, and his own opinion was that nothing would be more dangerous than to introduce Protection, because sooner or later there would be a demand—perhaps at a critical time—to have these duties abolished. If Parliament determined that the duties ought to be removed, no Government could withstand the pressure, and in that case the condition of industries which had been artificially supported would certainly be precarious, and a financial crisis might be the result. With regard to imports into England, India, notwithstanding the high duty, which could not be permanently maintained, had almost a monopoly of tea, shared by Ceylon, and he would ask, therefore, What benefit would accrue from any preference being given to Indian tea? With regard to tobacco, he agreed that a readjustment of taxation

would be desirable, but, again, he did not see the necessity for any preference; and with regard to wheat, as had been pointed out in the despatch of the Government of India, the preference would be shared with the Colonies, and as regards India would have very little, if any, effect. Of rice, India supplies two-thirds of the demand in the home market. Raw materials exported from India obtain free entry into the more important foreign countries to the aggregate value of 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions, and this somewhat exceeds 25 per cent. of the whole volume of exports; and he would like to ask where the statesman was to be found, where the financier was to be discovered, who would be likely to enforce on India a system which would jeopardize this trade, this trade being, as Lord George Hamilton had pointed out, absolutely essential to India to enable her to pay her debts. They were always told, whenever the preference theory was started, that it would not lead to the imposition of high duties; but were they prepared for the very trifling profit which would accrue to India from that preference to jeopardize the export trade of India, to expose her to Retaliation (for he had not the slightest doubt foreign countries would retaliate), and thereby disarrange her whole financial and trading system? As to the very able minute of the financial member of the Council, it was, he thought, evidently inspired by a friendly disposition towards the preferential theory, and made the conclusion he was obliged to adopt all the more effective. It was important to notice that the Government of India were more decided than their financial colleague, and very explicitly stated their opinion as to the impossibility of adapting the preferential system to India, and he could not conceive that the Government of India had come to that conclusion without great deliberation. There was an element in the discussion which was very seldom mentioned, though an element of very great importance—namely, shipping; and he thought if the representatives of that enormous interest were consulted, it would be found that they did not wish any interference with their trade, and that they considered that any artificial impediment to the freedom of the import and export trade would be detrimental to their prosperity. The shipping interest, however, had not been wholly overlooked, as there were some very interesting observations with regard to freights in the minute of the finance member of the Government of India. He would be the first to accept any means which could either improve the industrial situation of India or could cement the bonds which united us to her; but it was his firm conviction that any attempt to create artificial links between our trade and manufactures and the trade and manufactures of India would inevitably have the effect of producing friction rather than of tightening the friendly relations existing between the two countries. India should be allowed to buy in the cheapest market, and to sell in the dearest market. The purchasing power of the natives of India was very limited. He thought the Government of India were well advised when they warned the home Government against entering upon this new policy, which might involve India in a “set-back to her trade, her revenues, and her credit,” after “ten years of effort, sacrifice, and perseverance,” in which “a fair measure of public confidence in the stability of her finance has been slowly built up,”

and that Lord George Hamilton was absolutely justified in the policy he adopted, and from it he hoped his successors would not deviate.

As it was now 6 p.m., and the discussion was still unfinished, the meeting broke up, and Mr. Thorburn had no opportunity for reply. He writes: "I think in the address itself answers will be found to most of the criticisms. What I chiefly urged was that if this country adopts Protection, she cannot justly refuse it to India. All the speakers agreed that India must have justice, but no one explained how she could hope for it unless given a free hand in tariff matters. Without such freedom, the wolf would leave little for the lamb, as Mr. Skrine amusingly put it. As to Free Trade or Protection being better for India or any country, doctors differ. Each country must decide for itself the most suitable commercial policy in its own interests. There is force in the dictum that one man or country may be wiser than any other, but not than all others; if so, where does the wisdom of Free Trade come in, seeing that all the world is Protectionist but ourselves?"

The following letter has been received since the meeting was held :

I gladly seize on one passage in Mr. Thorburn's most instructive paper, which might well be engraved over the portals of the India Office—viz., that "*the taxation of salt is economically indefensible.*" The case is really worse than that, for it is also *morally* indefensible, but one must be thankful for small mercies in the way of admissions.

What sort of trade freedom do we grant to India, after all? She cannot have free trade in salt, the most necessary of all commodities, and her people must "die like flies" because she is not allowed to keep her army within reasonable bounds, or even to raise a revenue by the legitimate means of an import duty on cotton goods. Is Lancashire cotton a necessary of life to the people of India? On the contrary, the home-made cotton goods, even if somewhat dearer in money price and not quite so well finished, are probably more durable, and therefore cheaper in the end.

Of course, it may be said that the people of India are not *compelled* to buy English goods, and there is actually a movement on foot for encouraging the use of home-made goods of all kinds and boycotting Lancashire cottons, which may yet come to something, but it requires some assistance from the tariff. In the same way in this country no one is *obliged* to drink foreign wine, and I would respectfully suggest to the tariff reformers that they should devote some of their superfluous energy to establishing a boycott against foreign wines in general, and champagne in particular. Unless such foreign wine is undoubtedly superior, as to which I am not concerned to express any opinion, there is no reason why the British public should not confine itself to British wines from purely patriotic motives. I dare say they would be quite as good for them in the long-run, especially if it ended in their giving up all wine, as it probably might. So, again, the people of India *might* boycott English salt; but if it is both cheaper and better they are not likely to do anything of the kind, and it ought to be our first object to make it as cheap as possible, and so get rid of the reproach that we

sacrifice perhaps a million lives a year (I don't guarantee Mr. Váman Bábaji Kulkarni's figures) for the sake of 5 millions a year.

I do not feel competent to discuss the general question, but I can never believe that restrictions on trade and much more vexatious Customs duties are likely to increase the bulk of it.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

THE POSITION OF INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO THE FISCAL QUESTION.

The following letter has been sent by the East India Association to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, and has been duly acknowledged :

WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS,
3, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
March 14, 1905.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,

By desire of the Council of the East India Association, I have the honour to forward for your consideration the following resolution of the Association, passed at a meeting on the 30th January last, to consider the position of India with reference to the fiscal question now under discussion.

On the motion of Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., seconded by Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., a resolution to the following effect was carried unanimously : The East India Association considers that, in the proposed Imperial Conference on the fiscal question about to be summoned, India should be assigned a place proportional to her importance in the Empire, and her representatives should include independent and unofficial members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. W. ARATHOON,
Honorary Secretary.

The following is the correct report of Colonel C. E. Yate's observations in the discussion at the meeting of the East India Association, on Tuesday, December 13, 1904, on the paper read by Sir W. Mackworth Young, entitled the "Progress of the Punjab" (see our last issue—January, 1905—pp. 169, 170):

COLONEL C. E. YATE said that, not having been in the Punjab Administration, he did not come within the category of those qualified to speak; but when he heard Sheikh Abdul Qadir bemoaning the loss of the power of appeal on the part of the inhabitants of the new North-West Frontier Province, he felt bound to express his dissent with such views. In his opinion the curtailment of this power of continued appeal in judicial cases was one grand hope of salvation for the frontier tribesmen, and if any justification for the policy of the separation of the frontier province from the Punjab could ever be required, this very curtailment of appeals would of itself amply suffice. He would also beg the audience well to consider the weighty words that had fallen from Sir James Lyall as to the inapplicability of the laws and codes of what might be called a regulation province to the people of the wild tract now known as the North-West Frontier Province. Sir Lepel Griffin had indeed told them that the prosperity and progress of the frontier tribesmen depended upon their retention in the Punjab; but, considering the vast disparity between the Punjabi and the frontier tribesmen, he was of opinion that the prosperity and progress of the tribesmen was just as likely to be increased under the present administration, which was able to concentrate its whole efforts on their needs and wants, as under the Punjab, if not more so.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

THE VALUE OF THE RUPEE.

SIR,

Under the heading of "The Value of the Rupee" there is an article in the *Friend of India* of November 3 last, in which certain opinions contained in an article of mine in your issue of October last* are found fault with as most extraordinary, etc.

In its anxiety to find fault and to prove itself right, that journal clearly contradicts itself in first saying that the payers of the old taxes, or, rather, of such of them as are fixed sums of rupees, have had to make good in its entirety a deficiency arising from the fall in the intrinsic value of the rupee, which the Government must otherwise have met by imposing new taxes, and subsequently acknowledging that extra taxation has not been imposed. The question thus arises: "How, and from what source, has the deficiency been made good by the taxpayers?" They pay the same number of rupees as before, and, to use the *Friend of India's* own words, "it cannot reasonably be said that the aggregate burden of taxation has been increased." How, then, has the deficiency been met?

I have maintained, and still do so, that it has been met out of the profits of merchants, foreign as well as English. How were the rupees required to pay for exports from India found? They were found in the days before the present currency policy was invented by bullion being paid into the Indian mints, and rupees being paid out minus mintage charges. By that policy the coinage of rupees was stopped, and fewer rupees thus being available, they became less plentiful and dearer. The difference had to be paid for, and could only be met out of the general profits of

* See article "Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India," pp. 309-322.

trade or by taxation, for there were no other sources, and as already stated, the people of India were not taxed with a view to such payment.

The value of the rupee in India has not been depreciated, for it buys as much Indian merchandise as before. It is only when it has to be sent out of the country, being weighed against gold for that purpose, that it fetches less gold than previously. An Indian purchaser has only to provide more rupees if he buys imported goods valued in gold. This hoarded wealth in silver has, therefore, not depreciated, unless he wishes to exchange it for the latter or to pay for goods valued in it.

In the same article the *Friend of India* meets my arguments in favour of the export of surplus produce from India by saying that an overwhelming weight of authority proves that the value of that produce, if not exported, but left for consumption in India, would diminish, and the people would be able to buy and pay for more for their own consumption. I admit that locally and temporarily this might be the result, but as the value of such commodities is not regulated as a whole by the laws of local demand and supply, their general value in the world would soon restore the balance, and they would be wasted if not allowed to circulate.

The hoarded wealth consisted of silver bullion in the shape of silver ornaments, and cannot be said to be depreciated as long as it will exchange for an equal weight of the same metal. This has nothing to do with its value as current coin—*i.e.*, as capable of purchasing Indian commodities—any more than the English silver coinage is depreciated because its value as bullion is far less than its nominal currency value. The Indian rupee, under the present circumstances of a large supply of silver in the world, is similarly a token coinage, and as far as the internal commerce of India is concerned, maintains its token value. The position of the Indian taxpayer is not affected, but anyone dealing with him from outside has to pay more or

rather dearer rupees, which he can to that extent make him pay for by charging him more for imported goods valued in gold, but no more, for at that point he is met by foreign competition. He must make his profits out of the trade conducted under these circumstances, and can make no more, for there is no other source open. Is it not clear that, if it were not for the extra cost of procuring rupees, the merchant would make as much more profit, and consequently pay for the increased currency rupees out of the general profits of his trade, which are by so much reduced by the invention of the new currency policy?

A. ROGERS.

March, 1905.

CHINA AND TIBET.

I have pleasure in replying, to the best of my ability, to the Rev. J. D. Bate's courteous letter on pp. 179, 180 of your January issue.

As to the word *Sinim*, which occurs in Isa. xlix. 12, as Mr. Bate states, it has never yet been ascertained what exactly this word may mean, beyond that it is an ethnico-territorial designation. Mr. Bate adds: "But all recent scholarship inclines to the opinion that *China* is the 'land' alluded to, and still more that the word 'China' is etymologically akin to 'Sin,' the form, in the singular, of this word *Sinim*."

"All recent scholarship" is rather a vague term. I gather, however, from inquiry made, that Sir Henry Rawlinson is certainly not one of the alleged recent scholars. Whoever the recent scholars may be who believe this strange thing, I shall, if they will oblige me by stating the evidence on which they believe, have great pleasure in disproving the genuineness of such supposed evidence.

I speak above only of the identity of *Sinim* with *China*. But I quite agree that the various Western forms—*Shina*, *Tsina*, *Thina*, and *China*—may very likely be etymologically connected with the *Ts'in* dynasty of China (B.C. 213),

or (more likely, I think) with the Tsin dynasty of China (A.D. 300-400). Hence my remarks (often made by me during the past thirty years) to which Mr. Bate takes exception in the letter just cited.

E. H. PARKER.

18, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool,
February, 1905.

BRITAIN, RUSSIA, AND JAPAN.

SIR,

The finding of the North Sea Commission bears out the opinion I expressed under the above heading in your January number*—that diplomatists like ours, instead of carrying matters to extremes in their clumsy way, would have done best to profess themselves satisfied at once with what Russia offered, and make a show of taking it for granted that the guilty would be punished.

It will be remembered that the most strenuous apologist of the Ministry, the *Daily Telegraph*, was up in arms when first the wisdom was called in question of submitting our national honour—categorically declared by Mr. Balfour at Southampton to be involved—to the judgment of foreigners; it pronounced that even to suggest the possibility of a verdict adverse to this country being found, in the teeth of the overwhelming evidence available, was “not only to strike at the root-principle of the Hague Convention, but to proclaim that all diplomatic relations are a ghastly mockery.” And when the Commission began its sittings, the same paper thus pictured the sequel to such a verdict: “Courts of inquiry will lose all prestige and confidence, and will cease to be effective substitutes for the brutal and inhuman arbitrament of war. The clock of civilization and progress will have been put back, the hopes founded upon the institution of the Hague Convention will be quenched for at least a generation, and perhaps for ever.” The inference it wanted people to draw from all this *reductio ad absurdum* was plain: since such things could not be, the

* See pp. 180-183.

Government had done perfectly right to appeal to the Hague.

The event has woefully falsified the *Telegraph's* estimate of the redress to be obtained in the manner laid down there, for, as the *Figaro* points out, "the labours of the Commission have ended merely in the confirmation of the offer of compensation made by Russia in October," while the verdict, in the words of the *New York World*, "is really a vindication for the Russian officers." The net result, moreover, is the international decision that a foreign belligerent is at liberty to come out of his course into waters under our protection, right up to a fleet of vessels at their usual anchorage, to make every preparation for giving battle in their midst, and even, it would appear from the very ambiguous expressions used, actually to open fire among them if the slightest excuse is forthcoming. The safety of our merchant marine, the main thing at issue, has been given away in the name of the Hague Convention; and, to add insult to injury, we are expected to consider the decision in our favour, because on some entirely secondary points, such as Admiral Rojdestvensky's failure to inform us of the damage done, he has been mildly remonstrated with.

As for "the prestige of arbitration in general, and of the Hague Convention in particular," no wonder "doubt is felt" at Vienna, as the *Morning Post* correspondent there writes, "whether this demonstration that international verdicts under the auspices of the Hague Convention can be trimmed to spare political susceptibilities will contribute towards increasing" the weight and influence of international tribunals!

R. G. CORBET.

March, 1905.

THE HON. SIR LEWIS TUPPER, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., ON
LITERATURE.

Sir Lewis Tupper, as Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, delivered an admirable address at the Convocation held on December 23 last on "The Study of Litera-

ture." His important observations—specially addressed to students who had passed their degrees—were upon the various developments of Western literature, but he made the following very suggestive remarks in reference to the study of Sanskrit literature :

"Sanskrit is eminently an original literature. The Vedas may stand midway between an Indo-Iranian period and that of classical Sanskrit, and in Sanskrit literature it is possible that traditions and ideas may have been carried on from a time when Persians and Indians were still one people.* But Sanskrit literature has had a development entirely its own, and, as compared with the literatures of the West, in this resembles Greek literature only. I am aware that it has been suggested that the great Indian epics were affected by the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' and that the Indian drama owed its origin to the representation of Greek dramas at the Courts of Greek Kings in Bactria, in the Punjab, and in Gujarat ; but the better opinion seems to be that there was no such connection in either case.† Pythagoras and some other early Greek philosophers, the Neo-Platonists and the Christian Gnostics,† may have owed much to the East. But of Sanskrit literature and Greek literature I think this at least may safely be affirmed—that they owed no considerable part of their texture and colour to any other literature whatsoever, and that they were not profoundly influenced in form and idea by any previous or foreign intellectual force, as Latin literature was influenced by Greek literature, and as modern European literature as a whole has been influenced by Greek and Latin literature combined. If this view is sound, then it surely has a certain scientific importance. If in the growth of intellect, as in biology, there is an analogy between the development of the individual and the evolution of the race, then the study of the early beginnings of literature and, later on, of its

* For the subject discussed in this paragraph, see "A History of Sanskrit Literature," by Professor A. A. Macdonell, pp. 7, 55, 56, 408-427.

† Macdonell, pp. 422, 423.

truly spontaneous elaboration, should contribute to that reconstruction of psychology, with the aid of evolutionary theory, of which there are at present many signs in the philosophic world."

THE FOURTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

This Congress will be held in Algiers, beginning on April 27, and ending about May 4 next. The subjects of papers are arranged under the following heads : (1) India : the Aryan and Indian languages ; (2) Semitic languages ; (3) Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages ; (4) Egypt ; African languages ; Madagascan ; (5) and (6) the East and Far East ; (7) Archæology—African and Mussulman art. There will be delegates or representatives from almost every country in Europe and the United States of America. For minute information regarding places of meeting, routes, and charges, communications should be addressed to the Secretariat of the Organization, 46, Rue d'Isly, Algiers. The Congress is under the distinguished patronage of the Governor-General and Deputy Governor-General of Algeria. The President of the organization is the well-known Orientalist, M. René Basset.

In our July issue there will be a full and interesting report of the Congress by our distinguished correspondent, Professor Montet, of Geneva.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PLANTATIONS OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

In our last number we announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had come to a decision with regard to the establishment of schools for the children of Tamil immigrants employed on Ceylon plantations. This included the starting of central schools where convenient, and it was understood that a strong hint would be given to the planters that, unless they took steps to establish voluntary schools, the local Government would feel compelled to consider the advisability of starting schools near the refractory estates, to which the owners thereof would be compelled to contribute. In British Guiana it is made a penal offence for a planter to employ an illiterate child, so that the planters naturally put

every facility in the way of the children learning to read and write. Moreover, no child under the age of nine may be employed, whereas in Ceylon children of six years are sometimes seen at work.

In answer to a question in Parliament early in March, Mr. Lyttelton announced that a further delay has taken place in the carrying out of the reform which has been so persistently advocated by Mr. A. G. Wise in our pages and at public meetings in London. The Governor of Ceylon has informed the Colonial Office that he has appointed a special Commission to deal with the whole subject of coolie education on tea estates. This is somewhat surprising, as only a few months previously Mr. Lyttelton stated that there was enough information to enable him to come to a decision, and it is not quite clear, therefore, why the authorities on the spot require further particulars in addition to the numerous and voluminous documents, official and other, which have lately been prepared on the subject.

Mr. Wise has been pressing for a similar reform on Indian plantations, especially in Assam. Lord Curzon has, it appears, recently furnished a report, in which he says special inducements are to be offered to the parents, so that they may send their children to school. What the nature of these inducements is has not, however, as yet been made public. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, M.P., has been asking questions on the subject in the Imperial Parliament.

* * * * *

Mr. Brodrick has lately transmitted to the Government of India a suggestion by Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, M.P., that proper means be adopted to furnish vernacular primary education for the children employed, or resident upon, tea-gardens in Assam. The coolies so employed are mostly aborigines from a distant country—Sontals, Hos, Kols, Mundaris, and others of a similar type. They have no written language of their own, and, if instruction is to be imparted to their children, it could be only through the medium of the Assamese language. There would probably be little difficulty in obtaining suitable Assamese teachers. The question has been brought at various times before the Planters' Association, but no serious attempt has yet been made to provide any adequate, or systematic, education for this class. These immigrants are mainly recruited from the aboriginal tribes in Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces, and although they go to Assam nominally for three or five years, more than one-half (from Chota Nagpur, at least) do not return, but settle down in Assam. In some cases the planters have encouraged the establishment of schools on their estates. It now remains for the Government of India to give active encouragement to this reform, care, however, being taken to provide such a simple course of instruction as will not unfit the coolie from following an avocation for which this primitive, simple, and ignorant folk are well fitted. Their market value, it may be added, does not exceed from four to six rupees per month. There are 637,153 coolies employed on the tea-gardens, of whom 242,198 are children. In connection with this subject may be quoted the words of Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces of India,

who thus states the cases : "What it is most desirable to give the son of an actual cultivator is ability to read and write sufficiently, a knowledge of arithmetic, *after native methods*, such as will enable him to follow his accounts with his shopkeeper and landlord, some familiarity with the manner in which his rights and liabilities are recorded, and such general development of his intelligence as will result from the use of judiciously-framed readers, and perhaps some simple object lessons." Any more ambitious scheme applied to plantation labourers would doubtless be fraught with danger and ultimate failure. In Ceylon, at least, the curriculum at the grant-in-aid schools has been, perhaps, of too elaborate a character, and will probably, in the near future, be made simpler, and better adapted than is the case at present to the needs of the Tamil coolie population. That the parents in India have not shown a very great anxiety for this reform should not deter the Government from making facilities for education (in the vernacular) more generally available to the masses ; the whole subject resolves itself chiefly into a question of expenditure.

* * * * *

The following is reported in the *Times* of March 21, 1905, p. 7, col. 4. Replying to a question put by Mr. Schwann in the House of Commons on the previous evening, Mr. Lyttelton said : "The Governor has found it desirable to appoint a Commission—(a) to consider how the suggestions of a Committee appointed in 1901 can be given effect to ; (b) to suggest any other practical means of meeting the cost of elementary education ; (c) to deal with the question of coolie education and grouping estates, for school purposes. The members of the Commission are : Mr. Wace, Government agent, Central Province ; Mr. Harward, Director of Public Instruction ; the Rev. H. Highfield, Principal of the Wesley College ; Mr. D. B. Jayatilleke, Principal of the Ananda College ; and Mr. T. C. Huxley, planter."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, MCMIV.

1. *The Sikhs*, by GENERAL SIR JOHN J. H. GORDON, K.C.B., with illustrations by the author. A well-written and fascinating work. The author truly states that among the various visitors to London at the celebration of the Coronation of the King, the appearance of the Sikhs was conspicuous—"tall, bearded, dignified-looking men, intelligent and keen observers." Half a century ago they were foes worthy of our steel. They belong to a brave and martial race. General Gordon has given a short and most interesting history of their origin and religion. The Sikhs, once our enemies, are now one of the most loyal and hearty subjects of our rule in India. The illustrations are numerous and well executed. The author states that the Sikhs are no longer illiterate, as they were in the old days, when they despised the pen and looked on the sword as the one power in the land. Now they see that the pen is sometimes the more powerful of the two, and at least that education does not weaken the hand that wields the sword. Though nominally a minority—a powerful one—among the mass of the population of the Punjab, which, in fact, is more Muhammadan than Hindu, they are socially and politically of the highest importance, as they constituted the dominant class at the time of the annexation, and still form the great majority of the gentry in the regions of the Five Rivers. Their military aristocracy supply the Indian Army with excellent officers. Hence the importance and interest of General Gordon's narrative.

2. *The Outskirts of Empire in Asia*, by the EARL OF RONALDSHAY, F.R.G.S. This is a painstaking book of travel, and, interesting though it is, the wearied reader cannot help wishing it had been compressed into a smaller compass. The writer is too fond of words. He cannot speak of George III., but of "his most gracious Majesty King George III.," and the result is over 400 pages of solid letterpress, which few will care to commence, though the book will be found to be filled with valuable statistics when read.

The countries bounding India and its neighbours, and Russia and its dependencies, have been the scene of the author's travels. From Constantinople we are led through Cilicia—which, he says, is wonderfully well developed considering that it suffers every disadvantage of Turkish rule—to Aleppo, then down the Tigris to Baghdad. He points out the necessity of Britain controlling the country from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf, and discusses fully and fairly the question of the Baghdad railway, warning the reader strongly against Germanophobe feeling in England. He proceeded through Persia, and here he gives interesting glimpses at the sculptures at Tak-i-Bostān and the Bisitun inscriptions, and a full account of "Persia in 1903" with the anti-British "tariff reform" there. At Baku he touched

Russian territory, and saw the wealth of the oil-fields, and gives full and valuable statistics to show the magnitude of the oil trade, and then proceeds by the Transcaspiian railway to Bokhara. Old Bokhara is well described, and the horrors of its prisons, before the Amir was left with only nominal independence by his Russian friends, touched upon. Samarkand is next described, and the journey to Semipalatinsk by *tröika*. A chapter on Kulja gives scope for an account of the Russian intrigues with Tibet under the Buriat Dorjjeff, of which we have heard so much lately. Central Siberia and Tomsk are treated of, and at the latter place the author was shown the house—now a shrine—where the Siberians believe the Tsar Alexander I. lived and died long after his reputed death in 1825. The drunkenness of the Russians is insisted on, and a somewhat pessimistic view is taken of their chances of improvement in this respect. The Siberian railway next comes under review, with the Russian occupation of Manchuria and the gradual acquisition of Niuchwang. An able account of the position of Britain, contrasted with that of Russia, in Turkey, Persia, Tibet, and the Far East, is given, and in his "Last Words" the author points out the British policy of guarding and strengthening the countries in the neutral zone between the Russian and British spheres of influence; the advantages of making railways therein for trade purposes, and the necessary increase of British influence in Southern Persia. The three chapters on sport—"Among the Ibex of Turkestan," "After Wild Sheep in the Siberian Altai," and "Sport in Mongolia"—will be of interest to every sportsman.—F. S.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1904.

3. *Europe and the Far East*, by SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. Cambridge Historical Series, 1904, 8vo., 450 pp. This is a valuable and well-written account of the negotiations between the West and the Empire of China, which makes it easy for the reader to trace the gradual steps by which China has ultimately been forced to recognise the nations of Europe. China, commencing with the idea that it, as the "Middle Kingdom," was suzerain of the world—an attitude which its less civilized neighbours were quite ready to adopt—has only admitted the equality of other nations when forced to do so. In early times Western travellers in China were comparatively numerous. The Polos in the thirteenth century were followed by priests and traders, until the Ming dynasty, by its hostility to foreigners, completely closed the country. The Portuguese were the first to enter it, and in 1537 settled at Macao, and even planned an invasion "for the glory of God." This did not occur, however; but their priests began to teach with varying successes and vicissitudes. The Manchu dynasty on its rise favoured them, but grew unfriendly later, though the Jesuits enjoyed the protection of the Emperor K'anghsi. The Russians also, in the seventeenth century, tried to obtain entrance to China from the north, but on their trading facilities being refused, confined themselves to a steady policy of aggression in Siberia. The Dutch, in 1626, took Formosa; then the English appeared on the scene, and gradually a colony of foreign traders settled at Canton, always disliked by the

Chinese, granted no rights, and oppressed by the *hoppo*, or chief of the Customs. The constant oppressions only differed in degree, until, in 1792, the successes of the East India Company induced them to send Lord Macartney on a mission to China, and by refusing the *kolow* he made some impression of the power of his nation. Lord Amherst's mission of 1816 had less success, and the campaign against the importation of opium into China—which the author thinks was a genuine movement—added new elements of hatred against the foreigners, and eventually, in 1840, the first war between Britain and China began. When this ended in 1842, it left the British as recognised equals, with the island of Hong Kong ceded to them, and five ports opened for trade; and then America, France, and other European powers, profiting by Western success, also made treaties with China favourable to themselves. The question of admission into Canton led to the second Chinese war, in which Britain was joined by France, and aggravated by the Chinese imprisonment of the envoys Parkes and Loch. It ended by the occupation of Peking and the destruction by the British of the Summer Palace. So well did the Russian, Ignatieff, at this time play the part of *amicus curiæ* to China that he gained for Russia the whole coastline of the province of Primorsk. The Taiping rebellion, though suppressed by Gordon's help and Li Hung Chang's treachery, did not dissipate the hatred of foreigners or stop missionary riots, though at this time the Customs service in their hands was greatly improved.

The opening of Japan formed a new element in Eastern politics, and its awakening from its long sleep is admirably narrated by Dr. Prothero in his contribution to this book, "The Revolution in Japan." The outbreak of the China-Japanese War in 1894 caused in China the recognition of the complete equality of foreign powers, and a general desire for learning became prevalent. Railways and telegraphs were then constructed; but in 1889, following on the intention to exclude Chinese emigrants from Australia and America, anti-foreign riots broke out, and many missionaries suffered. In 1891 a fierce attack on the missions again began, and many lives were lost in the Yangtze Valley. Throughout the book we think the author favours the missionaries a little unduly. The Chinese have always been tolerant, and he quotes an edict of the Emperor Taokwang (1821-1850), which runs: "All religions are nonsense, but the silly people have always believed in ghosts and after-life; therefore, in order to conciliate popular feeling, we are disposed to protect every belief, including Christianity, so long as there is no interference with the old-established customs of the State." The aggressive conduct of the Roman Catholic missions has always given offence, nor can we think that all the publications of the "Christian Knowledge Society," which he cites, however much they may have enlightened China, have made for religious or civil peace.

The question of mastery in Korea led to the war with Japan in 1894 (its alleged barbarities on both sides are glossed over), which ended in the complete victory of the latter. The iniquitous and furtive chicanery of Russia deprived the conqueror of Liaotung, and paved the way for the present Russo-Japanese War. Real reforms, urged by K'ang Yuwei and others, were then favoured by the Emperor, who was therefore suddenly

superseded by the redoubtable Empress Dowager. The Boxer reactionary society appeared, and the murder of missionaries began *con amore*. The siege of the Peking Legations followed, and their relief being coupled with the unfortunate reprisals and the massacre of Blagovestchensk, tarnished European reputation sadly. This excellent book ends with the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902, and it contains chapters showing how China has in turn lost the suzerainty of Burma, Annam, Sikkim, and Siam, besides having learned, by sad experience, the power of the Western peoples.—F. S.

IMPRIMERIE DE LA MISSION CATHOLIQUE (ORPHELINAT DE T'OU-SÈ-WÈ)
CHANG-HAI, 1905.

4. *Synchronismes Chinois: Chronologie complète et Concordance, avec l'Ère Chrétienne de toutes les Dates concernant l'Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient (Chine, Japon, Corée, Annam, Mongolie, etc.)*, 2357 av. J.-C.—1904 apr. J.-C., par LE P. MATHIAS TCHANG, S.J. This magnificent work, containing well over 500 pages, is indeed a *vade-mecum* for those who are compelled to consult the Chinese histories in translation. One of the chief defects in the books on China put together by "arm-chair" sinologists in Europe is a lamentable shakiness in dates; but, with the assistance of Father Tchang's lucid dynastic tables, it will now be possible for "specialists" who do not know Chinese to wield the scissors and paste-brushes with renewed vigour and dreadful accuracy; and not to tell us, as a recent writer on Tibet has done, that the Emperor K'ang-hi organized that country four years after his own death. The cyclic and (adjusted) Gregorian dates are given for a round period of 4,000 years, and the reigning Chinese or Tartar Emperors are ranged in parallel columns along with the Japanese, Annamese, Corean, Hunnish, Turkish, or other outlandish monarchs of the Chinese system, who, during the course of 4,000 years or more, may have been revolving round the Son (or Sun) of Heaven at the same time. The writer of the present notice has already made similar comparative studies on his own account, and for this reason may possibly be able to perceive one or two slight inaccuracies (more especially in Turkish affairs) which have excusably escaped the penetration of the learned Jesuit. He refrains, however, from pointing these out in detail—at all events, until the "arm-chair" gentlemen shall have carefully copied them, when it will be his privilege and delight to "jump upon them," tear them, and rend them in due form.

The price of this splendid and laborious work is \$8.00 (Mexican), or, at the present rate of exchange, about 15s., and the book is well worth it; in fact, it is, from every point of view, "epoch-making," and no sinologue—"arm-chair" or otherwise—should be without it.—E. H. PARKER.

5. *Calendrier-Annuaire*. This important work of 218 beautifully printed pages has not attracted the general attention justly due to it. Besides giving us a compendious comparative Chinese and European almanac, the learned Jesuit editor avails himself of the multifarious labours of his

distinguished *confrères*, and tells us almost everything about China that can be put into tabulated form. For instance, barometrical pressures, tides, moon's phases, provinces, population, temperatures, weights, measures, distances, sun's declination, mean and local times, dates, cycles, seasons, celestial movements, feasts, eclipses, occultations, planetary aspects, sunrise, sunset, altitudes, solar system, zodiacal lore, sidereal tables, earth's measures, degrees of arc, comparative time, geographical positions, floods, freshets, metric tables, converted tables of all nationalities, speeds, forces, magnetic charts, compass errors, areas, money values, exchange tables, sundials, 4,000 years of cyclic dates, B.C. and A.D.; post-offices, consular posts, foreign officials; treaty ports in China, Japan, and Corea; trade values and tables, revenue, meteorological registers and stations, tariffs, international posts, telegraphs, maps, charts, railways, missions (Catholic and Protestant), great events 1903-1904, typhoons, weather-charts, proverbs, and folk-lore: and all this for the petty sum of one Mexican dollar—say 1s. 9d. It is the most valuable Chinese statistical publication procurable, and may justly be styled the “Chinese Whitaker.” Every intelligent China merchant should order a copy to be sent home on the first day of each year.—E. H. PARKER.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY; SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.,
1904.

6. *For Christ in Fuh-Kien*, being a new edition (the fourth) of the story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the Church Missionary Society. The first edition of this well-known and interesting history appeared in 1877, written by Mr. Eugene Stock. Five years afterwards Mr. Stock partly rewrote the history. Since 1890, when the third edition appeared, the work of the Mission has rapidly increased. Hence the present and fourth edition. In 1890 the number of baptized Christians was 4,163, now they number 10,385. Communicants were 2,267, now 4,297; Chinese ordained men were 8 and unordained agents 224, now there are 15 ordained pastors and 224 other agents. In 1903, 998 adults were admitted by baptism; in 1890 the number was 196. In 1904 there are more than 10,000 baptized native Christians, besides 1,600 catechumens. In consequence of this remarkable progress, the present edition has been remodelled and almost rewritten. The volume also contains numerous illustrations of interesting objects.

CLARENDON PRESS (HENRY FROWDE); OXFORD, 1904.

7. *India*, by COLONEL SIR THOMAS HUNGERFORD HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., etc., with maps and small diagrams, “The Regions of the World” series, 8vo., 375 pp. A descriptive geographical work which is pleasant to read is not an easy thing to procure or construct, and Sir Thomas Holdich is therefore to be congratulated on his success in the present volume. In his short preface he intimates indeed that he was “carefully warned against statistics and details,” and for more exact figures than he cites refers the reader to Sir W. W. Hunter’s monumental “Imperial Gazetteer of India.” In spite of this, however, the ordinary reader will find this book very

sufficient for his needs. It commences with a review of early India, and speculates upon the early geological changes and the Jurassic connection between India and the African continent. To this succeeds the tale of the slow growth of Western knowledge of India, first by the invasion of Alexander the Great, and then by Muhammad Kasim ten centuries later. The map of the Indus Valley of Ibn Haukel (A.D. 943-976) shows the gradual—if slight—diffusion of knowledge; but the West really knew little of India until the Portuguese voyages were followed by Dutch, French, and British ascendancy. An admirable geography of the frontier, partially derived from the author's unpublished notes, follows, divided into chapters. The first is on Baluchistan, the feudal tenure of which is well described, and the superiority of the Baluch to the Pathan is insisted on. Next comes Afghanistan, in which one is struck by the decadence of many cities—*e.g.*, Ghor and Ghazni—and the variation of old trade routes, and one notes that in this country the Helmund district remains still partially unsurveyed. The ethnographical difficulties regarding the Pushtu-speaking Afghan, who claims to be of the Ben-i-Israel, are touched but not pronounced upon; and the Mongol Shias—the Hazára tribes—are thought to be cognate to the Ghurkas. The magnificent country of Kashmir and the Himalayas next falls under review. That the isolation of Nepal since 1816 has kept it unexplored, so that even the routes are little known, is pointed out, and the importance of the hill-stations is fully recognised. Chapter V. deals with the geography of the rest of the peninsula, and is followed by that of Assam, Burma, and Ceylon, which the author rightly holds to be a geographical part of India. The author thinks that in the Burman the Mongol element has been much modified by contact with the Aryan Hindu, and finds it difficult to place the position of the Mongoloid wild tribes, like the Kachens, Katchyens, and Karens. To "The People of India" is given a fascinating chapter, which shows clearly the extraordinary variety of race and the difficulty of race classification. Chapters on agriculture and revenue, political geography, railways and climate, follow, and the whole work is interspersed with admirable maps, diagrams, and illustrative charts. It will be of use to everyone interested in India, and it finishes with an excellent index.—F. S.

8. *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect.* These two noble volumes (III. and IV.) complete the Coptic New Testament noticed on pp. 200, 201 of our issue of July, 1898. They contain, respectively, 633 and 590 pp. The third volume is preceded by a critical description of the original MSS. of all the Scripture-books from ROMANS to REVELATION—the half of the New Testament with which these two volumes deal. The said "description" is, in fact, an elaborate and profoundly learned treatise, and fills 68 pp. of close print in small type. The original Coptic MSS. contain marginal notes of much value (historical, critical, etc.), many of which are in the Arabic language. These notes are all transcribed and embodied in the footnotes in the work now under notice, and they extend throughout the four volumes. We have here, as in the previous brace of volumes, the Coptic text on the one page and the English translation thereof on the opposite page, the work throughout.

The footnotes contain, *inter alia*, numerous references to the original Greek MSS., and this according to the designations of those MSS. which have come to be universally recognized among Biblical scholars. Besides the said references, there are also the "Variæ Lectiones" and numerous citations. The high standard of literary workmanship, to which reference was made in our former notice, is, in these closing volumes, well maintained. Of the manner in which this great enterprise has been carried through we find it impossible to speak too highly. The printing, binding, and arrangement of material are all of a very high order. It is a work for the learned, and, as we believe, it places the Coptic text of this portion of the sacred Scriptures on a sound footing for all time. Beyond this we have nothing to add to the notice already alluded to of the earlier volumes. If the Old Testament Scriptures in the Coptic language could be edited and printed in this same thorough-going style of workmanship, the boon would be great to the Coptic community, and the work would surely be hailed with delight by Biblical scholars, Jew or Gentile, the world over.—B.

LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1904.

9. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. GIBB. This is Vol. III. of the great work which Mr. Gibb did not live to finish, but the carrying forward of the enterprise has fallen into good hands—those of Dr. E. G. Browne, a gentleman who has for many years past maintained a front-rank position among distinguished Orientalists. The volume consists principally of a translation into English of the poems of the Sulaymānié period and of the mid-classic age of the Turkish poets. This is followed by specimens of the poetry of the *late*-classic age in two chapters. Then, in an appendix, we have analyses of eight Turkish romances. The whole of the work is in English. No part of the original text is given, excepting the "first lines" of the poems translated in the volume.

The style of English is so perfect that the work may be ranked as a classic. The critical faculty is disarmed and soothed to rest. It is a pure pleasure to read such a work. Nor can we speak too highly of the method pursued by Dr. Browne in transliterating Turkish names and other words. The distinction between similar Arabic consonants is well marked, as also is the quantity of the vowels and the method of indicating the guttural letters. These, which may be described as the pitfalls and strategia which waylay the transliterator, are, with but few exceptions, so admirably attended to as to leave nothing to be desired. Of the Turkish it may be said as of the Arabic, that it is a language in which it is almost impossible not to rhyme. It naturally *lends* itself to the art of the poet. This is the more remarkable in that this same statement could not be made regarding any other language of the Shemitic family than Arabic, though the same observation holds good, to a large extent, of Persian.

A great many valuable footnotes run the whole length of this work ; they are, mainly, critical and historical. If the readers of this work have already an interest in Islāmic literature, they will find it an advantage of great importance to a true understanding of the work. It is, in short,

a work for scholars rather than for beginners. If at the close of the series of volumes there should be a good index, guiding the student to the innumerable details embodied in the text and in the notes, it would obviously enhance the usefulness of the work, and would invest the whole subject with the fascination which belongs to it and with the interest which it is fitted to inspire.—B.

10. *Grammar of the Japanese Written Language*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT.; third edition, revised and corrected. The appearance of a third edition of this work (the first of which was published by the Phoenix Office in 1872) proves that the study of the Japanese language is on the increase rather than the decline, despite the fact that the Japanese themselves are mastering English with great success, and that most of the officers of H.I.J. navy and army make English a speciality. This new edition embraces the best information, and offers fuller explanation of many points of interest beyond other editions previously published.

In researching the pages, the student, however, will find it is a far more serious undertaking to learn to write than to converse in Japanese, if he aims at acquiring a refined and polite form of composition.

Mr. Aston's classification is excellent, his examples progressive. His additional chapter on "Prosody" throws much light upon the construction of poetry, from the simple thirty-one syllable *Hanka* and *Tanka* to the more elaborate methods of Oriental versification. By reason of this valuable addition, this Grammar should prove a handy compendium to "Japanese Literature" by the same author, for this last-named work embodies translations of many particularly charming specimens of Japanese poetry, ranging from the archaic period to that of the last century.

The chief difficulty to be overcome in studying Japanese is that confusion is often created through the introduction of Chinese words which have been incorporated into the language. These words, we are reminded, "far outnumber those of native origin"; but as the best literature of Japan is written in the ancient classical Chinese language, both must be studied at the same time. The task will amply reward all who aspire sooner or later to translate for themselves, for there is much that is beautiful as well as of historical interest, judging from what Mr. Aston and others have already deciphered.—S.

11. *Studies in Eastern History: I. Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I., King of Assyria about B.C. 1275*, edited and translated from a memorial tablet in the British Museum, by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. The present volume is of special interest. It is a memorial tablet of Tukulti-Ninib I., the grandson of Adad-Nivari I. It supplements our knowledge of the history of Assyria and its relations with Babylonia during the early part of the thirteenth century B.C. The limestone tablet from which the text is taken was made by the orders of Tukulti-Ninib I., who had buried it as a foundation memorial in or under the wall of the city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, situated near the Tigris, between Kuyunjik and Kal'a Sherkat. The text contains an account of the founding of the city by the King and the building of the city wall, preceded by

a list of the military expeditions which he had conducted up to the time at which the tablet was engraved. From these records we learn for the first time the extensive conquest which had taken place to the north and east of Assyria. The volume contains the text of the original, well printed, important appendices, and a copious index.

12. *The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana, with Dhanvin's Commentary*, edited by J. N. REUTER, PH.D., LL.D., Lecturer of Sanskrit in the University of Helsingfors. "The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana," belonging to the Sāma-Veda, consists of thirty-one Paṭalas, each divided, as a rule, into four Khaṇḍas: three Paṭalas form one Adhyāya. It is closely allied to the "Śrauta-Sūtra of Lātyāyana" (edited by Ānandacandana Vedāntavāgiṣa in the "Bibliotheca Indica"). The majority of the Sūtras are, indeed, identical with those of Lātyāyana, and in many cases only the distribution of the text on various Sūtras is different in the two works. On the other hand, there are many more discrepancies than would appear from the edition of Lātyāyana's Sūtras. The text of the present volume is accompanied by the complete Commentary of Dhanvin, compiled from fragments in various MSS. It is entirely independent of Agnisvāmin's Commentary on the Sūtras of Lātyāyana, and both will be found to form useful complements to one another whenever the two Sūtra texts agree. Dhanvin's Commentary claims special interest on various grounds.

The work is excellently printed in Devanāgarī type, the Sūtras in large type, accompanied by a Commentary in smaller type. Critical notes are added on the foot of each page, and full reference to quotations contained in the text and in the Commentary is given in footnotes.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W., 1904.

13. *An English-Persian Dictionary, compiled from Original Sources*, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E., His Majesty's Indian (Home) Service, translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili," editor of the miracle-play of "Hasan and Husain," etc. This, the second edition, is a great improvement on the preceding one. The adoption of a "v" in place of a "w" as an equivalent of the letter *ṡ* (vāv) will be welcomed, as it represents the true pronunciation by Persians of all Persian and Arabic words commencing with that letter, such as vādī, varzidan, vazir, vā kardan, vā māndan, valāyat, etc.; as a medial, darvish, never darwish or darweish, divān, duvist, duvum, javāb, navvāb, etc. Many additional words not to be found in the previous edition have been added, and last, but not least, there is an appendix, consisting of numbers, the Abjad-Siyāk, Persian money, weights and measures; names of persons and places, and a comparative table of the Muhammadan and Christian eras. The type, both English and Persian, is clear, and the volume is got up in the publisher's usual neat style.

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LIMITED; LONDON. E. P. DUTTON
AND CO.; NEW YORK, 1904.

14. *The Guide for the Perplexed*, by MOSES MAIMONIDES; translated from the original Arabic text by M. FRIEDLÄNDAR, PH.D. The second edition,

revised throughout. It ought to be stated that this translation of this work of the great Jewish theologian differs somewhat in its contents from the former edition. Wherein the difference consists, and what may be the advantage thereof, the reader will judge for himself from the translator's preface. All who are acquainted with any of the writings of Maimonides (such as his "Reasons for the Laws of Moses," or what not) will be sufficiently acquainted with his style of workmanship, his manner of teaching, etc. In these respects the present work differs in nothing from the rest. It is primarily and pre-eminently a work for the theological inquirer, Christian or Jewish. It consists, in great measure, of explanations of difficult passages of the pre-Messianic Scriptures. The explanations are for the most part of a critical and theological nature, and it is just here that the helpful nature of the treatise is felt. The work is divided into parts, the first of which contains seventy-six chapters, the second forty-eight, and the third fifty-three. In a work of such bulk (pp. 11 + lix + 397) there must needs be a good index, for the details are innumerable. In this work there are *seven* indices: one index of the Scripture passages cited in the work, another of the citations from the Targumim, another of those from the Midrashim, and another of those from the Talmúd; then there is an index of references made to other works of Maimonides, and another to works of science and philosophy cited in the course of this treatise, the rear being brought up by a "general index" of matters arranged in alphabetical order. These indices are as elaborate as anything of the kind we remember to have met with, and they are highly helpful and time-saving. Primarily it is a work compiled by a Jew for *Jews*; the Christian reader will not expect anything in the book different from what might have been expected from a Jewish theologian. Besides such help as the indices afford, there is at the beginning of the book a very full table of contents, setting forth the topics dealt with in the numerous chapters of the work. The treatise is preceded, as is most fitting, by an account of the life of Maimonides, and this is followed by an introduction to the subject of the treatise, "The Guide for the Perplexed." The biographical sketch includes a detailed account of the numerous literary enterprises of Maimonides. It does not, however, tell us much concerning the life-story of this most interesting man; the reason appears to be that very little is known about him. No good Boswell haunted his movements. Born at Cordova near the middle of the twelfth century of our era, he lived before the writing of biographies developed into the important branch of literature which we in these days find it to be. After all, the main thing is the *teachings* of Maimonides, and these the present treatise helps us to understand.—B.

SCHLEICHER FRÈRES ET CIE., ÉDITEURS; PARIS, 1904.

15. *Traité sur les Éléphants. Leurs soins Habituels, et leur Traitement dans les Maladies*, par Le Capitaine Vétérinaire, G. H. EVANS, A.V.D., Surintendant au Département Vétérinaire Civil de la Birmanie. Traduit de l'Anglais, avec Autorisation de l'Auteur par Jules Claine, Consul de France en Birmanie. This volume is a literal translation of Captain

Evans's unique work, and should prove most useful to those French colonies possessing elephants, and susceptible of employing them, and also to those who concern themselves with these interesting animals. There are seventeen chapters, and amongst the numerous subjects treated of are : gestation, diseases and their treatment, anatomy, etc. There are forty-one illustrations and eight plates, four appendices, and also a list of the principal works and periodicals which have been consulted.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; 15, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, 1904.

16. *The New Era in South Africa, with an Examination of the Chinese Labour Question*, by Violet R. Markham, author of "South Africa Past and Present." Portions of this book appeared originally in the columns of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, and some of the subjects discussed are : the present position, the task of repatriation, the land problem, the labour difficulty, the question of white labour and the Chinese solution, and finishes up with the prospects of trade and the natives and the Native Church movement. The writer on p. 31 says : "There can be no abstract enthusiasm in favour of the importation of Chinese workmen. Public opinion in South Africa was at first strongly opposed to any such action ; but since the pressure of hard facts has made it clear that the choice lies between imported labour and prolonged industrial and agricultural stagnation, public opinion has decided in favour of the former. The native will not work, and no one has suggested he should be coerced into doing so. The European, for a variety of reasons, economic and racial, cannot take his place. Hence, by a process of elimination, South Africa, slowly and unwillingly has been driven to adopt the one remaining alternative, unless she were to drift to the verge of bankruptcy." There are several appendices, containing a summary of the area and population of South Africa, East Africa, and German West Africa ; an estimate of the native population of South and Central Africa ; estimated labour requirements of the Transvaal ; and an analysis of the white and coloured population in the African Continent.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have received a specimen of a cover and page of a Kufic Quran, reproduced from the one written by the third Khalif, Osman (644-656), and now in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (edited by S. PISSAREF, Nevsky, 90, St. Petersburg). This facsimile edition has been made by authority of the St. Petersburg Institut Archéologique. The pages, to the number of 706, which have been preserved, are the exact dimensions of the original ($49\frac{1}{2} \times 67$ cm.), and reproduce perfectly the text and all the rich ornamentation in the same colours as the original. This MS. of the celebrated Quran of Samarqand is considered by Mussulmans the oldest. It was the object of great veneration, as, according to tradition, the Khalif Osman was beheaded whilst reading this volume in the bazaar. Traces of blood are still to be seen on the original. Historians fix its origin at the end or the commencement of the second century of

the Muhammadan era. The edition is printed on ivory paper, and consists of a limited number, of which twenty-five copies are offered for sale at 500 roubles each.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. ii.: "Mōn-Khmēr and Siamese-Chinese Families (including Khassi and Tai)." Compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1904.) The present volume deals with those languages of the Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families which fall within the limits of this Survey. The former are the oldest, and the latter are the latest, of the Indo-Chinese immigrants into India.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. iii.: "Tibeto - Burman Family." Part 3: "Specimens of the Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups." By the same author. The contents of this part were prepared by Dr. Sten Konow. The following groups are treated: Kuki-Chin, Manipuri or Meithei, Northern Chin sub-group, Central Chin sub-group, Old Kuki sub-group, Southern Chin sub-group, and Burma group.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. vi.: "Indo-Aryan Family." Mediate Group. "Specimens of the Eastern Hindi Language." By the same author. This volume comprises Awadhi, Kosali or Baiswari, Baghēli, Baghēlkhandi or Riwai, Chhattisgarhi, Laria or Khaltāhi specimens. There is also a map of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Eastern Hindi language. (The above volumes may be obtained from Edward Arnold, Maddox Street, W.; Constable and Co.; Sampson Low, Marston and Co.; P. S. King and Son; Luzac and Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.; Bernard Quaritch; Williams and Norgate, Oxford; and Deighton, Bell and Co., Cambridge.) These volumes are magnificent, and confer the highest credit and merit on the compiler, editor, and printer.

Archæological Survey of India. Annual Report, 1902-1903. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1904.) This fine volume is the inaugural issue of a new "annual." The great want that has always been felt by the general public was the publishing of annual volumes like those issued by the Egyptian Exploration Fund, which are issued periodically, and embody the results of the previous season's work. A good account is here given of the past year's conservation, exploration, and research work carried out by the Survey, particularly where monuments of world-wide celebrity are concerned. There are thirty-four fine plates, besides numerous illustrations, plans, and sketches, amongst which may be noticed those of the tomb of Sidi Sayyad's mosque at Ahmedabad (before and after restoration), the mosque at the Gol Gumbaz at Bigjapur, the Black Pagoda at Konarak, several monuments at Agra, the Qil'a-i-Kuhna Masjid at Delhi, restorations at Ajmir, the Mandalay palace, etc., etc.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, United Provinces and Punjāb, for the Year ending March 31, 1904. Part I. (Camp Branch, Government Press, United Provinces, September, 1904.) Also photographs and drawings referred to in the above Report. The amalgamation of the Archæological Circles of the United Provinces and

Punjab was effected in July, 1903, and this Report contains an interesting account of the work done. The photographs and drawings are very beautiful, well executed, and most interesting.

Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the Year ending June 30, 1904. (Government of Bombay, General Department, Archaeology.) This is the first Progress Report given in conformity with the instructions of the Government of India in 1903. It is divided into two parts: The *first* contains information and tables showing generally how the staff has been employed, a short diary of their tour, a statement of work done, and of conservation work carried out, also of museums and treasure-trove notes, and a programme for the coming season; the *second* contains descriptions of places and monuments visited, inscriptions thereon, and proposed conservation in each case.

Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1903-1904, with Supplement. Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1904. This valuable Report deals with Collegiate Education, Secondary Schools, Primary Education, Special Classes and Instruction, the Administration, miscellaneous information and appendices, giving in the form of tables statistics of the distribution of schools, attendances, and other details.

With the twentieth part *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, compiled by Mr. Bartholomew, and published by Messrs. Newnes, has been brought to an adequate conclusion. As a slight illustration of its magnitude we may mention that it runs into nearly 900 pages, and there are, in addition, no less than sixty-four maps, constituting a comprehensive atlas in themselves. Important as is the dictionary portion of the *Survey Gazetteer*, which consists of some 50,000 entries—some of them running into half a page, and all so concise as to contain everything that is essential for utility as a mercantile or scholastic book of reference—the appendix will probably be more frequently consulted than any other portion of the work. The appendices, which number thirteen, include a number of tables which have not, so far as we know, been hitherto published together in one volume. The moderate price of 7d. per part has placed the work within the reach of everybody.

Distracted Love, being the Translation of "Udbhranta Prem," by D. N. SHINGHAW, Member of the National Phonographical Society, London, etc. (Calcutta: *Weekly Notes* Printing Works, 3, Hastings Street.) The author, Chander Sekhar Mukerji, who is still living, wrote this charming little volume on the death of his beloved wife. The sentiments are gay and tender, mournful and reflective. There are also passages of rare beauty, and the pages are full of philosophy, poetry, wisdom, and man's hopes and despairs.

The Wisdom of the East Series. *The Religion of the Koran*, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E., translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili," author of an English-Persian Dictionary, etc., etc. (London: the Orient Press, 26, Paternoster Square, E.C.) This book contains extracts from the Koran taken from the translation by the late Professor E. H. Palmer, and published in 1880 in the Sacred Books of the East Series. To pious Mussulmans—

of whom there are 170,000,000 in the world—the Koran is the very Word of God, the true rule of life, and the source of all their hopes for the future. We can recommend the perusal of these extracts.

A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Part III. Key to the Exercises, with Notes on Analysis. Seventh Edition. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1904.) A very useful key to Dr. Pope's well-known handbook. It contains seventy-nine exercises, and Appendices on the Division of Time—Cycles, Months, the Week; also on Fractions, the Points of the Compass, and Tables of Relationship.

East of Asia, vol. iii., No. 3. (*North China Herald* Office, Shanghai.) This is a charming and most interesting number. The illustrations are beautiful. The contents embrace such subjects as: Chinese Customs connected with Births, Marriages, and Deaths; Curious Bridges in Interior China; Iu-i, or Sceptre of Good Fortune; Manchuria, the Coveted Land; the Province of Miao and Chungchia Tribes of Kueichou; Morning Walks around Hanyang; Pootoo, China's Sacred Plant. The letterpress is clear, distinct, and admirably executed.

Maitreyi, a Vedic story in six chapters, by PANDIT SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN. Reprinted from the *Indian Review*. (Publishers, G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) To understand the story, the reader has to transplant himself to Behar. The writer speaks of the ancient time when the materials were furnished for the composition of the Upanishads.

Rudyard Kipling, a criticism, by JOHN M. ROBERTSON, author of "Patriotism and Empire," with portraits of Kipling and Robertson. Reprinted from the *Indian Review*. (Publishers, G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) The writer considers that Kipling possesses "gifts of vivid visualization and tersely vivid expression."

The Son-in-Law Abroad, and other Indian Folk-Tales of Fun, Folly, Cleverness, and Humour, by P. RAMACHANDRA ROW, B.L. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras. The reader will be amazed by this short collection.

The Year-Book of New South Wales, compiled by the Editor of "The Year-book of Australia," for circulation by the Agent-General in London, Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., 1905. This pamphlet of 168 pages is a veritable mine of information concerning the State of New South Wales.

Yavandsatakam. Hundert Sanskrit-Strophen nach griechischen Dichtern, von Carl Cappeller. Beilage zum Oster-Programm der Pfeiffer'schen Realschule zu Jena (Jena, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, G. Neuenhahn).

We have received small reprints of several articles in the Smithsonian Report for 1903 from the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, viz.: No. 1,518, *The Evolution of the Human Foot*, by M. Anthony;—No. 1,528, *Problems arising from Variations in the Development of Skull and Brains*, by Professor Johnson Symington, M.D.;—No. 1,530, *The Excavations at Abusir, Egypt*, by Professor A. Wiedemann;—No. 1,531, *The Ancient Hittites*, by Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt;—No. 1,532, *Central*

American Hieroglyphic Writing, by Cyrus Thomas ;—No. 1,533, *Traces of Aboriginal Operations in an Iron Mine near Leslie, Mo.*, by William H. Holmes ;—No. 1,534, *Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by G. Ts. Tsybikoff ;—No. 1,536, *From the Somali Coast through Ethiopia to the Sūdān*, by Oscar Neumann ;—No. 1,537, *Primeval Japanese*, by Captain F. Brinkley ;—No. 1,538, *The Korean Language*, by Homer B. Hulbert.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine* ;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students ;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney ; *C. B. Fry's Magazine*, and *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, with maps and plans, edited by J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S., now completed (twenty parts) ;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.) ;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.) ;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) ;—*The Madras Review* ;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.) ;—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder) ;—*The Contemporary Review* ;—*The North American Review* ;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York) ;—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London) ;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.) ;—*The Canadian Gazette* (London) ;—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London) ;—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London) ;—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.) ;—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras) ;—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press) ;—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal) ;—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.) ;—*The Cornhill Magazine* ;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*, and supplement of March 1 ;—*The Pasteur "Cure" for Rabies* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.) ;—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström ; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden) ;—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19) ;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.) ;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.) ;—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C. ; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh ; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin) ;—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the

British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E., and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras). *The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *Japan: The Place and the People*, by G. Waldo Browne (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited);—*A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, by Percy E. Newberry, author of "Beni Hasan," "El Bersheh," etc., and John Garstang, Reader in Egyptian Archaeology, University of Liverpool, author of "The Third Egyptian Dynasty," etc.; also *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues*, by K. Asakawa, Ph.D., Lecturer on the Civilization and History of East Asia at Dartmouth College, author of the "Early Institutional Life of Japan," etc., with an introduction by Frederick Wells Williams, Assistant Professor of Modern History in Yale University, illustrated (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Limited, 16, James Street, Haymarket, 1904);—*The Ring from Jaipur*, by Frances M. Peard, author of "The Rose Garden," "Contradictions," etc. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904);—*Chandra Shekar*, a Bengali novel by the late Rai Bahadoor Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, C.I.E., translated by Manmatha Nath Ray Chowdhury, of Santosh (London: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W.C.);—*Indian Life in Town and Country*, by Herbert Compton, with seventeen illustrations (London: George Newnes, Limited, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.);—*With the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Great Pilgrimage of A.H. 1319, A.D. 1902*, by Hadji Khan, M.R.A.S. (special correspondent of the *Morning Post*), and Wilfrid Sparroy, author of "Persian Children of the Royal Family," with an introduction by Professor A. Vambéry (London and New York: John Lane, 1905);—*The Unveiling of Lhasa*, by Edmund Candler, author of "A Vagabond in Asia," with illustrations and map, second impression (London: Edward Arnold, publisher to H.M. India Office, 41 and 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, W., 1905);—*Rice Papers*, by H. L. Norris (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row);—*Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society*, fourth edition, with a map and illustrations (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1905);—*Hakluyt's English Voyages, selected and edited, with introduction, notes, and glossary*, by E. E. Speight, B.A., F.R.G.S., with a preface by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., President of

the Hakluyt Society and of the Royal Geographical Society, with illustrations and map by R. Morton Nance (London: Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, and 125, Fleet Street, E.C., 1905);—*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, by V. Kanakasabhai (Madras and Bangalore: Higginbotham and Co., 1904);—*Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sūdān*, by E. A. Wallace Budge, M.A., LITT.D., etc., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum (London: Thomas Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Limited, 1905);—*Vocabolario italiano-tigrai e tigrai-italiano*, by Alfonso Cimino, ufficiale coloniale (Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Co., di Bretschneider e Regenberg, 1904);—*Grammaire d'Arabe régulier*, by L. Galland, Capitaine d'Infanterie Coloniale, preface by Dr. E. Montet, Professeur d'Arabe à l'Université de Genève, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, E. Guilmoto, éditeur, 6, Rue de Mézières, et 26, Rue Madame);—*The Story of my Struggles: the memoirs of Arminius Vambéry*, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest, two volumes (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1904);—*The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, by Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., with portraits, etc., 8vo., two volumes (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.);—*The Story of an Indian Upland*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A., I.C.S., late Scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford, etc., with twenty illustrations and a map, and an introduction by the Hon. H. H. Risley, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Home Secretary to the Government of India (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, S.W., 1905).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—At the end of December last, Ināyat-ullah Khān, the eldest son of the Amir of Afghanistan, with a suite, arrived at Calcutta, and was received with great ceremony by the Viceroy in the throne room of Government House. He was warmly welcomed, and repeatedly expressed his delight at his reception. He left Calcutta on his return to Kabul on January 11, halting on the way at Agra and Rawal Pindi.

Lady Curzon, accompanied by Lord Curzon, arrived in Calcutta from England on March 5, and was accorded a splendid reception by all classes.

Lord Curzon declined to receive personally from Sir Henry Cotton a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Indian National Congress at Bombay, but received him as having recently occupied a high official position in India.

His Highness the Āgā Khan has been renominated a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Nawab Fath 'Ali Khan, Kizilbash, C.I.E., of Lahore, has been appointed an additional member of the Vice-regal Legislative Council.

Mr. Upcott, of the India Office, has been appointed chairman of the new Railway Board for India.

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the construction of three new huge canals in the Panjāb, one on the Upper Jhelum, one on the Upper Chenāb, and the third in the Lower Bari Doāb. The estimated cost is 782 lacs of rupees (£5,213,000). The total length of the three canals will be 2,714 miles.

In consequence of the failure of the rains over a large portion of Madras, considerable remissions of revenue will be necessary. The Madras revenue returns for December last show $6\frac{1}{2}$ lacs less than those of December, 1903, owing to the failure of the north-east monsoon.

A Chinese High Commissioner, Tang Shao-Yo, accompanied by a staff of fourteen Chinese gentlemen arrived in Calcutta in February to open negotiations regarding Tibet. The Chinese Government has no intention of replacing the present Amban.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan has given a grant of Rs. 30,000 for a reserve fund to the Islamia College at Lahore. This sum is distinct from the yearly allowance of nearly Rs. 8,000 already granted by him.

The Survey Committee, on completion of their tour in the United Provinces this month, will proceed to the Panjāb and Baluchistan.

The plague is raging with unparalleled intensity. The return of deaths in one week alone amounted to 35,000. The worst centres are the Panjāb and the United Provinces.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—There was some fighting early in January between the chiefs of Dir and Nawagai, the latter capturing a fort. A British movable column at Malakand was held in readiness to preserve the Chitral lines of communication. All is now quiet in the Bajour district. Waziristan, Kurram, Tirah, and the Khyber region—in fact, all the country beyond the Hindoo Koosh—have had a severe winter.

At Wana, on February 11, Lieutenant-Colonel Harman, in command of the South Waziristan Militia, was killed by a Mahsud *ghazi*, of the same corps.

A British force composed of cavalry and artillery, under the Political Officer of the Khaibar Pass, surrounded the village of Kaddam, near Jamrud, and captured Sahib Gul, a Khuki-khel who had been proclaimed an outlaw.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad entertained Sir David Barr at a farewell banquet on February 13 at his Falaknameh Palace. His Highness made a speech, in which he praised the great ability and courtesy of the retiring Resident. Sir David Barr, in reply, thanked His Highness for his sympathy, and summarized the improvements and advance made by every department of the State during the past five years. The new Resident is the Hon. Mr. Charles Stuart Bayley, C.I.E. At the Nizam's special invitation, Mr. G. Casson Walker, I.C.S., has agreed to remain for three years longer as Assistant Minister of Finance, subject to the sanction of the Government of India.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala has arrived in England with his sons, whom he will place in school.

BURMA.—Sir Herbert Thirkell White, K.C.I.E., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in succession to Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., who has been appointed a Member of the Council of India.

Mr. Berrington, Director of Indian Telegraphs, Traffic Branch, has been deputed by the Government to proceed to Shanghai to assist in the negotiations for the renewal of the Anglo-Chinese Telegraph Convention of 1894-1904, concerning which the Chinese Government had given notice that it desired to modify its clauses. It is hoped that the negotiations will result in better telegraphic communication between Burma and the neighbouring province of Yunnan, the line in Yunnan being generally in a deplorable state of repair.

CEYLON.—The revenue for 1904 amounted to Rs. 3,04,04,665, being Rs. 9,81,356 over the previous year.

The Colonial Office has sanctioned the loan of another million pounds sterling to complete railway and harbour works.

BALUCHISTAN.—The work of the Sistan Boundary Commission, as regards the demarcation of the Perso-Afghan frontier, has been completed, and the decision in regard to local irrigation questions has been given. The mission is about to return across the desert to Quetta.

AFGHANISTAN.—The British mission has been well received at Kabul.

His Highness the Amir has established a college at the capital, where 150 students, including his own sons, will be instructed on the lines followed in Indian institutions. His Highness has settled a handsome pension for life on the widow of the late Mr. Fleischer, and pensions until they are twenty-one on his two children. The cold has been very severe in Kabul and Afghanistan in general during the past winter.

The Amir has issued a firman with the object of inducing the fugitive Hazaras in Persia, Baluchistan, and India to return to their homes. The amnesty is to be in operation until next October, after which date refugees

will not be allowed to cross the frontier. The Hazaras will be installed in their own property if possible, otherwise they will receive allotments elsewhere. Those of Shaikh Ali Koh in no case will be allowed to return to their own lands, but will be sent elsewhere as a precaution against future trouble.

PERSIA.—In the annual administration report of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, it is stated that about six lacs of rupees were spent on capital account during 1903-1904 on the construction of the Central Persian telegraph line. The earnings amounted to Rs. 16,07,600, while the expenditure was Rs. 9,26,000. The net earnings were nearly Rs. 92,000 higher than in the previous year. This gives a profit of 4·97 per cent. on the capital.

The British-Indian commercial mission to Persia, which arrived at Kerman on December 17 last, proceeded afterwards to Bām, Narmāshir, Jirāft, and Rāni, and returned to Kerman on February 20. The mission returns to the coast viâ Yezd and Shiraz, arriving at Bandar Bushire about April 20.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Turkish Government have sent about thirty-two battalions of reinforcements to Yemen to suppress the insurrection there.

RUSSIA IN ASIA: TURKESTAN.—The Governor-General has issued a circular notice to the chief of the Transcaspian District, and to the military Governors of Sir-Daria, Samarqand, Ferghāna, and Semirechonsk districts, in which he reviews the history of the passport regulations in the Transcaspian region as affecting foreign immigrants from Native States on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkestan as well as from India. At the time when Turkestan was annexed to the Russian Empire the passport regulations of the latter were not held applicable to the newly-annexed districts. Provisional regulations were issued by the then Governor-General, whereby foreign immigrant natives were permitted to reside in the district on applying for passports to the local Governors instead of obtaining them from their own authorities through the intermediary of the Russian Consulates. These regulations were to remain in force pending their being embodied in a new Code. The latter, however, which was legalized in 1890, made no provision with regard to Turkestan, and on the question of its application to that district being raised in 1903, the late Governor-General decided that the Code was to have precedence over the provisional regulations; but in view of the special conditions subsisting in the district and absence of any explicit statement on the subject in the Code, the case was referred to the general staff, which has now forwarded its decision. It is to the effect that the Code regulations obtaining throughout the Empire are likewise to apply to Turkestan, and that any difficulties met with must be submitted to a preliminary consideration by the Governor-General.

The effect of this decision would be to make it obligatory for British Indian and other native subjects of countries bordering on Turkestan, on immigration to the latter, to acquire a passport signed by their own local authorities, with the visé of the Russian Consulate, before they will be admitted to enter or reside in the Russian Central Asiatic dominions.

CHINA.—A new council has been formed, composed of high officials

from the various Government departments, which will discuss matters of importance to the Empire, including foreign affairs. Its consultations will be conducted by correspondence, not verbally.

Tang Shao-Yo, special envoy for the settlement of the Tibetan question, has been appointed Chinese Minister to Great Britain.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.—The Japanese assaulted and captured on December 31 Sungshusan and 203 Metre Hill, thereby securing the command of the old as well as the new town at Port Arthur. On the evening of January 1, General Nogi received a letter from General Stoessel, in command of Port Arthur, proposing a meeting to discuss terms of surrender. This was agreed to, and the terms of capitulation were signed the day after. They provided that the whole fortress, with the ships, arms, and other property of the Russian Government be surrendered, and soldiers, sailors, and volunteers to be prisoners. The transfer of Port Arthur was completed on January 10, when 878 officers and 31,000 men had marched out with the honours of war. Of these 441 officers and 229 orderlies gave their parole and were allowed to go to Europe, whilst Generals Fock, Smirnoff, and Gorbatsky and Admiral Wilmann preferred to remain with the rank and file as prisoners of war in Japan. General Stoessel left Dalny for Europe on January 12. The following are some of the principal captures: Large and small guns, 546; ammunition (rounds) 82,670; rifles, 35,252; small-arm cartridges, 2,266,800; ammunition waggons, 290; transport waggons, 606; sets of harness, 2,096; horses, 1,920; battleships, 4, excluding the *Sevastopol*, which is sunk in deep water; cruisers 2, gunboats, steamers, and other vessels 30, besides 35 steam-launches. There were 15,000 sick and wounded in Port Arthur which were attended to and supplied with necessities by the Japanese.

Serious fighting took place at the end of January at Hei-kau-tai, on the Hun-Ho, the Russians taking the offensive. They were repulsed with great loss, estimated at 25,000; the Japanese casualties amounted to 842 killed and over 8,000 wounded.

The Russian forces on the Sha-ho River at Mukden and Tieling amounted to about 450,000 men. After a colossal struggle south of Mukden, lasting a fortnight, the Russian troops were compelled to retreat before the continuous assaults of the Japanese armies. They were dislodged from Ma-chun-tan, Huai-jen, and Likuan-pan, on the right bank of the Hun-ho. They evacuated the whole line of the Sha-ho and retreated northward to the Hun-ho, north of Mukden. The railway was cut, and Mukden itself occupied by the Japanese on March 10. The Russians then abandoned the Hun-ho line of defence, and being followed up by the Japanese, their retreat became a rout. It is estimated that they lost 500 guns and 200,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the shattered remnants of the Russian armies reached Tie-ling, still followed by the Japanese. Enormous numbers of trophies fell into the hands of the latter, 50,000 prisoners being taken, including Major-General Nakhimoff. The Japanese casualties from February 26 to March 11 amounted to 41,222.

The total strength of the Russian forces engaged in the Battle of Mukden was 300,000 infantry and 26,000 cavalry, with 1,368 guns.

On March 15 the Japanese attacked the fortifications of Tie-ling, but were repulsed at first by General Linievitch's troops, but captured the place and kept up the pursuit of the demoralized and exhausted Russians, who retreated in great disorder along the railway to Kirin. General Kuropatkin has been superseded at his own request, and General Linievitch nominated Commander-in-Chief in his place. The Baltic Fleet is announced to have left Madagascar for an unknown destination, and the Japanese Fleet to have passed Singapore to encounter them.

EGYPT.—The receipts for 1904 amounted to £E13,900,000, and the expenditure to £E12,700,000, showing a surplus of £E1,200,000 at the end of the year. The economies effected by conversion amounted to £E6,000,000. The General Reserve Fund showed a surplus of £E3,185,000. The Special Reserve Fund amounts to £E2,617,602, and, after deducting credits not yet spent, shows a surplus of £E1,861,890. The Public Debt was reduced by £E911,580.

It is reported that Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G., will retire from the post of Managing Director of the Daira Sanieh Company, and will be succeeded by Harari Pasha.

THE UPPER NILE.—The expedition under Major Boulnois, of the Egyptian Army, which had been sent to punish the cannibal Niam-Niams, has been entirely successful. The country is now pacified and order is assured.

ABYSSINIA.—The Emperor Menelik has granted a charter to the National Bank of Egypt for the establishment of a State Bank of Abyssinia.

TRANSVAAL.—At a meeting of Boers held in Pretoria during January, a resolution moved by General Botha was adopted, demanding full responsible government, and refusing to co-operate under any other form of government.

The ordinary revenue for the six months ended December 31 last amounted to £1,865,237. The ordinary revenue and expenditure of the Intercolonial Council for the same period was £1,246,890 and £1,219,138 respectively.

The value of the imports for the first eleven months of 1904 amounted to £12,436,903, as compared with £17,923,421 in the corresponding period of 1903. The Customs amounted to £1,511,955 and £1,906,037 respectively for the same period.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The Report of the Industrial Commission recommends that bonuses should be paid on wool, leather, preserving cement, tobacco, and pottery raised or produced in the colony. It also recommends the establishment of an Industrial Board.

At the opening of the Legislative Council on January 12, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, the Lieutenant-Governor, said that the agricultural prospects of the colony were unsatisfactory.

Three of the military stores at Bloemfontein were burnt down in February. The damage is estimated at £250,000.

The Lieutenant-Governor opened, on March 1, the railway connecting Bethlehem with Harrismith.

CAPE COLONY.—The revenue for the half-year ended December, 1904, was £1,167,327 less than in the corresponding period of 1903. The principal decreases were in railways and Customs.

The imports for the year ended in December last amounted to £21,863,340, as against £34,685,020 in the previous year. The exports, including Transvaal gold, amounted to £27,406,672, as against £25,714,440.

Lord Milner, who has resigned, has been succeeded by Lord Selborne as High Commissioner in South Africa.

The Bond Congress at Cradock has demanded an amnesty for rebels, a tax on diamonds, and further protection.

Visser, the last Cape rebel remaining in gaol, who had been sentenced for life for murder, has been released.

Parliament, which was opened on March 10, has promised the release of all rebels.

The estimates of expenditure for the financial year 1905-1906 show a decrease of £1,600,000, as compared with last year.

WEST AFRICA AND NIGERIA.—A large expedition of Southern Nigerian troops have proceeded through Guitsha, under the command of Major Moorhouse, who had with him twelve white officers and non-commissioned officers, 500 troops and carriers, and two maxims. The expedition has had to fight at several places, owing to the hostility of the petty chiefs of the interior towns.

Sir Frederick Lugard has been on a tour of inspection in NORTHERN NIGERIA, and has visited the districts south as far as Ibi and Yola. There is no punitive expedition in the country, but the strength of the recently-formed constabulary force has been increased, and is doing excellent work. In Bornu, Sokoto, and Kano peaceful trade is in full swing. The High Commissioner has imposed some new taxes, which the natives are paying unwillingly. At Lokoja there is a head-tax of 3d. on each native.

AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.—The Commonwealth Customs revenue for the six months ended December 31 last amounted to £4,588,000, or £120,000 less than the revenue for the same period of 1903.

VICTORIA.—The gold yield of the State for the year 1904 was 821,017 ounces.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Butler has succeeded Mr. Jenkins as Premier.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The gold yield for the year 1904 was 324,996 ounces, valued at £1,146,109, as compared with 295,778 ounces, valued at £1,080,029, in 1903.

The mineral output for 1904 is valued at £6,402,558, as compared with £6,116,254 in 1903.

Mr. Coghlan, the Government statistician, will be the acting Agent-General in London for the New South Wales State.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The export and mint returns of gold for 1904 amounted to 2,373,022 ounces, compared with 2,436,312 ounces for 1903.

NEW ZEALAND.—The total output of gold for 1904 was 519,720 ounces, valued at £1,987,501, against 533,314 ounces, valued at £2,037,831 in 1903.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.—The financial control of these islands is to be taken over by Great Britain, the King having reluctantly signed the necessary documents as required by the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

CANADA.—Lord Grey paid his first official visit to Montreal as Governor-General on January 24.

The result of the Ontario provincial elections has been the complete overthrow of the Liberals, who have held office for the past thirty-two years. The new Government has been constituted as follows: Mr. Whitney, Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer; Mr. Foy, Minister of Crown Lands; Mr. Rheaume, Minister of Public Works; Mr. Monteith, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Hanna, Provincial Secretary; Mr. Pyne, Minister of Education; Messrs. Beck, Hendrie, and Willoughby, Ministers without portfolio.

Two new provinces, "Alberta" and "Saskatchewan," are about to be made out of the present North-West Territories. Regina will be the capital of the former, and Edmonton the temporary capital of the latter. According to a return presented to Parliament, the public land in the North-West Territories still undisposed of amount to the enormous total of nearly 939,000,000 acres.

The estimates for the current fiscal year have been presented to Parliament. The total amount voted is \$68,664,397, being a decrease of \$6,305,651. Provision has been made for a direct steamship service between Canada and New Zealand, the subvention having been fixed at \$50,000.

The British Columbia mineral output for 1904 was roughly: Gold, \$6,400,000; silver, \$2,200,000; copper, \$4,600,000; lead, \$1,500,000; miscellaneous, \$600,000; coal, \$3,275,000; coke, \$1,200,000. Total output, \$19,775,000.

WEST INDIES.—The Legislative Council met on February 28. The estimates submitted anticipate a revenue of over £797,000, and provides for an expenditure of £817,000. It is proposed to meet the deficit by increased taxation.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of Major-General Thaddeus Richard Ryan, for thirty-six years with the Royal Artillery (Mutiny and Oude campaigns);—General Sir John Ross, G.C.B. (Eastern campaign, Mutiny campaign 1857-58, North-West Frontier campaign 1863-64, Malay Peninsula 1875-76, Afghan war 1878-80);—Brigadier-Surgeon James Dow Sainter (China 1860, India);—Sir George William Robert Campbell, K.C.M.G. (Bombay Revenue Survey 1856, Mutiny, resigned Indian Government Service in 1868 and entered Ceylon Service, 1872-73 acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang);—Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Everard Passy, late Indian Staff Corps (China expedition 1900-01);—Colonel Howard William Smith, C.B., 2nd Battalion Hampshire Regiment (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expeditions 1885-87 and 1887-89, South African war);—Colonel Philip Sambrook Crawley, late of the Coldstream Guards (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Mr. Henry Binny Webster, Bengal

Civil Service 1854 to 1886);—General James Blair, v.c., c.b., late of the Bombay Cavalry, honorary Colonel 32nd Lancers (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major Paul Swinbure, late of the 80th Regiment (Bhutan expedition 1865, Perak expedition 1875-76);—Major Neville Cracroft Taylor, formerly of the West Yorkshire Regiment and Indian Staff Corps (South African war);—Colonel Henry Harcourt Griffiths (Afghan war 1878-80);—Rev. Davidson Macdonald, m.d., for many years head of the Canadian Methodist missions in Japan;—Prince Amir Khan, Sirdar-i-Muazzam, Commander-in-Chief of the Persian Army;—General William Legh Cahusac, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Expeditionary Force in Persia 1857);—Khan Bahadur Dr. Rahim Khan, honorary surgeon to the Viceroy;—The Hon. Sir Francis Pakenham, k.c.m.g.;—Mr. Lawrence Colville Jackson, k.c., late Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States;—Mr. Edward Charles Ozanne, c.s.i., late Bombay Civil Service, 1883 to 1897 Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency);—Colonel Edward Molloy, c.b., late of the 5th Gurkha Rifles (Cossiah and Jynteah Hills 1862-63, Bhutan expedition 1865, Hazara campaign 1868, Afghan war 1878-80, Mari expedition 1881, Hazara expedition 1891, Isazai Field Force 1892);—Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Nimmo Sandilands, late of the Indian Staff Corps (Jowake Afridi expedition 1877-78, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881, Miranzai expedition 1891);—Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, the venerable head of the Adi Brahma Somaj, at Calcutta;—Colonel Lancelot Allgood Gregson, formerly of the 26th Cameronians (Abyssinia 1868);—Captain William George England, r.n. (Fiji 1848, Baltic 1855-56, Taku forts 1860);—Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell Taylor Humfrey, late of the Army Pay Department and Yorkshire Regiment (Hazara campaign 1868, Jowaki campaign 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—Major Charles Frederick Marriott, late of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Afghan war 1879-80 and Khugiani Waziri expedition);—Colonel Alfred Harold Middleton, formerly of the 2nd Battalion Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders (South Africa 1902);—General Francis Peyton, c.b., Colonel of the North Staffordshire Regiment (North China 1842, Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Yusofzai Expeditionary Force 1858 and Mutiny);—Colonel Edward Walter Trevor, of the Indian Army (Afghan war 1879-80);—Surgeon Major-General Thomas Walsh, late of the Army Medical Service (Jowaki Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian war 1882);—General William Butler Butler-Shawe, late of the Bengal Infantry (Mutiny 1858, Afghan war 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Edward Wood, late of the Army Pay Department and 93rd Highlanders (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Ernest Cooper, commanding 57th Wilde's Rifles, Frontier Force (Miranzai expedition 1891, North-West Frontier 1897-98, Tirah expeditionary force);—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Harman, d.s.o., commanding South Waziristan Militia, killed by a Mahsud *ghazi* at Wana (Hazara expedition 1891, Chitral relief expedition 1895, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. Yaldwyn, d.s.o. (Afghan war 1879-80, Chitral relief force);—Admiral Sir H. G. Andoe, retired (Baltic 1855, Slave Trade, East Coast of Africa, 1863-67, Natal 1881, Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884);—Major-General De la

Fosse, C.B. (Mutiny, Sikkim Field Force 1861, North-West Frontier 1863); —Major-General William Carmichael Russell, Royal (late) Bengal Artillery, retired, joined in 1842 (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, including battles of Firuzshah and Sobraon, Mutiny); —Captain Robert Francis Warburton, 2nd Battalion 5th Gurkha Rifles, Frontier Force (Tirah campaign 1897-98); —Mr. Harry St. Aubyn Goodrich, I.C.S.; —Vice-Admiral James Lacon Hammet, C.V.O., latterly Admiral Superintendent Malta Dockyard (China 1869, Egyptian war 1882); —Major-General William Nembhard, late of the Indian Staff Corps (Sikh campaign 1846, Burma 1852-53, Mutiny campaign); —Major Harry Francis Pakenham, late King's Royal Rifles (Hazara expedition 1891, Miranzai expedition, South African campaign and relief of Ladysmith); —Captain Francis Joseph Parry, formerly of the Royal Marine Light Infantry (Crimea, China 1857-61); —Major James Alexander Ramsay, late Indian Army (Mutiny); Maharishi Devendranath Tagore, a great social and religious reformer of Bengal; —Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Denham Tomlinson, M.D., late of the R.A.M.C. and York and Lancaster Regiment (New Zealand war); —Major-General A. Walker, C.S.I., of the Royal (late Bengal) Artillery, Colonel-Commandant (Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier 1863, Bhutan expedition 1865-66); —Major-General E. L. Hawkins, late of the Royal (Bengal) Artillery (Crimean campaign, Indian Mutiny); —Colonel Thomas Biggs, formerly of the Bombay Artillery (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45); —Major Frederick Fanning, late of the Honourable East India Company's service, 9th Bombay Infantry (Superintendent of the Gujarat Survey before the Mutiny); —Lieutenant-Colonel John Brown, late 17th Lancers and Army Pay Department (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Zulu campaign 1879, Nile Expedition 1884-85); —Mr. Ross Lewis Mangles, V.C., late Bengal Civil Service, and formerly Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and a volunteer during the Mutiny; —Mr. Forbes Mitchell, a Mutiny veteran (served with the 93rd Highlanders at Lucknow); —Major-General A. W. Graham, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Panjāb campaign 1848-49), Persian expedition 1856-57, Mutiny campaign); —Major-General Sydney Joseph Hire (Panjāb campaign 1848-49); —Dr. E. W. West, an eminent Pahlavi scholar and author of many works on Pahlavi; —Rev. Samuel Lewis Graham Sandberg, a senior chaplain on the Bengal establishment, a distinguished linguist, and an authority on Tibetan; —Mr. Reuben David Sassoon; —Brigadier-General Eyre Crabbe, C.B., in charge of military administration at Aldershot (Egyptian campaign 1882, South African war); —Colonel James Drummond Lambert, C.B., a former Director-General of the Army Veterinary Department (Zulu campaign 1879, Transvaal campaign 1881); —General John Bayly, C.B., Colonel-Commandant R.E., entered the Royal Engineers in 1839; —Sergeant Henry Hook, V.C., formerly of the 24th Regiment (Rorke's Drift); —Major Costerman, Vice-Governor-General of the Congo; —Captain Aubrey de Sausmarez Burton, of the 125th Napier Rifles, Indian Army; —Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Nepaul.

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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGES
THE RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF MYSORE. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.	1
BALUCHISTAN AND ITS POSSIBILITIES. By C. E. D. Black	10
THE BENEFITS OF INLAND NAVIGATION. By General J. F. Fischer, R.E.	19
THE MOPAND IRRIGATION PROJECT, MADRAS. By General J. F. Fischer, R.E.	39
RAMIE, THE TEXTILE OF THE FUTURE: A PROMISING INDUSTRY FOR INDIA. By D. Edwards-Radclyffe	47
THE FUTURE OF THE HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. By Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A. (of the <i>Lahore Observer</i>)	65
THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT ALGIERS, APRIL 19-26, 1905. By Professor Dr. Edward Montet	81
THE ZKARA: ARE THEY CHRISTIANS OR MUSULMANS? By Professor Dr. Edward Montet	86
A TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA. By Lieutenant-Colonel G. E. Gerini	89
AKBAR'S REVENUE SETTLEMENTS. By H. Beveridge	102
HYDROPHOBIA IN THE EAST. By F. H. Skrine, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired)	125
EDUCATION AND REFORM IN CHINA. By R. W. Swallow, Government University, T'ai-yuen-fu, Shansi, China	138
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION	148, 348
HYDERABAD: PAST AND PRESENT. By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I.	225
MADRAS IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION—A REPLY. By W. Hughes, M.A., M.I.C.E.	244
EARLY MARRIAGES IN INDIA. By Sirdar Arjan Singh (of Kapurthala)	265
SAKHALIN OR KARAFTO? By L. V. Dalton, F.R.G.S.	279
THE DUALISM OF ISAIAH XLV. 7: WAS IT ZOROASTRIAN? By Professor Lawrence Mills, D.D.	286
A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES. By George Brown, M.D.	295
A TRIP ROUND SUNNY CEYLON. By Alfred Edmund Murrell	318
KASHGAR. By E. H. Parker	328
"INDIA IN THE VICTORIAN AGE." By J. B. Pennington	338

	PAGES
CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.	174, 370
The Place of India under Protection.—The Land Revenue System of Madras.—Note on the Article "The Foundation of Penang" in the <i>Review</i> for January last, pp. 112-123.—State of Kelantan, Siam.—Statistics of the British Empire.—The Progress of Egypt under British Control.—State of the African Protectorates administered under the Foreign Office.—Indian Coolie Children and their Education.—The Treaty with Afghanistan.—Foreign Trade of Persia in 1903-1904	174—200
The Land Revenue System of Madras.—Japan and Britain.—"Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?"—Reconstitution of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam.—Russia and Japan: Treaty of Peace	370—395
REVIEWS AND NOTICES	201, 396
Petit Dictionnaire Français Chinois (dialecte de Shanghai), by Rev. C. Pétilion, S.J. Price 3 ⁵⁰ mex. (=6s.).—Japan and the Japan Mission. Fourth edition, with a map and illustrations.—The Russo-Japanese Conflict: its Causes and Issues, by K. Asakawa, Ph.D., Lecturer on the Civilization and History of East Asia at Dartmouth College; author of the "Early Institutional Life of Japan," etc. With an Introduction by Frederick Wells Williams, Assistant Professor of Modern Oriental History in Yale University.—A Short History of Ancient Egypt, by Percy E. Newberry, author of "Beni Hasan," "El Bersheh," "Rekhmara," "The Amherst Papyri," etc., and John Garstang, Reader in Egyptian Archaeology, University of Liverpool, author of "The Third Egyptian Dynasty," etc.—With the Pilgrims to Mecca. The Great Pilgrimage of A.H. 1319; A.D. 1902, by Hadji Khan, M.R.A.S., Special Correspondent of the <i>Morning Post</i> , and Wilfrid Sparrow, author of "Persian Children of the Royal Family." With an Introduction by Professor A. Vambéry.—Grammaire d'Arabe Régulier, par L. Galland, Capitaine d'Infanterie Coloniale. Préface du Dr. E. Montet, Professeur d'Arabe à l'Université de Genève, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie.—Vocabolario Italiano-Tigrai e Tigrai-Italiano, by Alfonso Cimino, Colonial Officer.—Chandra Shekhar. A Bengali novel by the late Rai Bahadoor Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, C.I.E., translated by Manmatha Nath Ray Chowdhury of Santosh.—Hakluyt's English Voyages, selected and edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by E. E. Speight, B.A., F.R.G.S. With a Preface by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., President of the Hakluyt Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society. With illustrations and maps by R. Morton Nance.—Five Years in a Persian Town, by Napier Malcolm.—Indian Life in Town and Country, by Herbert Compton. With seventeen illustrations.— <i>East of Asia</i> , vol. iii. Nos. 3 and 4	201—209
The Unveiling of Lhasa, by Edmund Candler, author of "A Vagabond in Asia." With illustrations and map. Second impression.—Europe and the Far East, by Sir Robert K. Douglas, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, etc. ("Cambridge Historical Series," pp. 450, 7s. 6d.).—Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay? Being outlines of "The Redemption of Labour," and "The Science of Civilization" by the late Cecil Balfour Phipson; edited by Mark B. F. Major.—The Far East, by Archibald Little, author of "Through the Yangtse Gorges," "Mount Omi and Beyond," etc.—The Masai, their Language and Folk-lore, by A. C. Hollis. With Introduction by Sir Charles Eliot, 1905.—The Japanese Spirit, by Okakura-Yoshisaburo.—Following the Sun-Flag. A Vain Pursuit through Manchuria, by John Fox, junior.—Glimpses of the Ages; or, The "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History, by Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D., etc.—China in Law and Commerce, by T. R. Jernigan.—Women and Wisdom of Japan, with an Introduction by Shingoro Takiishi ("Wisdom of the East" Series).—The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, by Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C. With portraits and illustrations, in two volumes.—The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904), being a Synopsis of the History of	

Murshidabad for the Last Two Centuries, to which are appended Notes of Places and Objects of Interest at Murshidabad. Compiled by Purna Ch. Majumdar. Copiously illustrated.—The Story of an Indian Upland, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A., I.C.S. With twenty illustrations and a map, and an Introduction by the Hon. H. H. Risley, C.S.I., C.I.E.—The Original Sources of the Qur'ân, by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion of the Crescent," etc. — Ethiopia in Exile; Jamaica Revisited, by B. Pullen-Burry, author of "Jamaica as It Is," etc.—The Story of My Struggles. The Memoirs of Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest. Two vols., with illustrations of the author	396—426
OUR LIBRARY TABLE	209, 426
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES	216, 434

THE IMPERIAL
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AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1905.

THE RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF
MYSORE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

MANY years ago I was elected by the Board of the Mysore Gold-fields Railway Company to be their chairman; and I have always been proud to remember that the colleagues who conferred on me this honour were men whose names have subsequently been writ large on the history of the development of Mysore—Sir Charles Tennant, Lord Ribblesdale, General Beresford, and others—whose enterprise and public spirit will ever be held in kindly regard by the people and the rulers of Mysore. In that capacity, and as an old friend of the late Maharaja and his able Prime Minister, the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer, I frequently visited Mysore in the old days, when the gold-mining there was in its infancy, and when the Mysore State had few resources outside her fairly prosperous agriculture, save only the struggling coffee industry of Kadur and the adjoining districts, and the products of her rich forests. Since then I have visited this highly-progressive State at not infrequent intervals, and have watched its steady development under the fostering care of the late and the present Maharaja, aided in succession by Sir Sheshadri Iyer and by Sir Krishna Murti, and by the wise counsels of a series of able

British Residents. And it is not too much to say that at the present time, although the country has of late years suffered sorely from those visitations of famine and plague that have devastated the Deccan, even more than most other parts of the peninsula, there is no other State or province of India, and hardly any other country in the world, that can be held to surpass Mysore in material or moral well-being.

For the advance of Mysore under its Indian-born rulers, loyally backed up by the representatives of the Imperial Government of India, has been equally marked on both the moral and the material side. In regard to the latter, the Dewan, Sir Krishna Murti, is able to point to an annual Budget that might be the envy of any Chancellor of the Exchequer in the world, whether we look to the satisfactory surpluses, or to the lightness of popular taxation, or to the elasticity of the revenue, or to the success and liberality of the public administration. And on the moral and intellectual side, the annual addresses of the Dewan to the Representative Assembly record such sure and rapid progress in education, in political enfranchisement, in social enlightenment, in sanitation, in judicial and police arrangements, in safeguards against famine and pestilence, in ease and rapidity of communication, and generally in all the appliances and amenities of social and political life, as amply to justify all the hopeful predictions of Lord Lytton at the time of the Rendition.

These annual addresses of the Dewan of Mysore have served many excellent purposes, besides being chronicles of the national progress. They have brought into strong light the wise solicitude of the Maharaja and His Highness's Government for the welfare of his subjects. They have brought the Government into closer and closer touch with the people, and have enabled both rulers and ruled to become better acquainted with each other's wishes, needs, and aspirations. They have also faithfully chronicled the general progress of "the model State," and shown observers

how this progress has been accomplished. In India this has produced wholesome emulation, as in the case of the neighbouring State of Travancore, where the Maharaja, aided by Mr. Madhava Rao—an able Dewan trained in the Mysore Administration—has introduced a Representative Assembly on the Mysore pattern. Whilst in Europe these addresses have obtained appreciative notices in the English press—as in such instructive articles as that contributed to the March number of the *Contemporary Review* by my old friend Mr. D. Boulger—and even the *Times* itself has on several occasions admitted to its columns letters on Mysore by myself and others interested in the welfare of the State, and has sometimes founded articles upon them, a gratifying indication of the growing interest of the British public.

The progress of Mysore has been a steady one along many different roads; but it may be admitted that of late years its most striking features have been in connection with the successful modern working of its ancient gold-mining industry, supplemented by the development of its railway communications and of its electric power resources.

The gold-bearing area in Mysore is of immense extent, and in character has been compared with the most productive gold-fields of the Transvaal, of Australia, and America, both for richness and for depth. The gigantic hoards of gold coin and bullion that were possessed in ancient times by Indian potentates, and that were treasured in Indian temples, were doubtless largely obtained from the surface-workings, of which the remains are still to be seen in various parts of the country at every outcrop of the auriferous reefs. Even down to modern times, surface-washing for gold has given employment to certain castes, such as the Jalagars, who have always been known as expert gold-diggers in Mysore, and not a few ancient place-names, such as Jalagargadda (Gold-diggers' Hill) and the like, have enshrined the memory of the mining operations of the ancient Mysoreans.

I believe that the resuscitation of the industry was largely

due to the explorations of such enterprising prospectors as Mr. David Lavelle, of Bangalore, who found that in many places the old surface-workings still yielded gold in payable quantities. But so long as operations were confined to the surface, which had already been assiduously worked for centuries by the old men until stopped by water and engineering difficulties, very few seem to have realized the immensity of the wealth to be obtained by following the lodes downwards. I believe that both General Beresford and Mr. Lavelle were of opinion from the very first that the geological formation and the surface-indications alike pointed to the probability of greater richness in depth ; and when the Geological Survey of India appeared on the scene, and my old friend, Mr. R. B. Foote (an officer of that department, and a Fellow of the Geological Society) carried out a scientific examination, it soon became evident that the schists of Mysore were destined to become a very important source of the world's gold supply. Less than thirty years have elapsed since then. For various reasons, mainly connected with difficulties of railway communication, only one of the gold-fields indicated by Mr. Foote's report—the Kolár, which happened to be the nearest to the line of railway—has been largely exploited, leaving others perhaps equally rich to be still dealt with. And yet at this moment the annual output of the Kolár field is over 600,000 ounces of bar-gold, of the value of more than Rs. 350,00,000!

And in connection with this already vast development, not the least interesting fact, in view of future possibilities, is that in the Arsikere *táluq*, and in the districts of Chitaldrug and Tumkur, there are numerous ancient workings, even more extensive, and apparently not less rich in precious metal, than those that have already been exploited in Kolár with such splendid results. On this, the Dewan told us in his recent address :

“ The Geological Survey was carried out in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts, and resulted in the discovery and mapping of an entirely new belt of schists, extending along

the eastern side of the Chitaldrug belt for a distance of sixty miles, with a maximum width of eight miles, the rocks of which are in many respects similar to those of the Kolár Gold-field."

And it may be mentioned, as an instance of the keen intellect and remarkable foresight of the late Dewan, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, that, so long ago as the year 1887, he told me that in his opinion the gold deposits in some of the Arsikere reefs were at least equal to the best of those in Kolár. And only four or five years later—and before our American cousins had succeeded in "harnessing" the Falls of Niagara for electric-power purposes—Sir Sheshadri spoke to me with enthusiasm of the possibility of utilizing the water-power of the Cauvery Falls for electric, smelting, and other purposes, a project that has since been crowned with wonderful success.

The recent address of Sir Krishna Murti shows that the prosperity of the Kolár Gold-fields Railway, which has long been the property of the State, is now unbounded. In the year 1902-1903 its net earnings, under a liberal and far-sighted management, returned 6·73 per cent. on the capital outlay, and last year that very satisfactory return was increased to very nearly 7 per cent.

There is every reason to believe that a like good fortune will attend the other railways that will open up the other gold-fields of the country. Wherever the Geological Survey has shown that the gold deposits exist, probably in large quantities, there the railways will be both a source of considerable wealth in themselves, and also a harbinger of great mining prosperity. Although the Kolár Gold-field was nearer to the existing railway than any of the rival gold-fields, and owed its earlier development to that fact, still, the full tide of its prosperity did not come until after the opening of the Kolár Gold-fields Railway. As soon as the new railways are made through the other gold-bearing districts, it may be confidently predicted that along their courses the mines will be opened up as if by magic.

It is evident that both His Highness the Maharaja and Sir Krishna Murti are thoroughly in earnest as to the urgent need of still further opening up the railway communications, both in the State itself and with neighbouring Indian territory. Both the Madras Railway Company and the Southern Mahratta Railway Company have done and are doing much in this direction. The Mysore State itself is directly interested in not only the Gold-fields Railway, of which I have spoken, but also the lines between Mysore and Harihar, between Bangalore and Hindupur, between Mysore and Nanjangud, and between Birur and Shimoga. A light railway, to be made by a local company between Bangalore and Chikballapur, is viewed with much favour by His Highness' Government.

Of the projects for improved railway communication that still remain to be done, the one that was nearest the heart of the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer was one to run down the Ghats, and connect Arsikere and Hassan and the rest of Mysore with the Indian Ocean at Mangalore. Many years ago I was empowered by His Highness the late Maharaja to officially submit this scheme to the Governments of India and Madras, and at that time it was warmly approved by Lord Wenlock and also by Mr. Upcott, the distinguished railway expert, who was then at the head of the Public Works Department of Madras. Famine and other financial difficulties at that time stood in the way. But sooner or later this interesting line is sure to be made, and give the State of Mysore direct communication with the Indian Ocean, whilst it will afford the merchants of Mangalore and the Malabar Coast access to the country above the Ghats.

There has always been a considerable community of coffee-planters, both European and Indian born, located in the uplands of Mysore, and this industry, as well as every other in the country, will derive benefit from the enlightened and progressive railway policy of Sir Krishna Murti.

But the product of the future, that is now fairly certain

to be an important factor in the prosperity of the country, is evidently rubber; and it is to the Dewan's encouragement of scientific research and experiment in agricultural matters that Mysore will be indebted for an industry that bids fair to eclipse all others in its lucrative character. For those researches and experiments have shown that there is no soil or climate in the world better suited for rubber cultivation, while everyone knows that during the last few years the commercial demand for rubber has far outstripped the supply. It has gone up by leaps and bounds, not merely for tyres and tubes, but as an adjunct to every form of modern machinery, and in many other forms of utility. And, further, this demand is so far-reaching and elastic that, the moment it is at all overtaken by increased cultivation, and the product falls at all in price, it is immediately sought after for use in other industries, so that the price is again restored. I believe that there are rubber plantations in Ceylon, hardly yet in full bearing, that already yield to their enterprising owners annual returns far in excess of the fee-simple value of the plantations and the cost of cultivation. There is every reason to expect similarly satisfactory returns to the industry in Mysore, a result that the country will owe to the foresight and courage of Sir Krishna Murti in ordering the researches and experiments already alluded to.

I have spoken of the "harnessing" of the falls of Cauvery for the purposes of electric power and electric lighting. This has already been accomplished on a grand scale for the use of the Kolár gold-fields; and this year a second installation has come into working, and may be expected to give lighting and other conveniences to the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. But the whole country is one of mighty waterfalls, and, if one may judge from the recent history of Piedmont and other sub-Alpine manufacturing districts, the vast stores of water-power now running to waste are destined to be utilized as the great manufacturing agents of the future. As electricity gradually takes the place of

steam as motive-power, doubtless thousands of Mysore waterfalls are destined to be "harnessed" and turned to useful account, instead of running to waste, as hitherto.

I believe that next winter the popular and genial young ruler of this prosperous State will have the pleasure of entertaining their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. The climate of Bangalore, and of all the uplands of the Mysore State, is more agreeable to the unacclimatized European constitution than almost any other part of India during the winter months. The hospitality of the Royal House of Mysore has always been proverbial, and it may confidently be predicted that in no part of the Empire will the Heir-Apparent to the Imperial Throne be received more worthily than in Mysore. Nowhere will the Imperial visitors see the elephant *keddah* in greater perfection or finer big game of every kind than in the Mysore jungles; while the scenery of the country is in many parts more striking than elsewhere in India, and the remains of antiquity are both abundant and interesting. The Winter Gardens at Seringapatam, the scene of Tipu's death, the Kolár gold-mines, the sandal-wood preserves, the sacred Amrita Mahal herds, the sacred hill of Chamundi, the numerous famous falls, the royal city of Mysore, the pleasant cantonment of Bangalore—these and a thousand other points of interest in the ancient kingdom of Mysore will certainly always recall pleasant memories to the Imperial visitors of the princely hospitality of the Maharaja.

In reference to the gold-mines, Dr. Smeeth, the learned Chief Inspector of mines in Mysore, issued in May a most valuable and interesting report on the Kolár mines. It shows that the total value of gold produced in 1903 was £2,284,072, being an increase of 6·27 per cent. for the year, while the ratio of increase in the preceding twelve months was 2·15 per cent. The royalty to the Mysore Government was £113,138, as against £97,365. Fourteen companies were at work, and of these five paid dividends, three produced gold but declared no dividends, and six were non-

producers. The total dividends paid during the year amounted to no less than 73·44 per cent. of the paid-up capital of the companies declaring dividends, or to 30·8 per cent. of the paid-up capital of all working companies. The corresponding figures of the previous year were 62·94 per cent. and 33½ per cent. Detailed comparison with the figures for the preceding five years shows that there has been a steady diminution in the cost of working.

BALUCHISTAN AND ITS POSSIBILITIES.

BY C. E. D. BLACK.

DURING the last quarter of a century India has annexed a huge province, larger than the United Kingdom, but whose importance—political, strategical and economic—appears to have been not yet adequately appreciated. I refer, of course, to Baluchistan. Owing, however, to the abnormal conditions which have gradually brought this region under the Britannic ægis, it is even now administered in a fashion very different from the Native States of India, and still further removed from the organization of the regulation districts of India proper. An irregularly-shaped tract of country, including Chaman, Quetta, Sibi, and surrounding tracts, is leased from the Khan of Kelat, and called British Baluchistan; while the vast expanse lying all round this enclave, except on the north-west, or Afghan side, is under political control, with a military administration.

For administrative purposes the whole province, dependent, as well as independent, is divided into six political agencies, each presided over by a political agent or assistant. They are as follows :

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Quetta-Pishin. | 4. Loralai. |
| 2. Thal-Chotiali. | 5. Kelat. |
| 3. Zhob. | 6. Chagai. |

The degree of independence enjoyed by the various districts of Baluchistan is said, with apparent truth, to vary in proportion to their distance from Quetta, the whole area being governed by the Agent to the Governor-General, who is supreme under the Foreign Department of the Viceroy's Government.

From a strategic point of view, Baluchistan undoubtedly merits close attention. In the Commons debate on the Army Estimates, as well as in a subsequent debate, the House appeared alive to the possibility of the Russo-

Japanese War resulting in increased activity being displayed by Russia against India. Indeed, it is obvious that, whatever the upshot of the present war may be, Russia's innate tendency to expand will not be finally repressed thereby. And even if this policy be effectually scotched as against Chi-li and Manchuria, it is all the more likely to seek an outlet with concentrated force in the direction of Persia and Afghanistan. Moreover, the Premier has told us that the problem of the British Army is the problem of the defence of the Afghan frontier; so we must in no wise overlook the existence of the flanking route through Seistan and Baluchistan, through which the Afghan defensive position might be turned, by an invading force from the north, coming by way of Eastern Khorassan.

Viewed in its general aspect, this country is certainly deserving of more scrutiny than it is receiving. In the India List, for instance, which devotes a good deal of space to full descriptions of the different provinces of India, nothing is said as to British Baluchistan, while its annual Administration Reports are little known at home, and the dry statistics they furnish convey but little profitable or suggestive information. If, therefore, I am correct in believing that in Baluchistan Great Britain possesses a domain of importance and wealth, it may be well to put together some of the more useful data, which at present are very scattered and not well known.

The province is a rough, oblong-shaped block of country abutting on the western land frontiers of India. Its prevailing features, as remarked by Mr. Hughes-Buller in his interesting report on the census of the province, are dry, rugged and barren mountains, arid deserts, and stony plains, redeemed wherever there is water by thin lines of cultivation, and occasional tree-clad mountains, affording welcome relief to the eye of the traveller, wearied with the incessant glare of the sun-baked rocks and long gravel-strewn valleys. To the west, in its northern tracts, it is even more sterile. The region recently traversed by the

Seistan Commission, and by previous explorers, is hideously barren. But, at the same time, Baluchistan generally, and especially those parts more remote from the Indian side, are still imperfectly surveyed. For many years I have studied the geography of this strange region, and the conclusion strongly forced upon my mind is, that a systematic examination of the hydrographic possibilities of Western Baluchistan might lead to a regeneration of districts at present unproductive and apparently hopeless. It is difficult to enlarge on this without a rather uninteresting discussion of streams and water-partings: the erratic direction of the Lower Helmand, its connection in past years with the God-i-Zirreh and the courses of the Mashkel, Rashkan and Dasht rivers—all these present a somewhat complicated hydrographic system, but, at the same time, are distinctly susceptible of connection, and by that means might be made to conduce to the regeneration of a large and important expanse of country.

It is about twenty-eight years since the late Sir Robert Sandeman, the founder of the Baluchistan Agency, first entered the country then known as Kelat or the dominions of the Khan of Kelat. To the Court of the Khan British residents had been deputed since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and British expeditions had passed through the Bolan on their way to Kandahar and Afghanistan; but in 1876 the country was practically independent, and little was known of the inhabitants. The Khan of Kelat had combined a heterogeneous mass of tribal units into a Brahui confederacy, the people themselves being cut off from intercourse with the outside world, and leading a nomadic existence among regions of extraordinary desolation. Their civilization was not only backward, but differed materially from those of their Indian neighbours. "In the course of more than a quarter of a century this primitive condition, though modified, has not disappeared, and barbarian prejudice and pugnacity are still factors which have to be constantly reckoned with."

Throughout the country nomadism is prevalent to a high degree. This is largely induced by the fact that cities cannot be built in the desert, and that the occasional oases where water and pasture are to be found do not admit of comfortable and permanent settlement. If the country were but fairly well watered, there would be no difficulty in converting the wandering tribesman to the settled life of a farmer. This was brought to the proof by the late General John Jacob fifty years ago, who first subjected the Baluch freebooters, and then settled them on the lands round about Jacobabad, which are irrigated from the Indus.

In the eastern and highland parts of the province permanent houses are required as a protection against the climate, and here the ruling characteristics of the valley are occasional groups of rude mud-built huts. In the cultivated tracts of Zhob and Thal-Chotiali one may see at intervals towers from 15 to 20 feet in height, with a small aperture for an entrance about 6 feet above the ground. They are a relic of the turbulent past preceding the advent of the British. A walled village was then a necessity as a refuge in the time of trouble. In the corners of the fields, too, the tribesman would erect towers, and on the approach of a raiding party he would fly thither, leaving his cattle to the mercy of the enemy. Nowadays, though, the ancient strongholds are mostly deserted, and the cultivators have returned to a semi-nomadic existence.

This is a curious characteristic, and not very easy to account for, except on the theory that the native has a more or less rooted dislike to cultivation in any form. As Mr. Hughes-Buller (to whose writings I am largely indebted for information) points out, with large garrisons scattered throughout the country there is a ready market for everything the cultivator can grow. This naturally acts as a strong incentive to many of the cultivators, who congregate in small groups wherever irrigable land is available for cultivation.

Like many other regions of Asia, especially those with imperfect drainage seawards, it is marked by extremes of heat and cold. A native proverb says that after the Almighty had created Sibi and Dadhur, there was no need to have created hell, so intense is the heat during eight months of the year in those localities. On the other hand, the cold on the plateau between Quetta and Pishin is very severe in winter.

The aspect of the ranges through which the railway goes up towards Quetta has been characteristically described by Lady Dufferin :

"The country is so unlike anything you have ever seen. The whole is absolutely barren, and it looks like a great storehouse of the earth's materials, rather than a finished portion of our world. There are piles of rock, and piles of sand, and piles of gravel, and piles of mud, ready, as it were, to the Creator's hand, but not yet used up. All is the same colour, and none of the prettinesses of life have any place here. There are no trees, no grass, no flowers."

The area may be described as 132,315 square miles of mountains, intersected by large strips of sandy desert, narrow valleys, and tiny glens. In the western part of the province the general trend of the mountains is easterly, but soon they commence to curve northwards, eventually merging in the parallel ranges of the Sulimans, which run north and south. The general slope of Baluchistan is from the western deserts of Kharan and Sinjarani, and from the sea-coast on the south to the highest level in the lofty tableland in the north-east beyond Kelat. Here the valleys are between 5,000 and 7,000 feet above sea-level, while the surrounding mountains rise to about 10,000 or 12,000 feet. On the north the plains converge in the Takht-i-Suliman, a well-known peak in the north-east of the Zhob Valley. The story goes that Solomon once stood on its summit, and from thence, in the company of his Indian bride, surveyed the kingdoms of India. It is also the traditional home of the Afghans or Pathans.

The area of Baluchistan is larger than that of the British Isles (121,377 square miles), and is only a little less than

that of the Japanese Empire, which, without Formosa, covers 147,655 square miles. But the estimated population is only 1,049,808, or eleven persons per square mile for the area actually censused. The main reason of this scanty population is undoubtedly to be found in the lack of water. Throughout Baluchistan the rainfall is exceedingly irregular and scanty, the largest average amount of annual rainfall being $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches at Shahrigh, while as one proceeds westwards the climate is considerably drier. Where a village has sprung up in consequence of the presence of a sufficient quantity of water for purposes of cultivation, the number of the population is limited not by the amount of land, but by the amount of water available for distribution. There are no large rivers, and the cultivators are dependent on the supply from underground channels or *kárezes* (the Persian *kanát*), which in no case are more than enough to irrigate a modest extent of land.

The extraordinarily vivifying effect of irrigation even in tracts of exceptional sterility is seen along the Helmand River. Sir Thomas Holdich described them some years ago as covered with

“almost endless stretches of old ruins along the banks of that river. These ruins (he continued) extend all over Seistan. They mark the remains of old flourishing towns and cities of past times, and, together with the numerous traces of old canals leading from the Helmand River, prove the existence in some past age of extensive civilization and of a very large population.”

Seistan (the ancient Drangia) itself was one of the principal granaries of the world, as late as in the flourishing days of Arab ascendancy in these parts. The question suggests itself, How was the produce of this region exported? Sir Thomas Holdich is of opinion that the trade, now represented by a few dozen kafilas which ply between Seistan and the port of Tiz on the Makran coast, was then of far larger dimensions, and that Tiz, as the place was even then called, was the regular port and ocean outlet for the commerce of the entire hinterland. It is a

convenient harbour nowadays, as the monsoon winds do not affect the coast so far west, and Tiz must thus have been equally easy to gain at times when the Indus delta was unapproachable.

In addition to this, a large proportion of the trade was conveyed landwise to India. For though Alexander and his troops nearly perished on their westward journey through ignorance of the geography of Southern Baluchistan, later explorers soon discovered that the true land route from Europe to India lay through this region. Under Arab rule practical steps were taken to maintain the route, and good roads, walls, and proper stages and forts were kept in order. In fact, writers conversant with the subject are of opinion that this highway to India was one of the best-trodden trade routes that the world has ever seen.

But the discovery of a sea route to India and the explorations of the Portuguese caused the Baluch road to fall into disuse, and now it is a matter of some difficulty to fix the alignment of the best and most practicable land route to India from the West. But, after all, this is a mere question of systematic exploration. It does not even necessitate exhaustive survey in the sense of mapping out the whole country in detail. It only wants certain known lines of approach to be carefully examined, so as to determine which is the best line of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Indian frontier, whether for commercial, political, or strategical purposes. The utilization of old highways of commerce is a sound administrative maxim, and nowhere does this apply with more practical truth than in Asia, that grand old continent where the wisdom of the ancients may be traced wherever you pass and bestow due heed on the monuments that meet the eye.

Major Yate tells us that it is quite on the cards that the through railway from Europe to India may thread the valleys of Makran, and I must say I have always been

persuaded of the truth of this anticipation, which the trend of events seems to corroborate more and more. What these valleys are like in the northern parts may be gathered from Captain McMahon's description a few years ago :

" Refreshing green oases—sometimes in the form of green wooded valleys, with rippling streams of pure water ; sometimes in forest lands along the high mountain-tops ; sometimes in the form of extensive tracts of rich cultivation in wide valleys and plains—break the monotony of the vast wastes around, and afford a relief to the eye and a pleasure to the senses which none but travellers in that country can fully realize. Then, again, the clear, dry, sparkling atmosphere, the deep blue cloudless skies of the greater part of the year, and the almost boundless horizon, produce feelings of exhilaration and a sense of freedom which go far to make up for the shortcomings of the country. Last, but not least, we find the inhabitants a fine manly race, whose love of independence is as rugged as their hills, and whose stubborn bravery is unquestionable. With fair complexions and splendid physique, they form for the most part a magnificent race of men."

As to mineral wealth very little is known, generally speaking, except by those actually concerned in the task of the government of Baluchistan. Therefore it is important to note what one expert, an officer in charge of a district 20,000 square miles in area, tells me. He writes :

" Baluchistan produces coal (burnt in the form of bricks) of poor quality, but in fair quantities, asbestos, sulphur, antimony, lead, copper (my district has numerous old workings in various parts), saltpetre, and iron, the latter in considerable quantities, for it is also found in a highly divided state in the desert sands. The difficulty is, of course, want of fuel on the spot, and this is one which will not easily be surmounted. The Afghans work gold a few miles from Candahar, and the geological formation in which the gold is found is identical with formations which occur on our side of the frontier. Added to this, there are legends that gold was extensively worked in Seistan, but the veins were lost in an earthquake which devastated the country some generations back."

I am told on good authority that the oil wells of the Zhob and Hurnai valleys are deserving of more systematic exploitation by professional experts than has been bestowed on them in the past. Silk, again, is a manufacture of decided promise, the mulberry-tree being plentiful in various parts of Baluchistan, and the silk recently produced at Kelat being of exceptionally good quality. There seems

also to be a great opportunity for the extended cultivation of fruit trees in Quetta and the neighbouring villages, the apricots especially being excellent, but not grown to anything like the fullest extent.

Viewing the opportunities of this country in their general aspect, one cannot help being struck with the possibilities of development and improvement. As Major Yate truly says: "Baluchistan is a land of promise, which will play no unimportant part in the future history of our Indian Empire." Hitherto we have contented ourselves with exercising the slenderest and lightest political sway over its spare and rude populace. But something in the nature of those statistical surveys which have been so successfully applied to nearly every part of British India seems to be urgently needed in the case of Baluchistan. Its resources—minerals, fauna, vegetation—and, above all, its capabilities of irrigation and afforestation,* demand the most careful examination and exploitation at the hand of experts. What the medieval Arabs and other more obscure nationalities have effected in the past in this apparently unproductive land can assuredly be restored, if not surpassed, by Englishmen, and few measures would redound more to the credit of the Viceroy than a well-considered scheme for the revivification of a country whose extent, whose comparative recent acquisition, and whose possibilities, as we can gather from the fragmentary knowledge we possess, so urgently demand attention with promise of return.

* I believe an irrigation expert was deputed to Baluchistan some four years ago, but that his efforts were restricted for want of funds. As regards afforestation, it is worth bearing in mind that the heads of the Brahui confederacy are chiefs in receipt of monthly pay from Government. Through the medium of these chiefs, thousands of trees could be yearly planted at a nominal cost. The effect of such steps on the rainfall might be most important, for everything points to the fact that at a period not so long since the rainfall was far more plentiful than it is nowadays.

THE BENEFITS OF INLAND NAVIGATION.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

WE propose in this article to draw the attention of the Indian public to the value and importance of this subject afresh, as it is now being very seriously considered, not only in England, but on the Continent and in the United States of America and Canada. More than half a century ago Sir A. Cotton, R.E., endeavoured to make this matter clear to the public in India, and now that it is proposed to develop the industrial resources of India by some better methods than merely collecting land revenue by the ancient Mamools of the country, which have failed so lamentably in every instance, during more than twenty centuries, in promoting the welfare and progress of the populations here, it is, perhaps, a very fit time to show how a country can be made as prosperous as possible by securing for it the *cheapest* means of transport, without incurring any great cost or burdening it with an enormous debt.

In the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1904, there is an article on "The Lesson of the German Water-ways," which furnishes us with ample data, from actual experience, which just suits our purpose; and we propose to make full use of the abundant information this article supplies us with, and we trust it will be accepted by all classes in India, for there is no prejudice on one side or the other. The writer shows very clearly how Germany has, during the past quarter of a century, secured for herself a most commanding position for all her industries in *all* the markets of the world by simply attending most carefully to "inland water-ways," and so reducing the cost of transport, in spite of many natural obstacles, that she can defy the competition of the most wealthy countries; and whilst England has been worrying herself about Protection and Preferential Tariffs *ad nauseam*, and to no purpose what-

ever, Germany has not troubled herself at all about such fruitless speculations, but has worked out for herself the best systems for enabling all her industries to secure the greatest profits, and so reducing the cost of production to a minimum—by means of cheap transport alone. She has not neglected her railway systems; on the contrary, by relieving them as much as possible of non-paying heavy goods traffic, her railways are perhaps the most economically and profitably worked of any lines in the world. In England and in India, too, we have throttled our canals in order to give a monopoly of the traffic to the railways, with the result that Germany can “dump” her products on to the English home markets, to the ruin and prejudice of her industries; and in India by this policy we are throwing the land out of cultivation and losing the Government revenues, as in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas, for instance.

Before proceeding with any further details of the German system for promoting water-ways, we extract the following from the *Madras Mail* of March 2, 1905, just to hand:

“The Canal Bill, which was passed in the Prussian Diet on the 9th ultimo, is from several different aspects a very important measure. It provides among other points for a short canal to Berlin from the Baltic port of Stettin, which will practically make the German capital a seaport; and the manifold extension of the inland navigation system will bring about a general increase of trade in industrial and agricultural products over vast areas of Germany, Russia, and Austria. The strategic aspect of these new water-ways is also fully taken into account by the Government, to whose initiation the Bill is due.”

Whilst in England we are being told on every platform to *think imperially*, and never told how to do so, as the leaders of the party which professes this marvellous doctrine declare they themselves have unsettled convictions on any subject whatever, the Prussian Diet, with their sound, practical common-sense, institute measures for

large systems of water-ways to secure *the greatest profits* for all industrial and agricultural products over vast areas of country, and *at the same time* to add enormously to the strategic aspect of all such public works in case of war!

It is generally admitted that the real cause why Germany is now able to compete against Great Britain so successfully is because she enjoys cheaper transport facilities. The natural conditions for cheap transport in Great Britain and Germany are indeed totally and absolutely different, but this difference is by no means in favour of Germany. On the contrary, it is all in favour of England, and so much so that, if the transport system were properly arranged and managed, Germany would be utterly unable to compete industrially against Great Britain. A glance at the map of Europe will prove this assertion to be true, and will show very clearly the fundamental difference existing between these two countries as regards cheap transport.

It is estimated that the German industries as a whole are carried on at an average distance of *more than 200 miles* from their harbours. Looking at the matter in this way for England, her industries are carried on as a rule not further than ten, twenty, or thirty miles away from the sea, and the greatest distance is but sixty miles in a straight line; consequently, all exports and imports in Germany have to travel a distance which is from eight to ten times greater than it is in Great Britain. Evidently the German army (industrial) has to fight far away from its base, and its lines of communication are excessively long. Hence it is absolutely clear that England possesses every advantage in its favour except cheap means of transport, and no Protection or Preferential Tariffs can by any possibility secure for her those means of transport on which her prosperity in commercial enterprise entirely depends. Industrial Germany suffers not only from the length of her means of transport, but also from the severity of her climate, which greatly impedes the traffic on water-ways—by frost in the

winter months; in summer heavy floods are caused in all the rivers by the melting of the snows on the mountains; but nothing has been allowed to prevent the securing the cheapest means of transport by water for the benefit of all employed in industrial pursuits. How different is the policy pursued in India! Only the other day the *Pioneer*, one of the most influential papers in that country, declared that, because the large rivers in Southern India are not supplied from any snowy ranges, nothing could be done with them in the way of productive works, although all these great rivers are most abundantly supplied with water by the same tropical rains as the Nile is; and we have records regularly kept at the anikuts for more than half a century, showing how superabundant the water-supply in all these rivers actually is, running waste into the sea every year without fail! Whilst the Nile basin is being provided with gigantic reservoirs to secure as much water as possible for the use of man and beast during the hot weather months, we are actually assured that the same measures cannot be applied to the rivers of Southern India, which are fed with water in exactly the same manner as the Nile is; and in October, 1903, a flood actually prevailed in the Kistna River, discharging two and a half times as much water as the Nile discharges at Cairo in floods.

The *Pioneer* apparently takes its cue from the report of the Irrigation Commission, which declares the Godavery River, though better supplied than the Kistna, could not be practically utilized for irrigation purposes, because, as the Commission alleged, and which the *Pioneer* omits to notice, the *zemindari tenure* of land prevails in the Central Provinces, and on account of this most vicious system of land tenure a basin having an area of 120,000 square miles of very fertile land, with an abundant rainfall of about 50 inches in the year, and a population of over 120 to the square mile, is to be permanently deprived of all good hydraulic works, and *means of cheap transport* to the only safe and accessible port along the whole Coromandel coast, in order to maintain

a caste system which the Government of India have condemned in no measured terms in Bundelkhand. How differently the Germans act under similar circumstances we will now proceed to relate. Whilst England has been devoting all her energies to the railways and neglecting her former splendid canal systems, Germany has been learning from our past experience how to become a great industrial nation. She has copied us in many ways, but she has by no means blindly followed us in everything. She has refused to adopt Free Trade (luckily for us), notwithstanding its having been vigorously advocated in Germany; she has declined to hand over her productive industries to the tender mercies of the railway monopolists, and has thus preserved her agriculture from ruin by excessive cost of transport, by firmly maintaining her canal system to secure the cheapest means of transport for its raw products of great bulk and little value; this she learnt from Great Britain, where agriculture has been almost entirely ruined and sacrificed in the interests of the railway companies. Germany recognised the importance of cheap transport, and of having an alternative transport system which, by wholesome competition, would prevent all monopolizing practices, and has therefore steadily extended, enlarged, and improved all her natural and artificial water-ways, and keeps on extending and improving these year by year. Hence we have the unique spectacle of a Government sinking immense sums on inland navigation, notwithstanding the certainty that these will prove exceedingly able competitors against the State railways, well knowing that by establishing the cheapest means of transport they are relieving the entire industrial community from a most onerous burden of taxation, which, of course, promotes every industry in the country, enables capital to be accumulated, and encourages enterprise for its further employment.

In India, on the contrary, we have stopped all works for improving the rivers for navigable purposes to favour the railways, but increasing the burden of taxation, notably in the

case of the Godavery River navigation works ; and even in the Deltas we have increased the tolls on all the canals by some 400 per cent. for the benefit of the railways, and thereby thrown thousands of acres of land out of cultivation, with heavy loss of revenue to the State.

Germany possesses also big rivers, but until a recent period these were entirely neglected, being natural water-ways with unevenly deep and shallow beds. Large vessels could not be used on them ; their soft natural banks prevented vessels going at any high speed. Now, the larger a vessel is, and the greater the speed at which it can be worked, *the cheaper* is the cost of transport, for time is money everywhere but in the dull and stupid East. Recognising the enormous importance of these facts, Germany set to work to regulate her natural rivers, and to convert them into artificial water-courses of that type which has been found most fit for economical rapid navigation. With this object in view, the natural earth-banks of rivers and canals were replaced by solid masonry walls ; the river-beds were narrowed and deepened, so as to allow the use of large boats ; the rocks, which in many parts—for instance, in the Rhine at Bingen—were a danger to navigation, were blasted away, and provision was made to prevent the ice forming during severe winters, and closing streams and canals to navigation. This last provision is not required in India, to the great discomfort of all peoples working in that thirsty land. Within reach of all inland navigation in Germany, numerous well-equipped harbours and quays have been built by all the towns, and gradually all the more important German water-ways were greatly perfected and improved as channels for commercial navigation. On the regulation of the river-bed of the Rhine *alone* more than £1,000,000 has been expended during the last twenty years, and in consequence of these energetic measures for deepening the channels of that river, Cologne, which in a straight line is situated about 150 miles from the sea, *has become a seaport*, inasmuch as thirty-four

steamers, specially built for the purpose, trade now *regularly* between Cologne and various harbours in England, Scandinavia, and Russia. High up the Rhine, 300 miles inland, lies Strasburg. Formerly this town could be reached by only the smallest river-craft, but now boats carrying 600 tons are going to and from Cologne and Strasburg, and enormous sums have been spent facilitating the landing and unloading of all boats.

The tributary streams of the Rhine have also been very greatly improved. For instance, the Main, originally a shallow stream with a depth of only $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and therefore useless for shipping, has had its depth increased to no less than $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet for a distance of twenty miles upstream, at a cost of £400,000, or £20,000 per mile, in order to afford the industries of Frankfort the benefits of cheap transport by water, and the same steamers which travel on the Rhine now go up to Frankfort. Other towns on or near the Rhine are vying with one another in tapping that stream exactly as Frankfort has done, to secure the same benefits regardless of cost. Crefeld and Carlsruhe, which are at some distance from the Rhine, have dug canals to that stream to secure the same beneficial results. Ten or fifteen years ago wheat was carried laboriously on men's shoulders; *now* large ships filled with wheat in bulk are unloaded by suction in a few hours, and the grain is automatically weighed whilst being whisked from steamer to store, or put into sacks at an incredibly high speed by machinery and dropped into railway-trucks. Electricity is largely used in these inland harbours, and some of them are perhaps the best equipped harbours in the world.

Formerly the Rhine was chiefly celebrated for its ruined castles and romantic scenery; now its whole character has been most completely changed, and its greatest interest lies in the fact that the river has been made to be, perhaps, the most perfect water-way in the world for the promotion of all industries, and everywhere in Germany water transport is being developed with the utmost vigour and

energy. On all rivers and canals the development of water transport is becoming a passion with the German business community for the promotion of commercial and industrial activities. It is the greatest of delusions to imagine Germany has secured for herself this great supremacy in trade by some crude methods of Protection or Preferential Tariffs; they have been far too wide awake to waste their time and means in agitating these various crotchets on every platform, and abusing Cobden and his school to ignorant auditors. The Germans, with their strong, practical common-sense, have adopted and carried out the principles of Adam Smith as laid down in the "Wealth of Nations"; by a good system of education, discarding the crude ideas of a selfish priestcraft, they have developed the skill, dexterity, and judgment of the whole labouring population, and are taking steps to promote these to the utmost year by year. At the same time they have secured for all industries the cheapest means of transport to all the markets of the world for their products at the right time, thereby relieving the whole community of a heavy burden in securing the profits of its industries, and not by favouring any particular interests or monopolists at the expense of the public.

The outcry raised in England against Germany is, perhaps, the greatest tribute we can pay them for their shrewdness and business capacity. We have the same opportunities, and the same guidance in Adam Smith's great work, and these we neglected in order to talk nonsense about "thinking imperially"; and having no settled convictions about anything, it is no wonder, then, the Germans have overtaken us in the race for all commercial enterprises, and threaten to leave us far behind in a short time, for all the tariffs which the wit of man can invent cannot possibly prevent Germany taking a foremost place in the commerce of the world. The only possible way to rival her is to follow the methods she has copied from us, and waste no more time about it. We have shown above

what has been effected for a river like the Rhine, at almost reckless cost, to secure so great a boon for the whole community as cheap means of transport by water, though the obstacles were very great and serious owing to climatic influences. Here in India we have totally neglected all such river improvements, and in the case of the Godavery, where we had every means for making that river navigable for 400 miles inland and improving all its tributaries, all the works have been abandoned for years to please one Chief Commissioner! and the Central Provinces have in consequence been subjected to the most awful famines yet recorded in the annals of this great country.

Let us briefly consider some of the advantages which Germany has secured for all her industries by attention to transport by water. It appears that a large iron barge capable of carrying 2,000 tons costs only £5,000, of the type in use on the Rhine; a German railway-waggon of 10 tons capacity costs £125: it would require, then, 200 waggons to convey the same quantity of goods as one barge now does; the cost of these would be £25,000. A goods train conveys about 250 tons; it would therefore require eight trains to convey as much as one barge is capable of doing, and to these trains one engine at least must be attached: the cost of these engines, at a moderate estimate, is £2,500 each, and would amount to £20,000. From the above figures it would appear that, for providing the means of transport by river, the cost is £5,000, and by railway £45,000, or, in other words, it costs nine times as much to carry goods by railways as it does by improved means of water transport.

It cannot be said that any great advantage is gained in speed on the railways so far as heavy goods traffic is concerned; the average speed for goods trains is said to be only three miles an hour, and in India it is certainly not more. On any good broad canals or improved rivers, having the banks properly protected, this could be easily attained by manual labour, and if steam were used the

average rate might be ten miles an hour, for there would be no occasion to stop the traffic on any account whatever. On railways the stations soon become very congested if the traffic is at all heavy, and great delays occur on this account. In the case of water transport these are all very easily avoided. It is alleged that the locks on canals cause great delay, but this is quite a mistake. On the Godavery canals the new locks are all so arranged that a boat can be easily passed through, up or down, in a couple of minutes, and the boats are not liable to be knocked about at all; in fact, the passage through any of these locks is as smooth as through a pond, and the same principle can be readily applied to locks of the largest dimensions.

The cost of traffic on the German canals appears to vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{24}$ of a penny per ton per mile; on their improved rivers these appear to vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of a penny per ton per mile. These rates are moderate enough when compared with railway rates even in Prussia, where the railways are worked cheaper, perhaps, than in any other countries of Europe; but, still, they are not so moderate as on the Aire and Calder Navigation, where they carry coal at the rate of less than $\frac{1}{100}$ of a penny per ton per mile! In India the canals have actually been most heavily taxed in order to get the traffic on to the railways, so very enlightened is all economic science in that country! The Germans have learnt by an experience of over twenty years that it is far more economical to use large boats in place of small ones for all navigable purposes. The average tonnage of a boat in use on their canals in 1882 was about 88 tons; but in 1902 the average was about 200 tons, and it has been found by actual experience that the cost of transport is reduced by 50 per cent. by making their waterways deeper and broader, so as to employ larger boats on them.

In Germany they had great difficulties to contend with in making their rivers navigable. The Rhine may often be seen so low that ships and boats have to lie up for lack

of water ; and, again, when the snow melts in the Alps that river is often so much swollen that it is like a raging torrent, and navigation is impossible. Nearly every winter the Rhine and the Elbe are so full of floating blocks of ice that navigation has to be suspended. In spite of all such natural obstacles, the rivers have been made navigable at all cost to secure the great advantages of the cheapest means of transport for all industrial products, and the results we feel pretty keenly nowadays by the great success of Germany in trade in competition with ourselves.

In India, when it was proposed to make the Godavery navigable for 400 miles inland, for which purpose there is an abundance of water which can be easily stored in large reservoirs and so regulate the supply of water in all seasons, the project was condemned and abandoned, and it was actually argued that the natural outlet for those provinces was by railway to Bombay over the Western Ghats, thereby increasing the cost of transport from about 15s. to £5 or £6 a ton for all products in general. It would require a pair of Sam Weller's patent double million magnifying gas microscopes of extra power to see how the industries of any country can be developed and promoted by increasing the cost of transport tenfold or more ; it does indeed require a *natural* to argue in this manner.

The policy of the German Government in regard to her water-ways has been very clearly stated in an official publication : " Any means whereby distances which separate the economic centres of the country from one another can be diminished must be welcomed and considered as a progress, for it increases our strength in our industrial competition with foreign countries. Everyone who desires to send or to receive goods wishes for *cheap freights*. Hence the aim of a healthy transport policy should be to diminish, as far as possible, *the economically unproductive cost of transport* in a country such as Germany, which is happy enough to produce on its own soil by far the larger

part of the raw material and food which it requires, and occupies the most independent and the most favourable position of all. *Owing to cheap inland transportation*, its economic centres are placed as near as possible to one another. When this has been achieved, Germany will be able to dispense with many foreign products, and it will occupy a position of superiority in comparison with all those states which do not possess similarly perfect means of cheap transport. Many circumstances which in former times gave superiority to certain counties—such as the greater skill of their workmen, superior machinery, cheaper wages, greater fertility of the soil—are gradually being levelled down by time and progress. But what will remain is the advantage of a well-planned system of transportation which makes the best possible use of local reservoirs and local advantages. It is to this that *England owes*, to a large extent, her unique position for commercial exchange with other countries."

Germany is by no means the only country in which the greatest attention is being paid to the improvement of water-ways. According to *Indian Engineering* of February 25, 1905, every country in Europe is expending large sums to secure these cheap means of transport. Even in Russia, where the climate is naturally most unfavourable, water-ways are being established and improved at very great cost. The same kind of thing is proceeding in Canada, and for the United States no figures are given, because the "enormous sums spent yearly by the Government in improving rivers and in making canals are too well known for it to be necessary to more than mention the fact." The results generally are that in all these countries there is a steady growth in export, showing very clearly that by our neglect in this matter our exports are not increasing in anything like the same proportion. Adam Smith says very justly (book i., chap. vi.): "The whole price of every commodity must still finally resolve itself into some one or other or all of those *three parts*, as

whatever part of it remains after paying the rent of the land, and the price of the whole labour employed in raising, manufacturing, and bringing it to market, must necessarily be *profit* to somebody"; and this explains very clearly why it is that those countries which have adopted the cheapest means of bringing products to markets are able to undersell us in our home markets *at a profit*. It is absurd to suppose these countries sell their products at less than cost price in our markets. Such a proceeding must soon end in bankruptcy, whereas we have every evidence to show that by their cheap means of transport they can easily undersell us in all markets, and make a very handsome profit for themselves. Some figures given in *Indian Engineering* of February 18, 1905, show the *increase* of manufactured exports as effected by improvements in cheap means of transport. Taking the increase in twenty years in the United Kingdom at 1 per cent., the increases in France, Germany, and the United States are given respectively at 15, 38, and 135 per cent. ! As a comment on this state of affairs, we learn that in 1895 the cost of freight charges for carrying a ton 100 miles stood in the United Kingdom at 174 pence, whilst in France, Germany, and the United States, it stood respectively at 68, 64, and 47 pence. Incredible as the figures may seem, they are given on the authority of Mulhall, and what is probable is that the startling disparity has been made more startling in the intervening years."

That these figures are not far from the truth we will now endeavour to show by some statistics in round numbers, and by comparing railway freights with the probable cost on water-ways. For our purpose we take the goods traffic on railways in the United Kingdom, amounting to 400,000,000 tons a year, and the revenue derived from it to be £52,000,000, at the rate of about 2s. 6d. a ton. As the load in Germany averages three times more than it does in England, and by their water-ways they can convey a ton of goods for about one-fifth the cost of

transport in England, there is no reason why in England, if her water-ways had been maintained in good working order, all this traffic should not be done for about £10,000,000, thereby saving the country over £40,000,000 in conveying its products to market. That this is no mere visionary idea is proved very clearly by the fact that since the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal the railways have been obliged to reduce their freight charges by over 50 per cent., and on the Aire and Calder Navigation, by adapting it to transport by steam-barges, the cost of conveying a ton of coal has been reduced to less than $\frac{1}{100}$ of a penny a ton per mile. As any saving in the cost of transport must necessarily go to enhance rents or profits, it is no wonder, then, why Germany and all other countries which have secured for themselves the cheapest means of transport by water-ways, are able to compete most successfully against us in all the markets of the world. To say that these countries dump their goods down in our markets at less than the cost price of production, and are at the same time progressing in all industries in the most thriving manner, is, to say the least of it, sheer nonsense. If England is falling behind in trade, it is not because she has adopted Free Trade, but because we have allowed the railways to secure a monopoly for themselves at the expense of the whole community, much in the same way as the Corn Laws did for the landlords.

In England we have spent close upon £1,200,000,000 on the railways; in Germany they have not spent £50,000,000 in improving their water-ways, and have secured for themselves access to all the markets of the world for all their products, at a rate which is driving us out of all markets; and all this has been effected for less than one-twentieth of the capital we have expended on the railways. All the Preferential Tariffs or Retaliation we may adopt cannot by any possibility enable us to compete successfully against the foreigners, who know how to husband their capital and apply it to most useful purposes

for the benefits of the whole community, whilst we waste our resources in maintaining a monopoly which is costing the country unnecessarily over £40,000,000 a year. The income-tax at 1s. in the £ yields about £30,000,000. If the cost of goods traffic in England was reduced by water-ways to the rates prevailing in Germany, France, or the United States, the saving to the country would be equivalent to taking off the income-tax altogether and the tea duty.

Disastrous as our economic policy has been at home in reference to this subject of cheap transport for goods traffic, it is a mere bagatelle in comparison with the ruin, misery and desolation it has caused in India. That country has been run into debt amounting to about £300,000,000, chiefly on account of the railways, and has now to pay England £9,000,000 a year as interest on this debt. It is admitted on all hands the railways do not pay in India; an expert has reported to the Government that the freight charges are over 80 per cent. too high for the industrial condition of the country; they have established no new industries in the country, and have not added a farthing to the value of real estate, and the bazaar rates for lending money have been more than doubled since their introduction, and in order to carry out this policy this country has been deprived of a good water-supply on which its very existence is entirely dependent. In the face of such facts as these, the people in England are told the benefits the railways have conferred in India are simply incalculable! It does indeed require the assurance of a Montague Tigg to palm off on the public such speculations, and if the public at home accept them without proper inquiry, it is no wonder they listen to such nostrums as thinking imperially. Protective duties for our industries, and to philosophical doubts about the degree of distinction, there may be—"tweedledum and tweedledee." In the meantime France, Germany, and many other States, are quietly working out those means which are undermining and sapping

us all round, and we actually think we can protect ourselves by a Chinese wall daubed with untempered mortar, very much like the Hindu systems of collecting land revenue, in which the only two possible methods of enhancing the products of the earth both in quantity and value have been always ignored in all ages. We have adopted the systems without any thought or careful investigation, and are reaping the consequence in the utter stagnation and deplorable poverty of the whole population.

It is difficult to understand this matter otherwise than as a just judgment of God for our deliberate neglect of His Word, for He has told us by His Holy Spirit that "he that ruleth over man *must* be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord God Almighty." And, like Pharaoh, we have asked in the most presumptuous manner, "Who is the Lord, that *I* should obey His word?" and He has left us to follow blindly the dictates of the most depraved priestcraft, the most debasing superstition the world has ever seen or heard of, in such mean subserviency that one's face is covered with shame and confusion as the results come before us year after year.

It is very remarkable that more than fifty years ago Sir A. Cotton described in his book on "Public Works in India" the great advantages to be secured by improved water-ways in all countries; and the great advantages the Germans have secured for themselves by improving the Rhine for all navigable purposes, in spite of most serious natural obstacles, such as masses of floating ice in winter, and raging torrents in summer by the melting of the snows on the Alps, fully confirm and prove the soundness of Sir Arthur's judgment and forethought. At the time it was openly declared that the idea of carrying goods by water for a farthing to a halfpenny a ton a mile was purely chimerical, and not worth listening to; but what we rejected the Germans have accepted and acted upon, and have succeeded in carrying their goods traffic on rivers and canals at *far less rates* than Sir Arthur expected, and in our own

country their rates have been improved upon, notably on the Aire and Calder Navigation.

So determined are the Germans to secure the utmost benefits by water-ways in the interest of the whole community that, finding her chief river the Rhine most seriously handicapped by the hostile tariffs of Holland at its outlets into the sea, the Government decided to cut the Dortmund-Ems canal in order to facilitate the Rhine trade from the Dutch harbours to Emden.

This canal is 168 miles long, has a depth of $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and ships of 1,000 tons can use it ; *it has twenty locks*, of which the most important have the enormous length of 542 feet. The cost averages about £25,000 per mile, which is considerably more than the average cost per mile of Indian railways, which carry goods traffic at 80 per cent. *more* than this country can afford to pay. All this expense has been incurred by Germany, *though it is doubtful* if this canal will eventually be very profitable ; but the work shows what spirit has been aroused in foreign countries to secure the cheapest means of transport for their industrial products at almost reckless expense. At the same time, in India we are levying *exorbitant tolls on canals* in order to divert the traffic on to the railways, ruining the cultivation of the land thereby, adding most seriously to the burdens of an overtaxed country, and neglecting all the magnificent rivers of India which are so abundantly supplied with water, and, if improved, could be made navigable for thousands of miles inland.

The great rivers of India, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmapootra, not only receive abundance of water by the usual tropical rains of both monsoons, but they possess an inexhaustible source of supply of water from the snowy range of the Himalayas, the most stupendous mountain range in the whole world. The two former rivers are subject, like the Rhine, in summer to violent floods by the melting of the snows, and, unless provided with large reservoirs, the water runs off rapidly to waste. It is different

with the Brahmapootra. The summer rises in this river are very gradual, it is supposed by the existence of natural lakes which receive and discharge the snow-water in its upper courses ; but the grave defect in this river is that it is not properly embanked, and spreads its stream widely in the plains of Assam, doing immense damage and making the navigation very unsatisfactory. If this river were dealt with as the Rhine has been, it would be one of the most magnificent water-ways in the world, and vessels of 500 or 600 tons could easily navigate it for some 1,200 miles inland. Every sort and kind of industry could be most profitably established in this basin ; the soil is most fertile, the water-supply extremely abundant, but the population is very sparse, and, as nothing has been done to make this grand river of any use, it remains in its natural state. And then we complain the Germans are taking our trade from us, and we must protect our industries, when here we have no industries to protect worth speaking of. Having the same means as the Germans possess on the Rhine in far greater abundance, it is quite plain what we ought to do with such a river as the Brahmapootra : follow their practice, make the river as navigable as possible, deepen its bar at Chittagong, and ocean steamers will then be able to go up to Decca, or perhaps much higher still.

The Germans do not hesitate to lay out £20,000 a mile to obtain such beneficial results for the whole community as cheap means of transport afford, and in India these results can be secured for far less. Probably £2,500 a mile would make the Brahmapootra the finest water-way and inland harbour in the world.

In Northern and Central India there are many large rivers, such as Mahanadi, the Nerbudda, the Tapti, which all have the same characteristics. They receive their waters during the prevalence of the usual tropical monsoon seasons, and their floods are dependent entirely on the intensity of the rainfall, having no natural lakes into which these rains can be received and distributed gradually ; and

their basins being generally steep and the ground very hard, the run-off is very rapid. The floods rise very quickly, and flow off in a very short time, leaving the beds of these rivers very dry, with only a small stream running in them for all the hot-weather months, which last for, perhaps, 210 days in an ordinary year; in seasons of short rainfall the drought may last for ten months out of the twelve in the year. During these periods man and beast have as bad a supply of water as can well be imagined, and as no agriculture can by any possibility be successfully carried on without an abundant supply of good water, it is no wonder no progress has ever been made in land cultivation in India. The tenure of land in these territories is as bad as it can possibly be: the cultivators are at the mercy of the zemindars, and the only idea these people have for cultivating land is to screw all they can out of the ryots, and do nothing to promote better cultivation of the land. To all intents and purposes the cultivators are in such systems of land tenure as badly off as African slaves were a hundred years ago. The only possible remedies in such territories are to make ryots secure of a fair share of the produce, to provide them with good common roads, and to secure as much of the flood-waters as possible in large artificial reservoirs, to put a stop to all waste, and to see that all such waters are properly distributed for irrigation or navigation purposes. No details for such works can be given off-hand; each river-basin requires to be more carefully examined, and its *maximum* rainfall registered, so that works can be projected to utilize the abundant rainfall to the greatest advantage for the whole community; otherwise the lands can never be profitably cultivated or famines prevented.

As regards the great rivers of Southern India, the Godavery, the Kistna, and the Cauvery, it is needless to write much more about them. These rivers carry off the drainage of the Western Ghauts, where the rainfall is well known to be most abundant, and the records, which have

never been maintained at all the anikuts for over half a century, fully confirm the data we have regarding the abundant water-supply in all their basins. It is either mere prejudice or sheer ignorance which is constantly proclaiming that, because these rivers are not supplied from snowy ranges, therefore nothing can be done with them, at the same time that we actually neglect altogether such rivers as have abundant supplies of water from the snowy ranges of the Himalayas. How little attention is paid to this all-important subject of inland navigation in India is quite apparent from the fact that the Irrigation Commission do not even refer to the matter at all in their report, and ignore the value and importance of the means of cheap transport in connection with successful land cultivation altogether! Whilst Germany, France, the United States, and other countries, are vigorously carrying out projects to afford the land the cheapest means of transport as the only possible means for promoting agriculture generally. No parts of India afford finer fields for every kind of hydraulic works than do the basins of these magnificent rivers of Southern India, and it is nothing but sheer neglect of all public duties and interests which has allowed them to remain in their natural state, and the consequences are the awful famines now so frequently occurring in these territories. As one instance of this gross neglect and mismanagement we have only to think of the Tungâbhadra project, which was condemned by the so-called experts for over forty years, and it is admitted the Government have lost some ten or twelve crores of rupees thereby, that the people have perished by the million for want of this most abundant water-supply, and yet, though now sanctioned since 1901 for investigation by the Supreme Government, no progress has been made with it up to date!

THE MOPAND IRRIGATION PROJECT, MADRAS.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

IN the April number of this *Review* for 1904, Mr. Hughes says at p. 303: "In Madras the local drainage is much more utilized than in other provinces. In the river basins, from the Pennar southwards, 70 per cent. of the surface flow is *utilized*, and there is very limited scope for impounding more water."

In the *Madras Mail* of December 28, 1904, there is a leading article on the "Mopand Irrigation Project" recently sanctioned by the Government of India for the construction of a reservoir on the Mannar River, a minor river in the Nellore district, the waters of which are at present *not utilized for irrigation*, and never have been, according to the Collector of the district, who declares there are seven such rivers in that district alone, the waters of which have always been allowed to run waste into the sea. It is impossible, then, to understand what Mr. Hughes means when he declares "that 70 per cent. of *all such drainages have been so fully utilized*, there is now only a very limited scope for impounding more water in any of them."

This will become more apparent when we describe the basin of this so-called minor river in connection with the rainfall of the district. This river has a catchment area of about 1,200 square miles, about the size of an English county; the average rainfall of the district is about 35 inches, judging from that of the adjacent district of North Arcot, which is said to be 37 inches. According to the data usually employed by engineers in such tracts of country, the yield of water from such a basin *in the tropics* in seasons of good rainfall should be about 2,700 million cubic yards of water, or 72,900 million cubic feet. Of this

quantity, which has always been allowed to run to waste, it is now proposed to impound by the Mopand project only 2,091 million cubic feet, which is said to be equivalent to a run off of 3·69 inches of rainfall from only 250 square miles of the catchment above the site of this dam. It cannot be said this project provides for all that can be done in such a catchment basin; the success of Sir A. Binnie's project at Nagpore shows that a much larger quantity of water can be easily and profitably impounded in all such river basins, and according to the data he used there should be no great difficulty in storing water in such a river basin for the irrigation of about 200,000 acres of land, whereas by this project only some 17,500 acres of land are provided for at a cost of Rs. 12,10,000, which is at the rate of about Rs. 126 per acre. Under these circumstances it cannot be said the project will be a profitable one, especially as there is no provision in the estimate for providing any facilities of access to any markets for surplus produce. The Government may rest assured that if such provision is not made in the estimates submitted to them for land improvements, there is no chance of any such projects being at all successful. It is useless to waste time in arguing further about this matter nowadays, for all experience for many years has fully established the rule for land to be cultivated in any profitable manner *it must be provided* with the best, the easiest, and the cheapest means of transport to the most extensive markets at all times to secure the greatest profits. If this is not done, then wages increase so much in cost of transport it is not worth while cultivating the land, and how, then, can rent or assessment be obtained from it?

There is nothing easier in the vast plains of India than to construct a road which will enable the common country carts and bullocks to carry double the loads they now carry. It would not be very difficult to make all gradients to Telford's standard for turnpike roads, 1 in 45 or 50. As the traffic does not require to be very rapid, gradients

of 1 in 30 or 35 might be allowed ; and if the roads are only properly bridged, the cost of transport could by these means be very easily reduced by 100 per cent. This matter has never received the attention in India which ought to be bestowed on it ; the only thing considered has been the outlay on the road. But the benefits such works confer on the whole community has never been thought worthy of any consideration ; and hence it is we hear so much of assessments being too high, whereas it is perfectly certain that the land can never be profitably cultivated if it is not provided with the cheapest means of transport to the most extensive markets at the proper time for its raw, heavy products, generally of great bulk and of little value in comparison with manufactured goods. In France and Switzerland they have understood the importance of this matter far better than we have done in England, and hence it is their agriculture is flourishing. In the former country they have abolished all tolls on their canals and river navigations, and have spent close upon 100 millions sterling of late years to improve these, whilst in India we have actually increased the tolls on the Godavery canals by about 400 per cent. in order to get the traffic on to the railways, and thereby have thrown some 30,000 acres of land out of irrigation, with a loss of revenue of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees, and a loss to the cultivator in the value of produce of about 7 lacs of rupees. This alone is quite sufficient to show how important it is to provide the land with the *cheapest* possible means of transport in order to enable the cultivators to pay a higher rate of assessment ; but to tax the means of transport because they are the *cheapest* possible in order to give the railways a monopoly of all the traffic at the highest rates is a policy which condemns itself for its selfishness and short-sightedness. But as regards this poor country, it is flagrantly said to confer "incalculable benefits on it" !

It is proposed to construct this Mopand dam of earth, and to be 70 feet in height when it crosses the river-bed.

We venture to say this is a very hazardous proceeding in such a locality. The site of the dam is about fifty miles inland from the coast, which is frequently visited by heavy gales of wind, hurricanes, or cyclones. At such times it is no uncommon thing for 10 or 15 inches of rain to fall in two or three days; and all these rivers along this coast are filled with immense quantities of water, and as their beds have very steep inclines, these waters are discharged in violent floods at very high velocities. Unless every precaution is taken to consolidate this dam as perfectly as possible in the shortest time possible, it will be liable to be carried away altogether by any sudden floods in a river of this kind. The loss of capital is not the only loss which will be incurred by such an accident. A whole season's revenue will also be lost, to say nothing of the discouragements and further delays which will occur in all probability. All these can be easily avoided by constructing the dam of heavy stone, so that floods can pass easily over it without doing any damage. The first cost will, of course, be much increased; but it is well worth incurring, for it secures the work from all chances of utter ruin and the miserable opposition always made in such cases.

It appears to us that full advantage has not been taken of this site to secure as much as possible the water-supply contained in this basin. The catchment area above the dam is said to be about 250 square miles, only one-fifth of the whole basin; but even here why should the dam not be raised so as to store $562\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic yards, which can surely be expected from the run-off in such steep ground? If we deduct one-third, or $187\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic yards, to be retained in the reservoir for a hot-weather supply, the quantity available for use will be 375 million cubic yards—sufficient for a rice crop on 37,500 acres of land, or for ordinary dry crops this quantity of water will suffice for 150,000 acres of land.

If this project is enlarged to bring up the cost to 20 lacs of rupees, the paddy lands at Rs. 4 per acre would yield

a return of 7 per cent., and the dry lands at Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ per acre $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a matter which appears to require more consideration, for it is quite apparent that by the proposed arrangements very large surplusing must be provided when so little of the available rainfall is to be stored as $77\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic yards—only about one-seventh of the average rainfall, so that six-sevenths will have to be surplused and wasted.

Another matter which does not appear to have been considered is that from this site it is not possible to lead off high-level channels from the top of the dam so as to convey the surplus water into the large tributaries which flow into the main river from the south and join it at Runnumuduqvo and Boodapoody. In these minor basins, which have considerable catchment areas of their own, it might be possible to store large quantities of water; and at Boodapoody, where all the drainage from the irrigated lands above must pass down the main streams towards the sea, a large anikut might be constructed to distribute all such drainage waters over the low-lying bunds towards Ramiapatnam. These lands have the advantage of transport by the railway and the Buckingham Canal, so their cultivation would be very valuable.

We have ventured to make these observations for the consideration of the Government, in the hope they may prevent disappointment and make the project far more profitable in a tract of country which is said to have suffered severely from famine and heavy losses of life and means, which this judgment always entails on all concerned. We are convinced there are abundant means available in all such river basins along the whole of this coast to prevent in a great measure all such losses if only properly utilized, and some of these we have endeavoured to indicate, not from any carping, cavilling spirit, but because from long experience with Sir A. Cotton we feel sure the Government and the people will be much benefited if all such projects are carried out so as to utilize as much as

possible the abundant water-supply now running to waste into the sea for want of properly - designed hydraulic works.

The point of greatest importance in designing works for the storage is the quantity flowing off the ground under certain circumstances, in order to take every advantage to make the reservoirs as useful as possible. In India, unfortunately, this matter has never received the attention which its importance requires, and we have no data to guide us satisfactorily. The old native tanks have all been constructed to supply mere local wants in certain villages, to cultivate a certain extent of land *in one season only*, and to get rid of all surplus waters as rapidly as possible, without any regard to the future wants of the peoples—a proceeding which is of the least possible utility in a country subject to long droughts even in ordinary years of good rainfall; for in Southern India the rainy season at the best prevails for only about 150 days in a year, and for the remaining 215 days little or no rain is expected to fall. In any season, therefore, when the usual rains fail, a drought may last for 500 days or more; it is then of the greatest importance to make all reservoirs, which have only a limited catchment area whence a supply of water can be obtained as large as possible, and to convey any surplus to other reservoirs lower down in the same basin.

This advantage cannot possibly be secured by using only the *average* rainfall of a district in any climate in the tropics where the fluctuations of rainfall are so great as these are in such regions. It is far more advisable to take the maximum rainfall and to store as much of this as possible in all suitable sites, and distribute all surpluses to minor works.

These remarks do not, of course, apply to reservoirs constructed on the large rivers of the country, such as the Nile, the Kistna, or the Toongabudra, for these can be relied on to fill the reservoirs in every season; but on the East Coast of India the rivers carrying off the drainage of

the Eastern Ghauts have only limited catchment areas, and are not regularly supplied by the south-west monsoon in any great abundance. The north-east monsoon frequently fails ; at the same time this coast is liable to have violent gales and hurricanes visiting it in certain months, when very heavy falls of rain occur in less than a week, and fill all these rivers with abundance of water, which they discharge very rapidly into the sea, utterly wasted, leaving the country exposed to all the losses of a severe drought. Now, if large reservoirs existed on all such rivers, much of this waste would be prevented, and there can be no doubt the people would be greatly benefited and the Government saved from much loss of revenue.

As regards the run off, we know from recorded observations that after the ground has been well saturated with moisture, such is the intensity of the rainfall in the tropics that as much as 98 per cent. of a shower of only 2·2 inches has been received into a reservoir within two hours and fifty minutes, and this occurred at an inland station in a basin which is by no means steep. All along the Coromandel coast the ground is much steeper in general and the rainfall much more intense. Our data and records are still very incomplete, but as an instance it can be mentioned on good authority that during the great famine of 1876-1878 in Southern India the coast about Madras was visited by a very severe hurricane in May, 1877. The rain fell in torrents for nearly a week, and all the rivers were in heavy violent flood, which all went to waste, at a time when every drop of water was worth its weight in gold, for lives of men and beasts were lost in that visitation by the million just for want of large storage reservoirs.

Considering the peculiar character of this rainfall on this coast, its vast intensity during short periods of time, the violent rapidity of its run off in immense volume, it cannot be said the work now projected will answer to any great or profitable advantage. In a basin which contains 1,200 square miles of country, or 768,000 acres, it is proposed to

supply only 17,500 acres with water on a small scale by storing only one-tenth or one-twelfth of the average rainfall ; but of this average 50 per cent. or more will probably fall in ten or fifteen days, when we know the run off will be excessive. These works, then, provide for storing a very small proportion of the available water-supply of this basin, and will have to be provided with very large waste-weirs ; moreover, the dam across the river is to be constructed of common earth. In a locality subject to such heavy falls of rain in any season, the chances, it appears to us, are that it will be swept away by any sudden storms during construction ; for a dam 70 feet high, to be properly consolidated, cannot possibly be run up in a short time. If any such accident should occur, the outlay to repair damages will add very seriously to the proposed estimated cost, and then we shall have another instance of the failure of irrigation works in India.

Under all these circumstances we cannot but advise the Government to have the whole project more thoroughly investigated, in order that every advantage may be taken of the abundant means for supplying this basin throughout with a good water-supply for man and beast, and good main and cross roads, thoroughly bridged, in order to secure the best results.

RAMIE, THE TEXTILE OF THE FUTURE : A PROMISING INDUSTRY FOR INDIA.

BY D. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE.

THE cotton crisis has brought out most prominently the need there is to have some other textile on which to rely in case of need ; the lesson taught, amongst others, is the folly of relying on one country for the supply of raw material—putting all one's eggs, so to speak, in one basket—the oversight in not being able to control supplies. We are essentially a textile-spinning nation, and the art of spinning *par excellence* belongs to us. We were, as our manufacturers thought, masters of the situation ; no need to bother ourselves about raw material : it was much beneath our notice. Let others grow ; we only can work it, and the raw product must be brought to us. But this folly is shown, that whilst others were growing, and the only ones growing, for the world's produce—even to-day is 80 per cent. in one hand—others also were learning to manipulate the fibre, and so a market demand was being created by others competitive to ourselves—this in Europe, whom we had taught. But not only here, but America, the holder of the supplies, rapidly increased their manufacture, so the demand arose at the source of production, which enabled our American cousins to dictate their own terms ; and how onerous they are is proved by the vast losses we have sustained, and the privations our operatives have endured. Many millions per annum—our Chairman of the Cotton-Growing Association puts it at 15 millions per annum—are lost to the country, gone to swell the producers' hordes, starving our operatives and retarding our progress ; for so vast an amount lost to the country means retarding other industries—arts, science, etc.—all in need of the money. Had one-tenth part of this loss been judiciously spent in encouraging the growth of the raw material in our colonies, it would have been

impossible for one country to stagnate the cotton industry as it has with such disastrous effect. Another point is prominently brought out, that the world's population increases so rapidly that the present source of supply could not cope with it ; and here, again, another difficulty confronts us. The competing countries manufacturing must keep up the price of cotton in order to supply the wants of the growing populations of the world, which, as civilization advances, increases the demand for cheap cotton. The foregoing brief remarks accentuate the facts. Textiles are in demand, and are likely to be more required as the world's population increases as it does ; that so long as a country is relying on a neighbouring country for supply, so long will it be open to the ravages of unscrupulous gamblers, whose opportunity is further opportunized by the fact that the demand increases in greater proportion to the supply. All this was fully brought out at the British Association, and our Premier, Mr. Balfour, very ably pointed out that cotton cornering could not be stopped by legislation, nor even by the extension of the area of growth, which was admirably suggested as a source to minimize the evil. Utilize our colonies and extend the area of production was good advice, he said ; but, still, so long as cotton had no substitute, cotton crises and cornering would be possible. He illustrated his meaning by corn. If this was forced to an abnormal price, rice, maize, oats, and the like, were at hand to take its place. We have therefore in evidence shortage of cotton, increase of population, the need of a substitute, and the blessing a new textile would confer on the world's population, with an increasing demand for clothing. Ramie is at hand, and knocking at the door for admittance to take that place. Had ramie received the attention it deserves, no cotton crisis would be possible, and why it has not been grown before this is one of the enigmas we have so often confronting us, and can only be explained by the apathy and shortsightedness of our manufacturers in not making secure their base of supply in our own colonies instead of

relying on the precarious supply of a foreign country. As far as cotton is concerned, even the famine caused by the American War in 1862, when Lancashire was brought to the verge of starvation, not even that opened our eyes to the possibilities of relying on our colonies for supplies, and the benefits to be derived from a self-contained empire. "Inquire within for everything" should be our motto. We should, and could, be independent of the whole world. There is nothing wanted in manufacture and the requirements of our population that cannot be supplied by our own colonies for the enrichment of our own peoples and the Empire's advancement. I am not here to preach imperialism, or the resources of the Empire; my object is to point out the merits of ramie, the king of fibres, as a textile. I am not advocating it to be grown as a substitute or rival to cotton; there is a place for both; they are both needed, and one will support the other, though cotton will benefit by far by the alliance. Ramie is so far superior to cotton they cannot be compared; the waste or noils of ramie would be the substitute for cotton in time of shortage. Ramie would back up cotton in time of need. Mixed with cotton, the alliance would be to improve cotton. We will therefore treat ramie as a desirable textile, which, possibly, in the near future will take premier rank in the textile trade. The Cotton-Growing Association is doing admirable work, and I say by all means encourage the growth of cotton in our Empire; but its possibilities and zone of cultivation are limited as compared with ramie, and it is by far a more precarious crop, more costly to grow and maintain, subject to vicissitudes, ravages of insects, climatic influences, etc., which are withstood by ramie. It grows almost anywhere, but, of course, with varying results. It will certainly grow where cotton grows, but it grows luxuriantly where cotton cannot grow, and is comparatively much cheaper to grow, and yields more. Time will not permit me to preface the object of this paper with more reasons for the cultivation of ramie, but I hope they are sufficient to create an interest to hear further about ramie, and what

it is. Ramie is a nettle botanically known as *Urtica Boehmeria*. The varieties best for cultivation are *nivea* and *tenacissima*. *Nivea*, I think, will be the favoured variety. It has long been grown by the Chinese, and utilized by them, and finds great favour, as the best-dressed Chinaman uses ramie in preference to other materials. In this he shows his good sense, as it is beautifully lustrous, silky, and strong ; it is many times stronger than cotton, flax, hemp, and the like. It is well known to many Asiatic peoples, and utilized by them for clothing, ropes, nets, etc. For this particular purpose it has exceptional qualities : it does not rot ; nets made of ramie are handed down from father to son. It was this that first brought it to the attention of Europeans. The Indian Government, appreciating its value many years ago, offered a prize, in the hope of fostering the trade and promoting its adoption. The native method is to prepare the fibre by hand, a somewhat slow and tedious process, though sure, as is proved by the Chinese methods. This did not suit our Western ideas, so a prize was offered to create a machine to degum, decorticate, and filasse the fibre—a sort of impossible machine, that would run a pig in at one end and serve it hot on plates for eating at the other. Westerners were asked to create a machine to treat a plant of which they had no information but from the description given in print. Naturally, the result was abortive, and, in my opinion, the hands of the clock of progress were set back as the impression got abroad that the fibre could not be treated, so it was no use to cultivate it. It was a mistake : the prize should have been offered for cultivation, and the growth and planting encouraged ; the machines for economizing labour would soon have followed. Planters ask for decorticators when they have no material to treat. The situation is on a par with a country setting up mills to grind corn when none is forthcoming to grind. The mill is a failure simply because the wrong conditions have prevailed. The plant does offer difficulties, it is true ; but they can, and are, easily overcome, and if planters will only grow in

sufficient quantities, the produce can be treated in a green state, and filassed, which will be a great advantage ; a saving in freight will be effected, and a gain in strength. Perhaps to many it would be interesting to know how the plant can be grown.

It can easily be propagated from seed sown in shallow boxes very thinly (it rots if crowded), kept moist (it damps off if saturated), and protected from the sun's rays as seedlings ; pricked out when large enough into other boxes, say 3 inches apart ; then, when 6 or 8 inches, transplanted into a nursery patch ; give each plant plenty of room ; encourage lateral shoots ; when the lower ones are long enough, nick and peg down—they strike easily ; when rooted, detach from parent plant ; take cuttings—they strike easily if kept moist. It is also propagated by division of roots. The raising, therefore, of stock-plants offers but little trouble. We now come to planting out, and here, I think, it should be left somewhat to the planter's discretion. I should say plant in beds of one, two, or three rows, 3 to 4 feet apart, leaving between the patches, whether one or three rows, an alley sufficient to permit a trolley or plough to pass. One must remember there is the fact that the crop is a heavy one, and has to be collected daily. The stems do not all mature at once, so have to be selected as they are fit. It is well to discourage lateral shoots in the crops, so the plants are better close. Fibre is better from long, straight stems, yet it is not advisable to allow the stems to grow too close, as it becomes more difficult to cut them. Under these circumstances it is difficult to give a hard-and-fast rule for planting, as much depends on the climate and soil as to the rapidity with which the plant matures. I mention these facts to show how easily the plant can be grown.

The next question is maintenance. Once a plantation is established, it goes on for about eighteen years, requiring only such attention as mulching, weeding, hoeing, ploughing between the rows, etc. It stands to reason a well-kept and manured plantation will yield better than a neglected one.

The next question is harvesting and preparing the ribbons. The Chinese method is simple: The stems are cut, the outer skin or bark, which contains the fibre, is stripped off and scraped, so as to rid it of its gummy juice and the brown pellicle. To do this the Chinaman protects his fingers with some hard substance, and draws the fibre through his thumb and forefinger, rinsing the fibre ribbons in water and drying them, care being taken to keep the ribbons parallel. They are then baled up and sent here to be filassed. It is at this point I would particularly draw the attention of the planter, especially where cheap labour is not available. Women and children can and do participate in harvesting in China, and must do in all countries till the plantations are large enough for mechanical decortication and degumming. Then a different condition of things will prevail. Degumming and decortication stations should be set up to treat the stems whilst they are green, and the advantages of such a system are manifold. The fibre will be better, and the filasse will fetch a far greater price. At the present time "rhea," or ribbons, stripped from the stem, with no attempt to clean them, fetch £15; whilst the ribbons divested of much of the gum, as by the Chinese method, fetch £30 to £40 per ton; whereas the filasse would readily fetch £50 to £60, and the cost of freight would be lessened at least 50 per cent. That is not the only gain, as to dry the ribbons and harvest them is adding the cost of handling. Another disadvantage, the gum is dried in the ribbons—it has then become difficult to remove—and the operation, as compared with treating it in its fluid or green state, is costly, and the fibre has naturally lost in strength and lustre by the operation. Everything, therefore, favours the treatment on the plantation up to filasse. Furthermore, there are the by-products. I am informed the gum is valuable; then the lateral shoots and leaves all contain fibre, and could be utilized to form paper-pulp. Ramie makes the finest paper; bank-notes are made of it. The leaves form an excellent vegetable and fodder.

I am of opinion these are somewhat the condition of things that will prevail. The planter will grow, and he will cut the stems, sending them in loads to the decorticator, which will be fixed at a point easily accessible to the plantation. These decorticators, where the plantation is not large enough to employ its own regularly, will be let out, much as threshing-machines are lent to farmers here. These ribbons, still green, will then be taken to a degumming station, much as sugar-cane is treated in Queensland. The product will then be packed in bales, and is ready for the market. As an industry it would be especially advantageous to grow in India. The planters are suffering from the failure of indigo, which has been superseded by the German production. Indigo and tea planters would do well to turn their attention to ramie, and I would advise every planter to make an experiment ; it is easily tested and proved. A 5s. packet of seed will give thousands of plants, and these plants would be stock-plants for propagation. If they cut the stems when about 3 feet long and send them to me, I would willingly report on the possibilities gratis. It is, therefore, easily within the reach of all to make the experiment, and, if successful, the outlay will have given them the nucleus to lay down a large tract. It is *par excellence* the finest of all fibre, strong, lustrous, long staple ; it will not rot, possessing qualities no other fibre possesses, equalling all other fibres in most points, excelling all in others. Why it has remained neglected so long is an enigma.

There is nothing other fibres make that this fibre does not excel in. The planter's profit would be enormous. It can be grown at £7 10s. per ton ; it fetches here to-day £32. Of course, at this price it is not competitive with cotton in its normal state ; but if ramie were grown in sufficient quantities, there is no reason why it could not be sold at £20, at which price it would compete. There is no reason, however, why it need compete to find a market. I maintain it has been one of the causes why it has not

been adopted. Manufacturers have sought to put it in competition, which the very shortness of supply prevents. There are a hundred things to which it can be applied without need of competition or substitution, and for which it can be used even at its present high price. Facility to imitate all other textiles is one of the principal causes which has kept back the development of the ramie industry, and if, instead of launching out into a series of experiments, attention had been concentrated upon the exclusive manufacture of those articles to which the properties of the plant were peculiarly and naturally adapted, this industry would have been in a more advanced condition than it is at present. The folly of building up a ramie manufacturing industry on a false basis—*i.e.*, employing the textile as a substitute for something else—is to be deprecated. The fibre should be utilized in those articles of economic necessity which would appear on the market as ramie, that any distinctive merit the fibre may possess will become known, not only to the ramie trade, but to consumers of the produce. As an illustration I will mention incandescent gas-lighting. It makes the most perfect base or stocking for the production of a mantle; its strength and absorbent qualities peculiarly fit it for this purpose, and it readily commands a price beyond any other material; and this trade has done much to cause the merits of ramie to become known.

Take another use—fishing lines and nets. It is not only stronger, but its non-rotting qualities place it miles above any other article. For sail-cloth, ships' rigging-ropes, which must be light, durable, and strong. If our Alpine climbers would use ramie ropes, there would be fewer lives lost from accidents—rope-breaking, etc. For balloon-nets. For underclothing it is an ideal hygienic clothing. It is a non-conductor of heat; consequently, the wearer is warm in winter and cool under the sun's rays. It is absorbent, and has the virtue of being not only a preventative, but a curer of colds. It is a splendid medical



URTICA (*BOEHMERIA NIVEA*).



URTICA (*BOEHMERIA TENACISSIMA*).



dressings, and for surgical purposes will command an unrivalled pre-eminence. Another use for which it would command a greater price is for clothing for troops and other uniformed bodies. I made tunics for the South African campaign. A trooper wore one, and it outwore three cotton tunics; and with, say, a cost of 6d. for the regimental tailor to repair, would still outwear two or three more cotton tunics. Compare the price:

Say cotton costs 5s., making up 5s.—10s. Three tunics, cotton, 30s.

Ramie place as high as double, viz., 10s., making up 5s.—15s. The ramie still serviceable, 15s.—therefore less than half the price, to say nothing of such advantages in a campaign as transport, storage, distribution, and many others. For tropical climates it is invaluable as a clothing. It will resist the “dhobies,” so disastrous in washing. The following are a few advantages:

1. It is many times stronger than cotton, flax, hemp, and the like.

2. It has a very long staple, from 3 to 19 inches.

3. It is easily grown, as it acclimatizes itself in almost any zone where agriculture is possible—of course, with varying results, as it crops in some latitudes as many as four times per annum.

4. It is beautifully lustrous, more after the nature of silk in appearance.

5. It does not rot, giving it, for many purposes, such as fishing-lines, nets, sail-cloths, ropes, boot and saddlery thread, tarpaulins, rick-cloths, tents, hose, shop-blinds, boot-linings, and other requirements necessitating exposure to damp, great advantages.

6. It is non-elastic, and herein it is invaluable for machinery belting and ropes, measuring tapes—mixed with wool, it imparts non-shrinking possibilities to that article—and many other purposes where rigidity is an advantage.

7. I could further expatiate on its merits, but space

forbids. I will curtail my remarks by stating there is nothing wool, cotton, flax, hemp, jute, and even silk, produces this fibre cannot imitate, and in most cases excels. It makes splendid cloth for uniforms, and almost indestructible table - linen, sheeting, dress goods, velvets, curtains, lace, tapestry and upholstery purposes, lamp-wicks, waistcoatings, trouserings, duck, riding-breeches, etc. It is an ideal hygienic clothing, invaluable for underwear. It is pronounced by the medical profession as the most advantageous surgical dressing and for body wear. I will wind up by pointing out its durability and toughness alone commend it as a material that is invaluable for its indestructible qualities.

I made a report for the Government as to the possibilities of ramie, and it elicited the fact everyone praised it, and spoke of its vast possibilities if once regular supplies could be assured. This report I shall be pleased to show. I am afraid I have already exceeded the limits of the paper usually read at your meetings, but I have by no means exhausted the subject, or even done justice to it. I want to impress on India the vast importance this industry will be to it. To the planters and farmers, to agriculturists, I say, "Bring it into the economy of agriculture." The question of decortication and degumming is simple, and I have offered, if the Government will encourage and foster the industry, to show how an enormous revenue could be made by their adopting the process as a Government monopoly, and I would do this on share terms, on the system of no cure, no pay. It will, I am afraid, be left to private enterprise, which will, of course, be slower to make the progress that is needed. Would it not be possible for some of the native rulers to take it up? It would be found enormously profitable, as well as a blessing to their peoples.

In conclusion, I would suggest a ramie association be formed. Are there not a few philanthropists who would subscribe a few pounds to distribute literature, or even give the seed away to all who would experiment? A few

hundred pounds would be ample. I am of opinion it could be made self-supporting, as the cost of printing would not be large. The seed could be sold at a profit to defray this cost and postage. The advantage of having a list of names willing to work in making the merits of ramie widely known would be great ; in short, it is from co-operation rather than Governmental support, I am of opinion, the first advance will be made, and I invite this Association seriously to consider the advisability of undertaking the good work, and form themselves into a ramie-growing association. Summed up, it means, given the supplies of raw material, there is an industry as big as, if not bigger than, cotton, waiting only for supplies. The market is assured. It is for the planters and landowners to take the initiative. The larger the supply the greater will be the success, and the agriculturists will not be able to satisfy the demand that will arise as the area of production increases for some time to come.

For an investment ramie will offer the capitalist a grand opportunity for years to come, and the pioneers will reap reward beyond the dream of avarice. The manufacturing industry would be specially beneficial to India. I am quite willing to offer my services and give intending planters and investors advice, if they will communicate with me—
D. Edwards-Radclyffe, Staines, England.

I have a few specimens here of the possibilities of ramie in cloth, yarns, fabrics, etc., and shall be pleased to explain to anyone who will favour me by an inspection. I have to thank you for kindly listening to my paper, in which I feel I have hardly done justice to the magnitude of the question.

I cannot better illustrate the position than by quoting a letter I have just received from a large manufacturer. He writes : " I see a future when someone will get a large supply cheaply, and reap a large reward, and make an enormous fortune while we struggle on with flax and tow, which are wasteful and dirty. And I dream of a time of hardly any waste, but spin a pure, clean, and beautiful fibre ramie.

It is exasperating to find this magnificent fibre going a-begging simply because there are no regular and sufficient supplies."

This puts the question in a nutshell. It is on a par with the evidence I collected for the Government report. All agree it is superior to all fibres—they would use it if supplies were forthcoming. This man could use a 100 tons weekly, and it is no isolated case. He dare not start till supplies are assured, and this is the condition ruling generally with all who know anything of the fibre. They want it, so it rests with the planters, and they will gain "beyond the dreams of avarice." Let all join in forming a ramie Association, having as its motto, *Floreat ramie!*

Another authority on the subject also writes: "Regarding ramie fibre, I believe there is a great future before it whenever it is grown to such an extent that it may come in cheaper or about same basis as flax. Flax year by year is growing dirtier, heavier, wastes are being made in spinning of it, and with the present condition of Russia, both externally, and particularly internally, the prospects of a good flax crop for the present year are not at all bright. Further, for the past few years the seed sown has been of the poorest quality, and therefore the crops turn out badly. If we can get ramie to beat flax in price, we could start with 20 to 30 tons weekly, which quantity would be further extended to, say, 100 tons, as we got it more and more introduced into different fabrics and used for different purposes."

RAMIE AS THE SAVIOUR OF THE FLAX INDUSTRY OF SCOTLAND AND THE SUPPORT OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY OF ENGLAND.

For the past number of years flax-spinners have been labouring under the disadvantages of dear and dirty flax

crops from Russia, where the largest proportion of the fibre used in Scotland comes from. With the exception of the period of the South African War, when the demand from our Government for material for tents and covers was very great, and when the question of price was not the most important factor, but quick delivery, the past number of years have been very poor years for those engaged in this industry. Year after year the crop gets poorer in quality; the old-fashioned method of retting the straw from the flax gets less attention in the hurry of the peasants to get their crop into the market and realized; or the crop is so late that a great part of it, either in the process of drying or retting, is caught by the snow, and does not therefore come to market until the following spring; or a backward season makes the flax late in being pulled, and the water in which the flax is retted is too cold to do so properly; or the seed is too poor in quality to produce good, clean flax. We have also to consider the old-fashioned methods of cultivation employed by the peasants. The chronic state of poverty, which is the rule rather than the exception, hinders them from properly manuring the land to produce better crops, so year by year the ground gets more unfruitful by reason of their inability to follow proper methods of cultivation.

Such are only a few of the disadvantages under which flax-spinners have to labour. First of all, a small crop means dear prices; then, when the flax is bought and delivered, under the usual guarantee, "fair average quality of the season's shipments," the spinner's second trouble begins. It generally, or at least within the past few years, has been found that the flax is poor in quality, very indifferently cleaned, and altogether very wasteful in working, and dearer than the spinner anticipated, when he is, perhaps, under obligation to deliver his yarn or cloth up to a certain standard of quality for a given price. What a spinner could formerly rely upon in his calculations for spinning wastes—in spinning flax-line—are now exceeded

by at least 4 per cent. The tow from such flax is naturally very wasteful to spin, and even after spinning it into tow-yarn, besides being poor in quality, the waste, which formerly averaged 25 per cent., in many cases is now nearer 40 per cent.

With the present war in which Russia is engaged, and the no less serious internal trouble, the prospects of flax from Russia being better for the 1905 crop cannot possibly be expected, but rather the reverse. What with the signs of serious revolution at no distant date, the large levies of reserves called up to fight for their country throughout all the provinces, the already ominous cry of poor flax seed presently being sown—all these have their own direct bearing on the flax question, and makes the outlook for 1906 far from being pleasant to contemplate.

If ramie were cultivated to such an extent that it could be imported to this country in hundreds of tons, then the long-suffering flax-spinners would welcome it, and see in it their salvation, and then no longer would be heard the wail of those who now speak of flax manufacture as a decadent industry, but with the coming of ramie, a new era, with additional industries following in its train, and the prospect of prosperity.

Never has the textile world had an opportunity offered like the present. Cotton suffers periodically from causes brought about by unscrupulous gamblers, whose tactics are fostered by our forefathers' short-sightedness in not encouraging cotton-growing in our own colonies. Even now fully 80 per cent. of the cotton production is in one nation's hands. Then the competition of France, Germany, and America as cotton manufacturers, together with the world's increasing population, requiring cotton faster than it can be produced—all this plays into the hands of cotton gamblers, and so we are periodically squeezed. Yet here again ramie can play the part of rescuer. The British Association brought out fully the enormous hardships and losses our cotton operatives sustained. The chairman admitted

15 millions per annum loss, to say nothing of the fearful misery to the starving operatives. Mr. Balfour pointed out these evils were only to be avoided by a substitute. He illustrated his argument by corn. It was difficult, he said, to corner wheat, as there were substitutes, such as barley, rice, maize, oats, and the like, which, when wheat reached an abnormal price, were ready to take its place. This substitute for cotton is at hand in ramie. The short noils, a by-product, are even better than cotton. and could be utilized by the cotton-spinners in case of shortage.

The Cotton Association is doing good work in fostering cotton-growing in our colonies, and it would do well to encourage ramie as well. It grows where cotton grows, and where it does not it has a much larger field. There is an enormous opening for ramie, and our sugar and indigo planters, to say nothing of tea, which has reached over-production, would find enormous profits in ramie. A report I prepared for the Government, evidence obtained from Chambers of Commerce, technical schools, professors, manufacturers, brokers, spinners, weavers, and others, may be summed up as : "There can be no two opinions as to the merits of this wonderful fibre ; it could and would be used in vast quantities if regular supplies can be assured at fair and reasonable prices."

It follows, therefore, that ramie must be a boon to all the textile trade, and as the world's population increases faster than clothing material is grown or produced, it will prove an all-round blessing to mankind. The Germans and French are alive to its possibilities, and even coquetting with our colonies for supplies to find their way to foreign looms. It undoubtedly is an opportunity for colonial enterprise. Ours should be a self-contained Empire. There is nothing required for our consumption, use, or manufacture our Empire cannot produce ; why depend on foreigners for our supplies ? "Inquire within for everything," and, what is more, see that we get it, should be our motto. Here is an

article, clothing for our people, we could supply the world. Wake up, John Bull! ramie is knocking at the door. Admit it to the economy of our Empire, and add vast wealth to our manufactures and agriculture, to say nothing of the boon, blessing, and benefits to our people. *Floreat ramie!*

D. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE.

Staines.

THE FUTURE OF THE HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

BY SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR, B.A. (OF THE "LAHORE
OBSERVER").

A HIGHLY interesting chapter contributed to the Indian Census Report, recently published, concludes thus : "Hitherto scholars have busied themselves with the tongues and thoughts of ancient India, and have too often presented them as illustrating the India of the present day. But the true India will never be known till the light of the West has been thrown on the hopes, the fears, the beliefs, of the 294 millions who have been counted at the present census. For this an accurate knowledge of the vernaculars is necessary, a knowledge not only of the colloquial languages, but also, when they exist, of the literatures, too commonly decided as worthless, but which one who has studied them and loves them can confidently affirm to be no mean possession of no mean land." Elsewhere in the same Report occurs another remarkable testimony to the advanced condition of some of the languages and literatures of India. We read : "India is a land of contrasts, and nowhere are these more evident than when we approach the consideration of its vernaculars. There are languages whose phonetic rules prohibit the existence of more than a few hundred words, which cannot express what are to us the commonest and most simple ideas ; and there are others with opulent vocabularies, rivalling English in their copiousness and in their accuracy of idea-connotation." It is my purpose to invite the attention of your readers to a language belonging to the latter category, and *the one* of that class which, to my mind, has the most promising future before it, and is admittedly spoken and understood by a larger number of people than any other language of the country. Call it by whatever name you will, write it in whatever character you

like, there is only one language that can in any sense be regarded as the language of the Indian Empire, as distinguished from provincial languages, such as the Bengali in Bengal, the Marhatti and the Gujrati in Bombay, the Tamil and the Telugu in Madras, and the Burmese in Burma. The part of the country watered by the Jumna and the Ganges is, of course, its stronghold, and its sway is undisputed from Patna to Delhi ; but its influence in one form or another extends from Peshawar in the North to Hyderabad in the Deccan, and, even in provincial areas which claim distinct forms of speech for themselves and have literatures of their own, it is not at all rare to find large numbers of people familiar with this Imperial language. In the days of the Moghals, when Persian was the language of the Indian Courts and the channel of all official communications, this language was naturally known as the Hindi, the language of Hind, which means India. The word Hindi we find used in this sense and applied to the spoken language of the people till very lately, when the epithet Urdu came more largely into vogue, and the pernicious distinction arose between Hindi written in Sanskrit character and Hindi written in Persian character, and the former began to be regarded the exclusive possession of the Hindus, and the latter a special privilege of the Muhammadans. As it is alien to my purpose here to enter into the reasons why such a split arose, or to declare who is to blame for the creation of this unhealthy difference, I have preferred to call it Hindustani, a term, which, I feel, covers, or at least should cover, both Hindi and Urdu, and has the additional advantage of being more familiar to us all, as this use of the term has originated with Europeans in India.

I have roughly indicated the area over which Hindustani is spoken or understood. It is noteworthy that this area has vastly increased under the *Pax Britannica*, and the railways and the printing press have contributed in no small measure to the extension of the sphere of this language.

But it is not in its rapid spread within the boundaries of India itself that Hindustani is ahead of every other language in the country, but its progress in another direction is more marked still. With the growth of a spirit of travel and enterprise among the people, a natural result of the educational and other influences that they are receiving from the West, the language has begun to travel abroad, and may be heard to-day in China and Japan in the Far East, and in England and America in the West. In Africa you will find it spoken not only in the colonies of the South, but in Uganda and Mombasa, as well as Zanzibar in the East, you will find representatives of the Hindustani-speaking race, carrying with them the language of their country. British Guiana in South America, and Australia, have considerable numbers of Indians, who speak Hindustani among themselves, though they have acquired a practical knowledge of English for dealing with the English-speaking community around them. I have been in correspondence with Indian gentlemen residing in these distant parts of the British Empire, and they have often written to me in Hindustani, showing that they were still keeping in touch with their old home and its forms of speech and writing. Those who go abroad in search of livelihood, or with the intention of changing their domicile, may not always belong to the class who speak Hindustani in India, but as they almost invariably understand it, they find it the most convenient medium of exchanging ideas with their own countrymen, and gradually come to adopt it. Some idea may be formed, therefore, of the great possibilities of the expansion of this language, bound up as it now is with the British flag, and sure to follow where the flag leads. What was the origin of the now wonderful progress of the English language, which is used over a wider area of the globe than any other European language? It was the enterprise of Englishmen that took it to the obscurest corners of the world, so that there is hardly any place left where the ears of an English traveller may not be struck with the familiar

accents of his dearly-loved home from most unexpected quarters and on most unexpected occasions. I wonder if modern English pioneers of labour and enterprise in the remotest outposts of the Empire are conscious that they are opening the way for the expansion of another language, which has in its constitution elements very similar to English, and does not yield to it in powers of growth and development. Though yet in its infancy, it is proving itself capable of interpreting some of the subtlest thoughts of the best writers of English and assimilating some delicate terms of expression which were not long ago regarded beyond the capacity of any modern Oriental language. Its basis is the Sanskrit language, which has a literature superior to some and inferior to none of the ancient languages of man. The superstructure is furnished by literary Persian, which includes the influence of another great classical literature—viz., Arabic. With such a groundwork and such a fabric, what may not a language become, especially if it is ready to receive and assimilate whatever it can from other advanced languages?—and there is no gainsaying that Hindustani is pre-eminently receptive. Not only has its vocabulary grown since its contact with English, but its idioms, its mode of expression, and the style of its modern writers are receiving a strong impress of the Western influence, and the results of a careful engrafting of the culture of the West on the taste of the East are singularly happy.

One other phase of the expansion of Hindustani calls for some notice. In a few cases it has come in for recognition even in parts of the world which are under flags other than British. For instance, the Amir of Afghanistan has introduced it in the recently founded Habibia School, and it forms the medium of instruction in that school. Many will fail to understand this action of the Amir, but those who know the circumstances of the case can easily realize that no other way was open to him, and the stern law of necessity has in a strange manner opened the way for an Indian language in Kabul. It will be remembered

that the Amir expressed not long ago an intention of founding a college at Kabul for educating the youth of Afghanistan on Western lines, and the English language was to be the medium of instruction, both on account of the richness of its stores of learning, and as a practical demonstration of his friendly relations with the English Government. But the Mullas made a strong protest against the introduction of English in the institution on what they regarded as religious grounds, and the Amir was forced to content himself with Urdu for the present, as a thin end of the wedge. It may well be asked, Why could not Persian be the medium? The answer is to be found in the simple reason that no text-books in Persian are available on history, geography, physical science, chemistry, and other subjects that form an important part of the curriculum of our schools. He found the text-books prepared in Hindustani in India by the Education Department of the Government in the Punjab convenient enough, the character in which they are written being Persian, and ordered them to be adopted, thereby paying a compliment to our Education Department, of which we have some reason to be proud. Some of our Hindustani books were also to be adopted, though with less innocent motives, beyond the territories of the Amir, in a school for the instruction in Hindustani of Russian military officers at Bukhara, the proposal to establish which was widely commented upon in the press not long before the commencement of the Russo-Japanese War, but the significance of which has been drowned in the turmoil of the disastrous war in which Russia is still involved. Whatever the motives of Russia in this innovation—and I think they are not very difficult to divine—it was obviously a triumph for Hindustani, and ought to have given a stimulus to the study of the language by our own military officers in India. The small colonies of Indian merchants lining the coast of Persia in the Persian Gulf have a number knowing Hindustani, and one should not be at all surprised if they succeed,

in course of time, in planting Hindustani on Persian soil. The Government of His Excellency Lord Curzon, who is very keen on establishing between Persia and India the same intimate commercial relations which existed in former times and have gradually become extinct, has been trying to open up the Nushki-Sistan route, and to induce Indian traders to make use of it—a movement which is sure to conduce in some degree to the propagation of the Hindustani language. Another small beginning of a contact between India and Persia has also a significance of its own, though it may appear too small even to deserve a mention. A dozen or so of Persian young men, belonging to the leading families of Tehran, were sent some time ago to the excellent college at Aligarh in India to receive education. They are still there, and if this experiment proves a success, which I hope it will, one should not wonder if Aligarh begins to attract a regular and growing supply of Persian youths, who may carry with them the language and literature of the country which they visit for purposes of study. To the visits, for religious purposes, of Indian Musulmans, to Mecca and Medina in Arabia, and to Baghdad and Karbala in Asiatic Turkey, is due the fact that the sounds of the language are not quite unfamiliar to the subjects of Turkey, and thus it is evident that numerous forces are at work, increasing every day the sphere of influence of Hindustani, and tending to make it a great and widely-used tongue.

This much for the possibilities that the future has in store for the language. Now we come to its literature. Referring once more to the Census Report, we find that 16,395 books of this language were printed in the last decade, including 10,879 in Urdu; that is a greater number than that of publications in any other language of India. This shows that we have here a fast-growing literature. Those who are familiar with the official analysis of the quarterly reports of our publications in India know full well that they are of a very mixed character, and contain

a good deal of trash or matter of ephemeral value. But making due allowance for these defects, which are to be found more or less even in the literatures of more advanced countries, there remains enough to justify the expectation that the language of Hindustan is going one day to possess a literature befitting the best traditions of the country, and holding its own with the literature of some older and richer languages. The early growth of this literature has been confined mostly to poetical works, and we have, in Hindustani, poets, the works of each of whom fill several large volumes. The last of this line of eminent writers has just passed away from our midst, and the old school of Urdu poetry has lost in him one of its greatest masters. I refer to Dāgh, whose death has been reported early this year in Hyderabad, and has caused universal regret in India. He was the laureate at the Court of His Highness the Nizam, and received in his lifetime an appreciation such as has fallen to the lot of few poets in the world, his stipend being £1,500 a year, besides the income he derived from his books and the gifts he received from his princely patron. He has left behind three *Diwans* or collections of verses, which are immensely popular, and one *Masnavi*, which is believed to be based on an interesting autobiographical episode. Another illustrious name in the Urdu literature of modern times was Amir, the famous lexicographer, who was engaged in the work of providing the language with an exhaustive and reliable dictionary, known as the *Amir-ul-Lugat*, which still remains incomplete, as the cruel hand of Death cut short his useful career about two years ago. But it is not on the half-finished lexicon that his fame mainly rests. His *Diwans* and the true poetry of his nature, which found expression in charming verse, are his chief claims to the attention of posterity. The *Diwans* of Dāgh and Amir, and of their illustrious predecessors, Zauq, Ghalib, Atish, Násikh, Mir and Saudā, can bear comparison with the verse of some of the best-known Persian poets, whose works have been presented to the Western

readers in excellent translations. These writings supply only one form of verse, and that is the *ghazal*; but that is because the *ghazal* has been so much in demand through the influence of Persia.

It goes but incidentally into the delineation of nature, the study of the sublime and the beautiful, and the admiration of the good and the noble things which enter so much in the conception of poetry in the West. But of one constituent of true poetry it treats exhaustively, and that is "the human heart." It analyzes with wonderful accuracy the subtle workings of the heart, and of that mysterious but overpowering passion, love. No phase of this great question has been lost sight of by the writers of *ghazal*, and this accounts for their success and popularity, and their lasting human interest. But whatever the justification of the course adopted by these writers of the old school, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Hindustani literature cannot become a lasting force in modern India and the instrument of good that it ought to be unless its poetry flows into channels other than traditional, and shows the elasticity of spirit characteristic of the present age. The importance of this view is not only coming to be recognised theoretically, but in practice, and a school of young writers of great promise has arisen, who combine the culture of the East and the West, are imbued with the spirit of Tennyson and Wordsworth as much as with that of Ghalib and Hafiz, and are giving valuable contributions to the healthy literature of the day.

It is not, however, to poetry alone that the literary activity of the living writers of Hindustani is limited. We are entering just now on an age of prosperity in prose. We find instances in all ages, in every country and in every language, of poetry flourishing before prose, and the latter gradually taking the place of poetry as the language and its literature advance. The same has been the case in India. We find poetry gradually drifting into rhymed prose, and rhymed prose giving way to a simpler style

and the simpler style gaining in perspicuity, terseness, and effect, under the influence of English literature. With Ghalib, who lived in Delhi till after the Mutiny, originates a style in prose which has since found numerous imitators, and has as its ideal that heart should speak to heart in writing without any artificial aids that characterized the styles of earlier writers, who really despised prose, and when using it, tried to bring it in form as near poetry as they could. We have now some authors who write poetry in prose, but their poetry consists in the nobility of thought and expression, and not in the outward form of stilted rhyme. Ghalib, in his letters to his friends, which have been collected since his death, and form one of the most readable volumes in Urdu, adopted a style which will long serve as a model to the best writers of the language.

The service to prose rendered by Ghalib was continued by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, whose highly successful efforts in the cause of education and reform, and in the foundation of the Aligarh College, have almost thrown into the background the rest of his life-work, not the least valuable part of which was that devoted to the development of the literature of his country. It was he who first discovered the now famous poet Hali, whose quatrains have recently had the privilege of being laid before the public in England in an excellent translation by Mr. G. E. Ward, M.A., a retired member of the Civil Service, and an enthusiastic student of Hindustani. It was round Sir Syed that some of the leading literary lights of his time gathered and shone. We find associated with him men like Maulvi Nazir Ahmed, LL.D., one of whose charming and original works may be seen in an English translation, which again we owe to Mr. Ward. The *Mirat-ul-Urus* ("The Mirror of the Bride"), as the story is named, depicts life behind the *purda*, and those interested in the condition of the female world of the upper class of Indian homes will find a faithful and reliable image of a typical young *purda* lady in Nazir Ahmed's "Mirror." In scenes of

life in Hindustani homes in Oudh, nothing can beat, or even approach, the admirable sketches presented in the voluminous prose works of Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar, of Lucknow, a writer to whom our prose owes a lasting debt of gratitude. With him may be coupled the name of Sharar, another product of Lucknow, who, as a novelist, enjoys vast popularity. To Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad is due the credit of a few works of very permanent worth and national importance, based on the history of India and written with the graceful ease of an accomplished master of style, which stand unrivalled in their literary finish and the force and simplicity of their language. The names of Hali, Shibli, and Zaka-Ullah cannot be forgotten as standard writers of biographical and historical works, thus meeting a long-felt want of Hindustani literature, and bringing it into line with literatures which glory in large stores of such books.

I have mentioned the names of those who occupy the front rank of prose writers, and it would be tedious if I were to give the long list of writers who come next to these, and have already secured a high place for themselves in literary circles. It would be equally tiresome to enumerate their works. I think I have said enough to show the reasonability of entertaining a hopeful view of the future of Hindustani prose, as its present condition is remarkably good, considering that it is but in its infancy. In the full bloom of its youthful vigour it is sure to do honour to those who gave it birth, and to those who reared it and carefully watched its growth.

Another department of literature which deserves notice is journalism, and though there is considerable room for improvement in it, yet it is a fact that can be very easily proved that Hindustani journalism is making a very fair progress. What is the standard of the general information of the average vernacular journal in India, and what the value of its political criticisms? are questions requiring a separate paper to themselves; but what we are concerned

with at present is the literary worth of our periodicals, and in that there are signs of a marked improvement, especially in monthly journals, some of which are doing work that is of more than periodical interest, and has a healthy influence on the general tone of the vernacular press. By far the largest number of our vernacular papers are weeklies, and some of them are now beginning to see the value of specialization. They devote themselves to particular branches of activity, and make themselves special organs of people following certain walks of life. They are serving splendidly as organizing agents, and one now actually knows in what quarter to seek for help in a particular cause. There are journals for ladies and for children; there are papers making a speciality of agriculture, of trade, and of industry; there are periodicals dealing with the business of the printer and the publisher, and there are newspapers for the general reader. There are organs of social reform movements or educational bodies, and there are journals trying to educate people in political or economic ideas. These are things that were not dreamt of two decades back, and very little known even ten years ago. All this has come into existence during the past few years, and the number of such productions is fast multiplying, and, what is of more importance, finding or making room for itself. Though nothing like the sound financial basis of the leading journals of England can be boasted of by most of the Indian periodicals, and complaints as to want of sufficient pecuniary support are often heard, yet it is remarkable that the journals have to-day more numerous readers than they ever had before, and are better off even financially, notwithstanding their great multiplicity and the growing keenness of the competition among them. Of dailies we have not many in Hindustani, and the time is yet to come for them to flourish, but the few we have are, on the whole, well conducted, and raise hopes of a brighter journalistic future.

Though languages and literatures grow naturally, and

artificial stimuli are little better than useless in their development, yet their growth, when naturally commenced, can be encouraged as well as guided by the co-operation of eminent literary men, and it is satisfactory to notice that the foundation of such co-operation has been laid by the formation of the "Aujuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu" and the "Nagri Pracharni Sabha," the one multiplying books written in Persian character, and the other those written in Nagri character, which is a Sanskritic alphabet. Both are endeavouring to supply the want of a copious vocabulary of technical terms, to facilitate translations of Western scientific works into the language. We welcome both, as their efforts are directed towards the achievement of the same object—the improvement of the literary and scientific treasures of the language of Hindustan. A language does not lose its real entity because it is written in a particular character. Hindustani written in Roman character remains Hindustani still. Even a few words more of Arabic or Persian in the one case, and a few more words of Sanskritic origin in the other, do not make any wonderful difference to the essential character of the language. If these two bodies could work in harmony and help each other, nothing could be more desirable; but if, in view of communal differences, they find co-operation impracticable, there is no reason why they should not be able to avoid friction, which can be easily done by each restricting itself to its own proper sphere and refraining from an aggressive policy towards the other.

It must be admitted that every educated Indian owes a duty to the language of his home, and should find some means of discharging it. But the rulers of India, too, owe a duty to the vernaculars of the country, and particularly to Hindustani, as the foremost and the most widely-used of them, which cannot be too forcibly pressed on their attention. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, of blessed memory, good as she was in all that she thought and did, did India justice by making an honest endeavour to under-

stand its language, and thus set a noble example before the members of the Royal Family, as well as before the great English nation. Englishmen and Englishwomen who always follow royalty in matters of fashion may as well profit by the example of the late lamented Queen in a matter of duty. Reflect for a moment over the idea of governing a people whose language you do not understand, whose literature you do not appreciate, and with whose sentiments you cannot sympathize. No responsible English statesman who has to do with the administration of India, or is in any way in a position to influence the destinies of the country, should be without a knowledge of the people and their language, while a large number of the leisured class in England, who devote themselves to so many different intellectual pursuits and occupations, as fancy impels or curiosity moves them, may, with advantage, find pleasure as well as profit in a study of India, her people, and her literature. Is it not a pity that this metropolis of the world, which can boast of an organization or a society for almost every possible subject of investigation, and has arrangements for the study of every language, should be without any school of Hindustani and any society for the propagation of Hindustani literature? There are many of your readers whose interest in India is deep and personal, there are so many societies in London engaged in the good work of making India better known and understood in this country, and yet the chief means of effecting these objects, a study of the languages and the literatures of the country, is practically neglected. It may be said that the multiplicity of Indian languages stands in the way of any such organization. There is force in this objection, especially in view of the official bugbear with which the Census Report frightens us, when it tells us that there are no less than 174 languages spoken in India. Whatever the value of so exhaustive a survey for the purposes of ethnological research or other official hobbies, one can hardly resist the remark that statements of this

kind are of no use to the practical politician, who will find himself as well equipped as necessary for the due performance of his duties if he combines a good acquaintance with Hindustani with a workable knowledge of one provincial dialect ; while for the general reader in England, who wishes to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the people of India and of the trend of their modern literature, Hindustani alone would be quite sufficient, and would give him a fair idea of the chief characteristics of the Indian community.

The civilian who goes out to India to take part in the actual work of the administration requires a very thorough knowledge of the language, much more than the average civilian nowadays possesses. The civilians of an older generation were much better equipped in this respect, and found in their knowledge of the language a key to the hearts of the people. The language tests which the modern civilian has to pass before he is sent out, and the departmental tests prescribed in India, have two defects : In the first place, they do not require sufficient qualification ; and in the second place, they recommend as text-books works that have long been obsolete, and that employ an ornate style no longer in use or favour. The text-books of official examinations in Hindustani need a very careful revision to be brought up to date, and to prepare a careful course of choice selections from standard works of prose and poetry may be recommended as the best thing that can be done to furnish the members of the Indian Civil Service with a good knowledge of Hindustani. It is not seldom that one meets civilians in India, even in parts where Hindustani is the language of the Courts, who cannot speak a few sentences of Hindustani correctly, though they are supposed to have passed a special test in the language, and have to converse in it with some of their Indian visitors. On such occasions they talk Hindustani with a sweet disregard of the grammar and idiom which has become proverbial, and cannot enter into any but the most formal conversation.

We often hear of the mysterious undercurrents of Indian thought, which the Western rulers of the land cannot penetrate, and which the Oriental is said to carefully hide from them. But the key to that mystery lies before the Western rulers in the literature of the country, if they only take it up and try it. Instead of reading the periodical literature through the translations of their subordinates, who have it in their power to suppress whatever they like and to set forth whatever they desire, let the officials be able to read it in the original, just as they take up an English newspaper or magazine, and they will find themselves immensely well-informed on matters that now escape their notice. Whenever they hear of a book that has stirred the very soul of the people, let them take hold of it and read it, and try to find out the secret of its strength. They may study some specimens of the works of popular poets, and they will know the bent of the taste of the people. With this never-failing source of information at their service nothing will remain secret, nothing impenetrable. At present the case is quite different. The official world in India moves in one direction and the non-official mass of humanity in another. Matters that touch most deeply the thoughts of the people pass unheeded by the members of the ruling body, thus creating a gulf between the Government and the people which can never be bridged as long as the present indifference to vernacular literature remains, but, on the contrary, is likely to increase with the increased influence of literature which the future promises to bring with it. Once familiar with indigenous literature, you can take part in its development and shape its future course, so far as you may, in accordance with your own views. Leaving it alone, you lose not only a great possibility of intimate touch with the people, but place in their hands a power which may be wielded against the best interests of the Empire, for want of any responsible control or guidance.

I have tried to show that the Hindustani language has before it a future that is bright, and that its literature is full

of promise. I have shown that forces, both in India and outside, are at work in favour of its expansion. I may add that I regard these forces as irresistible, and believe that any efforts to the contrary, whether resulting from racial narrow-mindedness in the country or from the occasional obliqueness to which official vision in India is prone, may retard for a time the progress of the language, but cannot permanently stop it. Its future, however, can be shaped, and its promise brought nearer fulfilment by the Government of the land co-operating with the people in building up a literature worthy of the ancient traditions of India and of the genius of the great British Empire, under the influence of which Hindustani, at least in its present form, really began its career, and under the sympathetic guidance of which it expects finally to reach its goal and to take its place amongst the best literatures of the age.

THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT ALGIERS.

April 19-26, 1905.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

THE Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists, which numbered upwards of 700 enrolled members, was formally opened on April 19 at the Palais Consulaire (Chamber of Commerce), under the presidentship of the Governor of Algeria. In a well-conceived and excellent speech Mr. Jonnart, after having explained the importance of the Congress from an Algerian point of view, gave a rapid sketch of the great progress made by France in Algeria, of which the members of the Congress were able to give an account by a tour in such a splendid country. The distinguished and sympathetic Governor well demonstrated the practical side of scientific study. "Such research as yours," he said, "which beholds the man of yesterday and of to-day, is full of lessons for the politician, the Government, as well as the colonist. Oriental science is making clear to us the customs, traditions, laws, and the relationship of Musulman peoples, and becomes a valuable help to us in investigating the delicate problems to which the difference of races and religions gives rise."

Mr. R. Basset, Director of the École Supérieure des Lettres, the learned Arabist, was elected with acclamation President of the Congress. We shall say nothing about the official speeches made by the representatives of foreign governments and societies. Amongst these were two in Arabic, one by Shaikh Muhammad Sultan (Egyptian Government), thanking the President for this meeting of the International Congress; the other by the Hanifite Mufti, of the Mosque of Pêcherie, Boukandura, in celebration of the greatness of Islam and the benefits of civilization. It may be remarked, in this respect, that in Algiers the Hanifite rite is represented by this Mosque only, which is a relic of Turkish rule.

The Congress was divided into seven sections: I. India—Aryan and Indian Languages; II. Semitic Languages; III. Musulman Languages (Arabic, Turkish, Persian); IV. Egypt—African Languages, Madagascar; V. The Far East; VI. Greek and Oriental; VII. African Archæology and Musulman Art. Some sections were composed of very few members; on the contrary, the Musulman section, as was to be expected, was much patronized. The audience numbered between 80 to 100, a third being Musulmans. The Arabic language and literature, and everything connected with Islam, would naturally, in a Muhammadan country, occupy the first place. We therefore commence with this section by giving a short list of the principal communications.

Musulman Section.—Asin (Madrid): "Psychology according to Mohidin Aben al Arabi." Codera (Madrid): "Ancient and Modern Books existing

in Morocco." De Calassanti Motylinsky (Constantine): "The History of Ibn Serir" (an important work). Desparmet (Blidah): "Popular Poetry of To-day in Blidah" (very interesting). Hassen Husny Abdul Wahab (Tunis): "Sketch of Musulman Rule in Sicily." Martino (Algiers): "Muhammad and French Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (interesting and well written). Massignon (Paris): "On the Geography of Morocco in the Sixteenth Century" (interesting). Huart (Paris): "Africa of Muzaffarian Geography, Fourteenth Century" (curious). Montet (Geneva): "The Zkara, are they Christians or Muhammadans?" Vollers (Jena): "The Literary and the Spoken Language in Ancient Arabia" (both important and extremely interesting: see below). Robert (Maadid, Algeria): "Contribution to the Folklore of the Natives of Algeria." Mirante (Algiers): "The Arabic Press" (important and very interesting). Feliu (Blidah): "Water Legislation in the Shebka of M'zab." Shaikh Muhammad Sultan (Egypt): "Divine Legislations, though differing from Each Other, all tend towards the Same Object; the Musulman Law is applicable to all Times; Obligation to educate Women according to Musulman Law" (in Arabic). Guidi (Rome): "Note on the Nasib of Arabic Poetry" (an interesting work read by Nallino). De Goeje (Leyden): "The Incasement of the Dead by the Ancient Arabs" (interesting). Shaikh Muhammad Asal (Egypt): "The Arabic Language can and must draw on its Own Basis to express Modern Ideas; a Means of bringing together the Concord of Arabic Dialects" (in Arabic). Muhammad ben Sheneb (Algiers): "The Ijāza of Sidi Abdul Qādir Al Fasi." Ben Haj Mokhtar ben Tahar (Chateaudun du Rhumel, Algeria): "Education in the Zavias" (interesting).

Aryan Section.—With this section is connected the very important work of Pullé (Bologna), presented to all the assembled sections, "On the Ancient Geography of Indo-China." Pullé, in accordance with the commission entrusted to him by the Congress of Hanoi, described a magnificent and very valuable collection made by himself of old maps in connection with the history of the geography of Indo-China. The walls of the hall of the Musulman section, where this communication was made, were covered by more than 200 maps, representing in a most exact and remarkable way the admirable collection of Pullé. Kirste (Graz): "Notes on Indian Paleogeography." Knauer (Kieff): "On the Origin of the god Varuna." Bloomfield (Baltimore): Presented the first part of a very rich and remarkable Vedic concordance. He examined several problems of Vedic lexicography. Windisch (Leipzig): "The Linguistic Character of Pali."

Semitic Section.—Hommel (Munich): "The Wedding Feast of the Sun-god of the Babylonians and the *Makhtan* of the King by the Arabs of the South." Haupt (Baltimore): "On Greek Philosophy in the Old Testament (Ecclesiastes)." Abbé Labourt (Paris): "A Nestorian Monk of the Seventh Century, Babaia the Great." Grimme (Friburg, Switzerland): "On the Position of Arzawa." Wessely (Vienna, Austria): "On a Very Important Papyrus of Vienna relating to a Tax on the Jews of the Town of Arsinoe (Medinat al Fayoum)." Abbé Nau (Paris): "Historical Note on the Monastery of Qartamin."

Egyptian Section and African Languages.—De Gregorio (Palermo): "The Etymology of the Derivative Prefixes of the Bantu Languages, taking the Shinyunga as a Basis." Mahler (Budapesth): "The Sothis and the Dates of the Moon of the Old Egyptians." Wiedemann (Bonn): "On the Worship of Animals in Egypt." Wessely: "A Methodical Observation for the Study of the Egyptian Topography of the Greek Epoch." Schmidt (Copenhagen): "On Egyptian Coffins and Sarcophagi." Destaing (Tlemcen): "The Beni-Snous Dialect." Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris): "The Shari Languages." Duchêne (Paris): "On the Problem of the Origin of the Peuls."

The Far East Section.—Cordier (Paris): Presented specimens of three xylographically printed works by the missionaries of Kouei-Tcheou in the latter part of the nineteenth century. T'ang Tsai-Fou (Paris, Chinese Legation): "A Chinese Work on the Marriage Customs of the Miao-Tseu." Chavannes (Paris): "Hindu Stories translated into Chinese." Pelliot (Hanoi): Points out the principal works published in Chinese by Musulmans, of which the first is not earlier than 1642.

Greek and Oriental Section.—Cumont (Gand): "On the Destruction of Nicopolis of Armenia in A.D. 499, according to the Syrian History of Josué the Stylite." Wassiliev (Dorpat): "Agapius of Membidj, the Arabian Christian Historian of the Tenth Century, as a document of the History of Byzance." Toutain (Paris): "The Worship of Egyptian Divinities at Delos." Kretschmer (Vienna, Austria): "The Formation of the Ordinary Greek Language at the Hellenistic Epoch." Krumbacher (Munich): "On the Oriental Elements of Byzantine Civilization."

African Archaeological and Musulman Art Section.—Mr. Basset: "The Camel amongst the Berbers." Flamand (Algiers): "The Prehistoric Camel in Africa." Lefébure (Algiers): "The Camel in Egypt." G. Marçais (Algiers): "Notes on Musulman Architecture."

To this short and very incomplete list of the work of the Congress,* but at the same time quite sufficient to show the abundance and variety of the communications which were presented, we must add two conferences which were held outside the Congress, whose sittings were located at the École Supérieure des Lettres at Mustapha, but which were closely connected with the Congress. One, very interesting, was on Arab music, with performances of songs and pieces by native artistes, by Mr. Rouanet, Director of the "Dépêche Algérienne," which took place in the Grand Hall of the Palais Consulaire. The other was by Mr. Brunache (Aumale, Algeria), on the "Pilgrimage to Meccah," held in the Grand Hall of the Hôtel de Ville. Mr. Brunache, an Algerian administrator, had been deputed to accompany the Algerian pilgrims as far as Jeddah. His impressions of the journey and his observations are interesting.

I will now point out a few of the characteristic traits of the Congress of Orientalists of Algiers. Two are noteworthy: The first is the very large

* I trust that those of my colleagues of whom I have neither mentioned their names nor their works will excuse me. I have confined myself to mention only those accounts which I myself heard, or those about which I had full and exact information from the authors or the auditors.

part taken by the Government of Algeria in the Congress. M. Jonnart belongs to this little group of colonial administrators who understand the great importance of scientific studies in the field of colonization, and who help the rôle of science and the activity of scholars by the great authority they exercise.

The second characteristic is the notable participation in it of the Musulman element, and the attitude taken by believers in Islam. This point deserves to be explained, because I do not think that, after the experience obtained at Algiers, it would be proposed to assemble, in a hurry, another Congress of Orientalists in the Musulman Orient.

It was in the Musulman section that the incidents I am bound to relate took place. Thanks to the great discretion exercised by the committee of that section, which was composed of Messieurs Goeje, president, Browne (Cambridge), and Montet, the vice-presidents, these incidents had no grave result. They occurred thrice during the presentations by Messieurs Vollers, Robert, and Arakelian (Tiflis) of their papers.

Mr. Vollers, in a memoir of the greatest interest, mentioned before, upheld the thesis, paradoxical, and in itself open to controversy, that the numerous readings of the Kuran show that it was never written originally in the form we have it to-day, but has been drawn up in its most ancient form, in a dialectic Arabic, analogous to existing dialects. Certain Egyptian Musulmans saw in this thesis a slur on the dignity of Islam and the divinity of the Kuran. One of them, a certain Shaikh 'Abd-al-'Aziz Chawache (Cambridge), constituted himself the eloquent and impassioned interpreter, in Arabic, of these sentiments, claiming for Musulmans only the sole study of the sacred book. Such affirmations were obviously altogether out of place. The Congresses of Orientalists are simply scientific, and for them, in that respect, there is no sacred book. This incident, like the succeeding ones, shows the unfathomable abyss (not too strong a word to use) which separates the Musulman from the European mind. Centuries of contact between Musulmans and Europeans are necessary in order to modify it.

The second incident was brought about by the paper, mentioned above, of Mr. Robert, an Algerian administrator. In speaking of the indigenous superstitions of Algeria, he referred again partly to the origin of Islam and the Kuran. There arose immediately angry protests from the Musulman element, and I must confess that they were in the right, and that in an African country, and, above all, in the Berber region, to make the Prophet and the Kuran responsible for a mass of gross superstition was wrong. The intervention of Mr. Brudo, also an Algerian administrator, restored things to their normal state, and the affair terminated.

A third incident was provoked by Mr. Arakelian, who wished to read a paper in reference to the massacres in Armenia, and to put a question to the Musulman savants present—whether or not the Kuran preached intolerance. The committee of the section obtained from Mr. Arakelian the promise of not reading his paper, lest it should provoke an unpleasant discussion. Mr. Arakelian had published his paper in a journal of Algiers, but the subject was a delicate one in the breasts of the Musulman section.

Several publications were issued during the Congress. In particular we may mention two large and interesting volumes of Oriental miscellanea, one published by the École Supérieure des Lettres of Algiers, and the other by the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris.

The fêtes in connection with the Congress were of a very brilliant character—viz., an admirable reception at the Palais d'Été by the Governor, a ball at the theatre, a *vin d'honneur* at the Hôtel de Ville by the Municipality, and a banquet by the organizing committee. Our sincere thanks are due to the Algerian authorities and to the distinguished President of the Congress, Mr. R. Basset.

During the Congress a very remarkable exhibition of ancient Algerian art was organized at the new and very pleasant Medersa.

At the closing sitting the Congress did not fix on any place for its next meeting, which probably may be Copenhagen. On the other hand, it has decided to revert to the decision of the Congress of Hamburg, and to publish the proceedings *in extenso*, for which we cordially congratulate them.

THE ZKARA, ARE THEY CHRISTIANS OR MUSULMANS?

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET, GENEVA.

IN a series of articles of great interest which appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie et d'Archæologie de la Province of Oran*,* Professor Mouliéras upheld successively the two following theses: (1) The Zkara are Christians; (2) they are free-thinkers in the modern sense of the word.

The Zkara, who form a population of 17,000 to 20,000 souls, and who speak a Berber language, the Znatia, a dialect of the Zenete Berbers, inhabit a country about 25 kilometres W.S.W. of Oujda, and include the greater part of the Jebel Zkara. Their tribe is divided into three portions: Oulad Muhammad, Oulad Moussa, and Akkmen.

The Zkara are not Christians. The fact cannot be taken into consideration that several members of this tribe have declared occasionally, "We are Christians." In reality they ignore Jesus and the Bible. As regards the relative monogamy that they practise, and the liberty which the women enjoy, we shall presently give a more plausible explanation. After all, the kind of carnival in which they turn to ridicule Jews and Christians possesses nothing particular as regards this Moroccan tribe, as over all Morocco this parody is customary.

The Zkara are not Musulmans. Professor Mouliéras has very well shown their anti-Islamism. They appear Musulmans only by necessity. Amongst them are but few Musulman proper names. Circumcision is not practised in general. The infant of the male sex is better welcomed at its birth. Allah is but rarely invoked. The Zkara wilfully ignore Muhammad, whose name is odious to them. The Kuran is unknown to them; neither Musulman ritual prayer nor the practice of fasting is adopted. They contract no marriages with Musulmans. They drink blood and eat the flesh of the wild boar.† They never use articles, such as spoons or shoes, which have been touched by Musulmans. They refuse to sleep in the mosques or the zāwias. Professor Mouliéras quotes a case of some young Zkara Islamized at Fez, and turned out by their tribe on their return to their own country. They attribute madness to the secret manoeuvres of the Musulmans; whilst, speaking of mad people, they say, "Musulmans have hit them." They deny the existence of angels, demons, and genii; the worship of saints is unknown to them; and they do not believe in a future life after death.

The Zkara are Heretics. They have special priests, the Rusma (that means consecrated), spiritual directors much venerated, forming a special

* October to December, 1904, July to September, 1904, January to March, 1905. The last *Bulletin* only reached us after we had revised this note, but its contents have not altered our conclusions.

† I have seen in Morocco Musulmans eating the wild boar.

caste, entrusted with the care of Zkaran tradition ; the sacerdotal functions are hereditary. The headquarters of the Rusma are at Maicha. Yet they have submitted, by a political vassalage, to the Marabout families of the Oulad Sidi Ahmed ben Yussef (1524-1525), the patron of several of the Saharan and Moroccan tribes tainted with heresy. They do not seem to have any religious bonds with the Oulad Sidi Ahmed, but they pay them the ziara, and this religious duty appears to have been imposed on them by force.

Some literate Musulmans look upon the Zkara as heretics of a Christian origin. The Rusma, who, according to themselves, pretend to be descended from the Sidi Ahmed ben Yussef, are, as well as their faithful friends, but Bdhadhoua, heretics, Abhadite Kharejites. The Zkara are but a fraction of a heretical group scattered elsewhere (Oued Es-Saoura, to the south of Igli ; the Oued Guir ; Tafilalet ; Angad, close to the Zkaran country).

The Zkara, may they not be Druses ? It is in virtue of a simple hypothesis that we propose this solution of the Zkaran problem, which has been suggested to us by an Englishman who has passed many years in the Lebanon amongst the Druses, Mr. Ahkisbany.

The Druses cannot be reckoned amongst Musulmans ; their belief and their religious law, according to their writings, are completely anti-Islamic. If they believe in the unity of God, they reject, absolutely, the apostleship of Muhammad. They practise, as a consequence of the extreme facility of divorce, a relative monogamy ; they observe fidelity in marriage, and amongst them the women enjoy the greatest liberty. There is no circumcision. They eat pork and drink wine. They believe neither in heaven nor hell. It is well known, in fine, that in Syria the Druses readily, for the sake of convenience or interest, declare themselves Christians or Musulmans.

Several traits of the Zkara, which have already been mentioned, tend to their being compared with the Druses. They are : their anti-Islamism, their denial of a future life,* the facility with which they declare themselves Christians before a Christian. Before a Musulman, the Zkarans generally keep silent, or allow themselves to be thought Musulmans ; as regards their submission to the Oulad Sidi Ahmed ben Yussef, to whom they pay the ziara, this is a guarantee of their pretended, but really false, Musulman orthodoxy. Regarding their relative monogamy, Professor Mouliéras cites an interesting case of the Kaid Reindhan, *rusmi*, who ate pork at the table of the professor of Oran, and also drank wine there. This Kaid married in succession several wives, continuing faithful to each during the continuance of each union. It is a relative monogamy resembling the style practised by the Druses. The liberty enjoyed by the women in the Zkaran country recalls to mind the analogous liberty of the Druse women.

* The comparison, from this point of view, only concerns the denial of heaven and hell ; the Druses, in reality, believe in a sequence of existences and successive purifications bordering upon the identification of the Supreme Being (Hakim, the tenth and last but one incarnation of God).

To these striking comparisons it is interesting to add certain facts noted by Mr. Ahkisbany. In 1893, in the Lebanon, a Druse Shaikh asked him if he had ever heard of a Druse colony established in Morocco. Mr. Ahkisbany called this conversation to mind whilst at Mequinez in 1898, when he was surprised by what a Moroccan fakih told him regarding a strange people in the east of Morocco, who, he affirmed, in the presence of Musulmans, called themselves Musulmans, but which they are not, and keep secret the faith they profess. But how can the emigration of the Druses to Morocco be explained? The Fatimite dynasty had in their employ some natives of South Algeria and the Atlas. Is it through this channel that the Druse heresy penetrated into the Maghreb, by losing its proper form in a singular manner, and not retaining any of its original characteristics but its anti-Islamism and several very special particularities of the sect?

A TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

PART III.*

15. DOWN THE THALÈ SĀB IN A ROW-BOAT (JANUARY 1 TO 3, 1903).

PROGRESS was continued until midnight, when the men steered straight into the inundated jungle of the margin for a rest. Sheltered in that, under a canopy of shrubs and parasitical undergrowth, we quietly passed the remainder of the night.

Next morning, Friday, January 2, at daybreak, we resumed our coasting journey, and soon left behind the mouth of the Kampong Chām River, which forms the actual boundary of the Siānese and French possessions, separating on the one side the district of Siem-rāb from that of *C'hikraing* or *C'hī-krēng* on the other. I noticed a number of small craft anchored and moored a short distance up its entrance.

The lake continued to keep motionless, which was, for the time being, at least a good sign. It had been so naughty a few days before! Nevertheless, I noticed that my boatmen sedulously kept close to its margin, and took advantage of every byway and practicable channels offered by the islets of soft mud and submerged jungle that here and there line the edge of the lake. These form their cherished shelters in case of storm, and when none is found ready at hand the primeval jungle of the lake-shore is resorted to.

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1904, for Part I., and April, 1905, for Part II.

The boat is rowed and poled as far as it can go into its recesses, and there, if necessary, the boatmen jump into the shallow water and hold the craft steady for hours and hours until the fury of the waves abates and it becomes possible to resume the journey. In this respect the Thalē Sāb offers far greater advantages than other lakes which are equally rough through the impetuous sweep of the wind. It is a quite different story—when it blows hard—with certain self-conceited miniature freshwater seas of my acquaintance, such as old Larius (the Lake of Como), for instance, where even decked passenger steamers often have a pretty lively time of it. So that, for anyone whose web of life has been interwoven with thread—to put it Othello-like,

“ of most disastrous chances,
Of moving accidents by flood and field,
Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach,”

—this jungle-skedaddling trick had recourse to at the approach of storms by Thalē Sāb navigators proves a source of infinite amusement. The wrathful behaviour so much dreaded by native boatmen is usually assumed by the Thalē Sāb at the time of its greatest height, which occurs during the rainy and high-water seasons, occurring between June and December, when the lake increases to over double its size and six times its depth. For *Thale Sab* is a very elastic geographical expression, a variable quantity, according to season. When one says “Thalē Sāb” in summer and autumn, it means a sheet of water 140 miles in length by 50 in average breadth, whose ill-defined limits are the tree-tops of the surrounding plains; whereas the same term used in winter and spring would imply a vast sheet of dirty water 70 miles long by 20 broad at its widest point, fringed all round by large swampy tracts covered with low jungle, and quite unfit for human habitation. The reasons for these periodical changes have already been pointed out as originating in the variations in height of the Mē-Khōng's flow, the principal feeder of this reservoir. As regards its shape, the Thalē Sāb may be compared to an immense violin lying

in a north-west—south-east direction, with the handle pointing to the latter. The widest part of the belly forms the Great Lake proper, or, in local parlance, *Donlī Thom*, with the mouth of the Battambang River lying at the extremity of the tailpiece, and that of the Angkor or Siem-rāb water-course a little lower down on the right—*i.e.*, eastwards. The less wider part of the belly, separated from the former by a very narrow neck (dwindling to a mere five miles' width during the ebb season) constitutes the Little Lake, or *Donlī Tui* (or *Tonlī Tōch*), which is horseshoe-shaped towards the east, and twelve miles in either length or width when at its lowest. The violin handle would correspond to the lake overflow channel, stretching south-eastwards for some sixty miles to P'hnom-p'hēñ, where its junction with the stately Mē-Khōng occurs. Franco-Indo-Sinian* cartographers have managed to foist upon these two portions of the Great Lake—as upon every other feature of Kambojan topography for which the travesty became possible—the new-fangled Annamese nomenclature of, respectively, *Camnan Dai* and *Camnan Tieu*. Let us hope that more sensible methods will prevail in future, and that the time-honoured as well as history-consecrated Khmēr names will be restored all over this region, even where new ones are already deeply rooted, in which latter case the former might at least be added within parentheses.

At the time of my last passage down the lake the level of the water had already decreased about 3 metres, judging from the muddy high-water mark left by the flood on the trunks and branches of trees on its margin during the preceding rise. Though the lake had dwindled down to considerably modest dimensions, it was impossible, from my point of view—in the centre of its widest part—to make out the opposite side, owing to its low-lying borders. Nor was there anything else to intercept the view for a good stretch round, except towards the south, where the dark jagged profile of the mountains of Pursat and the

* I coin this new word after the style of "Anglo-Indian."

rounded tops of the Samrong-sën hills detached themselves on the hazy background of the horizon.

That interminable stretch of turbid brownish waters, undrinkable except by the wretched natives who cannot help it ; that dull polished surface shining under the rays of the sun like a huge caldron of molten pitch or lead, and reflecting them with a dazzling glare that was a torture to all but underworldly eyes, aptly reminded one of Dante's Stygian Lake of "inky hue," combined with Milton's "fierce Phlegeton, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage."

But what above all struck one unpleasantly was the desolate, dreary, and silent aspect it presented, in so far, at any rate, as human beings were concerned. Human habitations are, of course, confined to the inner reaches of the creeks and watercourses disemboguing into it, and to the cultivated tracts, which all lie far back, beyond the periodically flooded zone. But apart from this, not a sign of the *animal implume bipes*, whether afloat or ashore, or even momentarily passing to and fro. The whole day long not a single craft did I see, except those anchored within the mouths of the Kampong Châm and C'hî-krëng Rivers.

There is, nevertheless, one season during which the solitary lake assumes an intensely animated aspect, and that is between February and June, when its low waters, barely 5 or 6 feet deep, permit of the grandest fishing that is perhaps obtainable in any part of the world. Here the industry is indulged in by natives and foreigners from all neighbouring nations, whether Khmër, Chinese, Malays, or Annamese, the last, however, predominating. Thousands of small craft then plough the waters, so to speak, for these are then but little more than a liquid slime, loaded with fishing-tackle and active crews ; hundreds of temporary fish-curing establishments are constructed of bamboo-caness and wicker-work, as if by magic, close to its muddy margins, and at times not far from its very centre, crowded with people of both sexes and of every age, and forming true

lacustrine villages, doubtless not far different from the type (remains of which still exist in that neighbourhood) of a remote neolithic age. Then the wholesale destruction of the fish begins. The numbers of these creatures that become entrapped within the immense reservoir at the fall of its waters—for there is no possible escape for them, the lower and sole outlet of the lake being then only a stretch of mud—are simply enormous. And despite the Kilkenny-cat-like fighting that takes place among them, so large is the survival of the fittest that, after deductions made of what is set apart for local consumption, over 8,000 tons of the salted and dry product are annually exported. The lake is thus a great feeding and natural aquarium for the populations all round.

But it is yet more, especially to its frequenters, as I soon discovered to my astonishment ; it is an inexhaustible source of firewood supply. Whenever my men wanted to cook their meal and had run short of fuel, they simply steered for the primeval jungle fringing its borders, and there, breaking a few of the numerous dry branches lying within reach, they soon got what they wanted, not only for the time being, but for a whole day or more, *ad libitum*. By the way, while upon the subject of my boatmen, I was getting on admirably well with them. Accustomed to the oar, as all riverine populations of Indo-China are, they scarcely left their fatiguing work except during the exceedingly short intervals devoted to their meals, to roll up and light a native cigarette, or to take a little refreshing sleep in the middle of the night. Although unable to talk aught else but Khmër, their conversation, which was both interesting and varied, was pretty well intelligible to me. For the few days' recent residence in Kamboja had furbished up my knowledge of that language, which, although only superficial, had been getting quite rusty during the long lapse of years in which I was unable to practise it. So I succeeded in killing ennui, and all the way was my own licensed interpreter, and for my boy as well, who, being a Tonkinese

fresh from the banks of the Red River, knew no other tongue but his own, and a slight smattering of the delicious *Petit Nègre*. This poor fellow of *Hai*, for such was his name, used to get sea-sick at the slightest suspicion of a roll, and that in the *Thalē Sāb*, too, but was in every other respect a model "boy," so far as this term goes in Indo-China. Towards the evening, as well as already in the morning, large flocks of water-birds could be seen everywhere, attracted by the abundant food offered them by this well-stocked reservoir: gray herons and cranes, snow-white egrets and pelicans, brown bitterns and brilliant Jabiru storks, with swarms of fish-hawks and other birds of prey hovering around—the vanguard, in fact, of the winged and web-footed host that will soon contend with man for a share of the superabundant harvest during the low-water season.

By 5 p.m. I arrived abreast of the mouth of the C'hī-Krēng River, having traversed upwards of twenty miles, and forthwith entered the narrow neck separating the Greater from the Lesser Lake. Shortly after midnight a stop was made in the jungle near the mouth of an outlet of the *Donlī Ch'ma*, or "Lake of the Cat," a round-shaped lakelet situated about three or four miles inland towards the east. We were now within a short distance of the lesser or lower basin of the *Thalē Sāb*, and the task of crossing it was reserved for next morning.

16. AT LOGGERHEADS WITH THE LESSER LAKE; A HAPPY "DELIVERY" (SATURDAY, JANUARY 3).

We rose at dawn full of hope, and confident of reaching C'hnok-trū and finding there, very probably, a steamboat early in the afternoon, as the down current, which is there much stronger, would have considerably helped us on. The dreaded Greater Lake had, like all things great, this time been caught nodding—*aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*—and its crossing, accordingly, was successfully

accomplished ; as to its comparatively insignificant appendage, the Lesser Lake, we had no anxiety about it. So we set out in the best of spirits.

It was only after having turned the last corner that hid the lake from our full view that our hopes became somewhat damped, as well as our boat and belongings. A stiff breeze was blowing from the east over the full width of the horseshoe-shaped lake, sending fairly sized waves across our bows ; for, as our route lay nearest to the eastern border of the lake, we were here exposed to the full force of the swell. My boatmen wavered and frantically groped about at random with their long oars ; my boy crouched awe-struck and sea-sick at the bottom of the boat. This soon became unruly and danced in violent antics, wildly belaboured by the heavy waves. The men declared it was impossible to proceed. I curtly told them to mind their own business and leave theorizing alone. So we managed to continue for about half an hour, making hardly more than half a mile headway, whilst matters were growing worse. At last three or four big rollers broke in succession across our bows and half swamped the boat, almost completely submerging it ; my men fell on their knees and entreated me, for our lives' sake, to turn back. I was bitterly disappointed at the prospect of having to give up the contest with a little naughty pond like that ; but it was no use : even had we tried it all day, there was no possible hope of getting across the lake at that rate and under such conditions. The boat was undecked, and therefore liable to be completely swamped and sunk at any moment ; this, quite apart from entailing the loss of our few belongings and depriving us of the means of continuing the journey, which was of some importance, would have placed us at the mercy of the numerous crocodiles that infest those waters, which was a far weightier consideration. Having always most stubbornly objected to becoming an easy meal for those voracious monsters, the boatmen's argument prevailed at last, and I gave my consent to turn tail. So what the Great Lake had respected

its little companion scorned ; and I was checked, there could be no doubt about it.

In a few minutes we reached one of those submerged islets of mud and shrubs, true floating oases of that floating desert that frequently occur in those parts ; and under the lee of which we moored, close by a cluster of fishermen's huts that had precociously been erected there on the usual high posts, with a view to an early beginning of the fishing and fish-curing season. The occupants were a few Annamese families ; the industry had already commenced, and salted fish were exposed about on latticed platforms to dry in the sun. I noticed that they were mostly cat-fish, a far from tempting dainty. To this variety alone, however, is not confined the fauna of the lake. There are known to be upwards of thirty species of fish, ranging from the tiny perch to the gigantic barbs, and even cetaceans, besides the insatiable crocodile and hosts of clamorous batrachians. Nor is the industry of fish-curing solely confined to salting, cleaning, and drying ; but fish-oil and ichthyocol are extracted, and those mysterious concoctions prepared, which, under the name of *pha-ak* and *prahok*, are justly renowned as the most horribly stinking and repugnant products in this line, leaving far behind even the famed *niak-mam* of Cochin China.

Those piscatorial scenes more than forcibly reminded me of the pretty kettle of fish that formed my lot at the moment. What was to be done ? Wait ? If so, for how long ? Until it pleased his Lacustrine Grace, the naughty godling of the little pond, to cease his antics ? Not being conversant with the vagaries of the Lesser Lake, I held a war-council with my men ; but these seemed unable to form an estimate as to how long the adverse weather would last. Thereupon I got my boy, who had just crept out of his retreat in the bottom of the boat, and was no longer sea-sick, to try and communicate with the Annamese fishermen belonging to the neighbouring boats ; but after a few words had been exchanged, he told me that, as their Low Cochin-Chinese

patois differed from his own classical Tonkinese, he could not make out distinctly what they said. Ultimately, however, through the medium of Khmër, of which those people had some knowledge, we understood that the fury of the waves would considerably abate in the afternoon with the veering of the wind to the south, when, on restarting, a swell growing lesser and lesser would be encountered as one advanced towards the outlet of the lake. These favourable prognostics gladdened me, and so I set about passing the intervening time by having a bath, my lunch, and a smoke, and also a chat with my men and our temporary neighbours.

In the course of this conversation I learnt many a weird tale about both the Greater and Lesser Lake, from which I saw that the skipper of the *Bassac* was not greatly exaggerating when he gave me the hint never to navigate the lake in a small boat. But the most striking fact I gleaned was that the Khmërs, in their naïve, imaginative way, have allegorically typified their dread of crossing the lake in a surprisingly curious phrase—*C'hlong Tontli*, which, though literally meaning "to cross the lake," has become a byword for "confinement," thus comparing the toilsome and not unriskey journey to the painful labours of parturition. Yea! so true it is that there is no end of novel surprises in the ways of human thinking. So that, from the native point of view, my failing that morning to effect a crossing of the lake was tantamount to a miscarriage. In faith, I was no more aware of having done such a thing than Monsieur Jourdain on being told, to his utter astonishment, that he had been talking prose all his life. And it flashed upon my mind what far more suggestive metaphor Byron would have had ready at hand had he been aware of this queer phraseology of the Thalë Sāb borders, when he had to seek in the aggregate of the daily bother of shaving, the counterpart in man for the travail of childbirth in the gentler sex.

With the help of such diversions the ennui of forced in-

action was whiled away until 1 p.m., by which time the wind had really veered to the south, as our Annamese acquaintances of the hour had predicted, and the fury of the waves had considerably abated. So I roused up my men, determined this time to get the best of that Slough of Despond.

As we proceeded the outlook continued to improve, in accordance with the fishermen's forecast, and, although the wind was against us, the current far more than made up for that drawback by speeding us on our way down. By 7 p.m. we had left the freaky little lake behind us, thus accomplishing this time a successful "delivery"!

We soon found ourselves amongst a labyrinth of channels winding among the numerous half-submerged islets that occur between the outlet of the Lesser Lake and a third basin, so to speak—the *Veal-p'hok*, or "Mud Plain"—further down. It was pitch-dark, but here and there rows of lights glittered on the waters and amongst the foliage; and wafted on the breeze from all those sinuous alleys came the lively strains of native flutes, stringed instruments, gongs, and drums, belonging to different bands, evidently in motion, for some died away in the distance, whilst others became louder, as if approaching. One would have thought that some great festival was going on in those parts. But it was nothing of the sort. When the bands approaching our way drew near, it was discovered that they belonged to Annamese fishing-boats, whose crews took turns alternately at the oars and at musical diversion. Such is the wont of these people while setting out to fish or coming back with the spoil, or when otherwise journeying about by water. It serves both as an amusement and as a mutual intimation of their whereabouts. So here at least there were unmistakable signs of life, and not wholly dull, either; after the long, dreary solitude of the lake, it was like being ushered into a new world.

At 9 p.m. we arrived at the islet of C'hnok-trū, a homonymous hamlet, the centre of the salt-fish trade in those parts. Another disappointment met me here: no

steam-launch was visible, either moored or in motion. Upon inquiry from the villagers, we learnt that the steam-boat service had been stopped for the season, owing to the water on the "Mud Plain" further down having got too shallow for steamboats to pass. So there remained no other course open but to continue our journey down as far as the next steamboat station—to wit, Kampong C'hnang. Accordingly, after allowing my men a brief spell to procure some needful provisions, I set off again, determined to travel the whole night in order to reach, favoured by the current ever increasing in swiftness as we proceeded, Kampong C'hnang early next morning before the down-launches left. Our course lay first through the broad expanse of the Vēal P'hok, or "Mud Plain," and then down the dedalic network of channels, forming the connecting-link between the lacustrine region just passed and the majestic Mē-Khōng.

17. ON BOARD A STEAM-LAUNCH AT LAST; MY ADIEU
TO KAMBOJA.

At 6.30 a.m. next morning (Sunday, January 4) I reached Kampong C'hnang; my boatmen had done wonderfully well, never resting from pulling the whole night through. No less than thirty miles had thus been travelled since 10 p.m. the night before, when leaving C'hnok-trū, a very creditable performance. With unmixed satisfaction I at once noticed that no less than three steam-launches lay moored alongside the floating houses forming the front of the village, with their steam up. Having picked out the best-looking one, which bore the name of *Anton* painted on her bows, I soon transferred myself on board with my belongings, and my inseparable underling of Hāi, now brimful of delight and entirely oblivious of past hardships. I paid and suitably rewarded those boatmen who had so devotedly served me, and safely conveyed me down in their frail craft for upwards of ninety miles, through the dreaded Thalē Sāb and its outlet. And, above

all, I did not forget to put in writing, and hand them for bringing back with them, the indispensable *samp'hot* that was to restore to the goodly headman of their native village the peace of his soul. In a few minutes more the third whistle was blown and we were off, bidding adieu to our former floating dwelling and its hardy crew.

The *Anton*, though a native-owned boat, was a fast one, and conveyed us down at racing speed through the innumerable channels and sinuous bends of the river. By 1 p.m. we were moored at the river-bank at P'hnom-p'hēñ, and in a few more minutes I found myself for the first time, after ten days of continuous wandering, sitting down to a comfortable luncheon in the Grand Hotel's dining-room of that town.

The subsequent portion of my return journey I need not describe in detail. Next morning, January 5, I left in the *Hainan*, a splendid launch of the Messageries Fluviales, and the same evening at 10 p.m. bade farewell to the Mě-Khōng as we entered the canal of *Chō-gao*, which, through the delta and the numerous watercourses that intersect it, connects the Mě-Khōng with the Saigon River. Thus, owing to this short-cut we were spared the longer journey round by the sea, and on the morning following, January 6, we safely landed at Saigon.

Here I found, to my surprise, that the steamer for Bāng-kōk was not to start for another five days, which piece of news made me sorry about having hastened down in such a hurry, whereas I could have more profitably spent an equivalent number of days among the Angkor ruins. I endeavoured, at all events, to make use of this extra spare time by visiting the few places of interest to be found in Saigon and its neighbourhood. But although distractions are not wanting in that former capital of French possessions in Indo-China, and its theatre—that sparkling jewel of modern architecture that has no rival throughout the East—was open with both dramatic and operatic performances of no mean description, nothing compensated me

sufficiently for the loss I had incurred in not being able to devote those few days to the fascinating ancient monuments of Kamboja.

Having enjoyed for a last time, the evening of January 10, the diversions offered by that luscious Europeanized Oriental city by listening to old Gounod's "Roméo et Juliette"—new, I suppose, to such an out-of-the-way place—I sailed next day on board the *Donai* bound for Bāng-kōk, bidding farewell to good young Hāi, who had had enough of travelling, as he thought, so far, that it seemed to him to have reached the farthest limit of the inhabited world. He yearned to get back to his native Tonkin, and out of pity for the poor fellow's misgivings I consented to our parting, and off he went happy in his own way.

AKBAR'S REVENUE SETTLEMENTS.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

As India has always been pre-eminently an agricultural country, the question of the land revenue must have been of supreme importance from very early times. Originally, it is said, the Sovereign claimed only one-sixth of the produce. This is the amount mentioned by Abul Fazl as having been levied in old times, and the rule laid down in Manu is that "of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth may be taken by the King," according, says the commentator, to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it. But if ever the demand was really so low as this, it was afterwards increased, and became one-third or one-half, and even higher. Speaking of Cashmere, Abul Fazl says: "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken; but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half" (Jarrett's translation, ii. 366). As is well known, the share of the crop taken by the landholder in the province of Bihar is rather more than one-half, being nine-sixteenths of the whole.

Many Indian Sovereigns must have given their attention to the question of the land revenue, but the most noted among the Muhammadan rulers seems to be 'Ala-uddin Khilji, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was a great, though a despotic, administrator, and several of his measures were adopted by the great Sher Shah.

The earliest official figures of a revenue settlement in India appear to be those given in a list preserved in the Memoirs of the Emperor Bābar. Curiously enough, the list occurs only in the Turkish original of the Memoirs, and not in the Persian translation. Perhaps it was overlooked by the translator on account of its being already in Persian.

It occurs, however, in the Persian paraphrase of the Memoirs made by Bābar's secretary, Shaikh Zain. As has been remarked, the fact that the list is in Persian, and not in Turki, shows that it is official, and that Bābar obtained it, in part or in whole, from the archives of the Pathan kings of Agra. The list is given in Ilminsky's edition of the Turki text, and in Pavet de Courteille's translation. It also appears in the first volume of Mr. Erskine's "History of India," Appendix C, he having taken it from Shaikh Zain's paraphrase; and there is a notice of it by Mr. Beames in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1898, and by Mr. Thomas in his "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," p. 387. The list contains thirty entries, and includes the Panjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, parts of Rajputana and of Bihar, but not Bengal or Orissa, or any portion of Northern India. A note about Mewāt—*i.e.*, Alwar, etc.—says that this province was not included in the rent-roll in the time of Sikandar. This shows that the list is an amended copy of a statement prepared in the reign of Sikandar, who was the second last of the Pathan Kings, and the father of Ibrahim Husain Lodi, whom Bābar defeated and slew at the Battle of Panipat in 1526. Sikandar reigned from 1488 to 1517, and was a capable and active administrator and the introducer of the Sikandari *gaz* (yard), etc. Bābar tells us that the territories mentioned in the list yielded 52 *krors* of *tankas*, but that lands to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* of this amount were in the possession of tributary Rajahs. As the list is based on Sikandar's rent-roll, we cannot doubt that the *tanka* mentioned in it is the Sikandari *tanka*, which is stated by Mr. Thomas to be the twentieth part of a rupee. Probably the rupee at that time was worth half a crown, and so the *tanka* was equal to three halfpence, but for convenience we may take the rupee as worth two shillings. The 52 *krors* of the list, then, are 520 millions of *tankas* (for the *kror* is 10 millions, and not 1 million), and thus at two shillings the rupee would be worth about £2,600,000.

Probably this is the correct amount, though Mr. Erskine, by a different mode of calculation, makes the amount to be £4,212,000.

Abul Fazl tells us in the *Ayeen-i-Akbari* that from the beginning of the reign intelligent and honest persons had been employed to ascertain the current prices of purchase. But though, according to a statement in the *Akbarnāma* (ii. 270), the first settlement of the revenue took place in the time of Bairam Khan, it rather appears from another passage in the same work (ii. 111), and from Jarrett (ii. 88), that the first settlement was made in the fifth year and just after Bairam's fall. Gladwin, however, puts it into the fourth year. At any rate, it seems to have been made by Khwājah 'Abdul Majid, a native of Herat, and originally in the service of Akbar's father, Humāyun. When he was made Vizier, or Financial Minister, 'Abdul Majid received the title of Āsaf Khan, who is considered by Muhammadans to have been the Prime Minister of King Solomon, and so the revenue-roll established by him may be known as Āsaf Khan's settlement. It was a very imperfect measure, for the extent of Akbar's possessions was very small at the time, and there was little or no opportunity for local inquiries. It was based chiefly upon conjecture, and as it was necessary to satisfy, or at least to appear to satisfy, a great number of hungry retainers, the estimates erred especially by excess, and were in many cases not realized. Abul Fazl calls it a *Jama-i-Raqami Qalami*—"A written settlement according to the kinds of produce." Perhaps the word *Qalami* was meant to signify that it was more a paper settlement than a real one, and probably *Raqami* here means that the settlement was made according to the market value of the various kinds of agricultural produce. It may, however, refer to the amounts of revenue being employed in the Raqam or Siyāq notation—that is, in contractions of Arabic words instead of in Hindi. In the eleventh year of the reign, 1567 (*Akbarnāma*, ii. 270), Āsaf Khan's settlement was, by Akbar's orders, set aside by Muzaffar Khan, another

Persian financier, and a new settlement was effected, based on information given by Qānūngūes and others. Badayunī (Lowe's translation, 64), it may be noted, puts this settlement earlier in the reign—viz., in 971 H., or 1564—and it also appears from his account and from the Āyeen (Blochmann's translation, 13), that 'Itinād Khan, a eunuch, and whom Badayunī calls Todar Mal's predecessor, had a good deal to do with it. In the Āyeen (Jarrett, ii. 88) Abul Fazl seems to write of Muzaffar's settlement as having been made in the fifteenth year, and not in the eleventh; but I think that fifteenth is a mistake of the text for eleventh. In Persian writing there is, practically, only the difference of a subscribed dot between *yazdahum*, eleventh, and *panzdahum*, fifteenth, and mistakes are continually occurring. True, Abul Fazl speaks, a little lower down, of a settlement made from the beginning of the fifteenth year; but this, though it may have contributed to the copyist's error, does not show that fifteenth was right in the first passage, for it is evident that when, in the second passage, Abul Fazl speaks of the fifteenth year he means Todar Mal's settlement, which was made in the twenty-seventh year, apparently (see Akbar-nāma, iii. 381), but was based upon the rates prevailing from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year.

Speaking of Muzaffar's settlement, Abul Fazl says that it was not really a *hal-i-hasil*—i.e., a statement of actual produce—but that it deserved this name by comparison with the previous settlement. In the Āyeen (Jarrett, ii. 88) he says that ten *qanungues* were appointed to collect the accounts from the local *qanungues* (*qanunguan-i-juzw*), and to lodge them in the Imperial exchequer. The local *qanungues* must have been several hundreds in number, for, as we learn from Jarrett (ii. 66), there was one in every district—that is, as the original shows, every *pargana*. Abul Fazl adds that the total of Muzaffar's settlements was somewhat lower than the previous settlement, but that there had been a great difference between the latter and the actual receipts.

The third settlement was made in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year—that is, in 990 H., or 1582—and was effected by Todar Mal. It was based on inquiries made concerning the value of produce, etc., during the ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year of the reign, and the delay of two or three years in effecting the settlements was doubtless due to the Bengal rebellion and other distracting events. Though this settlement of 1582 is the great event which has immortalized Todar Mal's name, it appears from Badayūni (Lowe, 192; Elliot, v. 183; and the Akbarnāma, iii. 117) that there was a great attempt made to deal with the land question in the nineteenth year of the reign—that is, in 1574. Badayūni and Nizām-uddin speak of it as dealing mainly with the subject of waste lands. It had struck Akbar that much of the cultivable land was lying waste, and that an effort should be made to extend the cultivation. Abul Fazl represents the measure as one converting the whole of India into Crown land. The custom of assigning lands was apparently abolished, and in lieu of this officers received money allowances. One hundred and eighty-two collectors (*Amil*) were appointed to superintend the arrangements. The waste lands were divided into blocks, which were regarded as capable, when the lands were brought under cultivation, of yielding a *kror* of *tankas*, or *dams* (for the words seem to have been used indiscriminately; see Blochmann, 13); and each of them was put under one of the 182 collectors, who, on this account, received the name of *krori*. The arrangement did not apply to Bengal, Bihar, or Gujrat, and, of course, Kābul, Cashmere, etc., were not included in it, as they were not yet conquered. According to Badayūni, the appointment of *kroris* led to great oppression—of the peasantry in the first instance, and afterwards of the *kroris*. He says that the waste lands were measured (with a view to resumption), and that the measurement began in the neighbourhood of Fathpūr. The blocks of land received names after the prophets, such as Adampūr, Sethpūr, and Jobpūr; but

apparently the plan was not fully carried out, though the name *krori* long continued to be used. Doubtless there must have been much difficulty in deciding what were waste lands and what were peasants' holdings, and there would be great room for oppression. It is evident that what were called waste lands or jungles were often of the utmost value to the peasant, and could not be resumed or assessed without great injury to him. As remarked by Mr. Colebrooke, "it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for his profit, or even for his comfortable maintenance." The waste lands supplied pasture for his cattle, bamboos for his houses, etc. Badayūni compares the position of the *kroris* to that of the Hindus in Assam, who, like Calypso's lovers, lived in great plenty for a season, and then had to cast themselves under the wheels of the idol's car. Meanwhile, a great part of the country had been laid waste, and the wives and children of the peasantry sold into slavery. It was also in the nineteenth year that bamboo-rods joined together by iron rings were substituted as measures for the ropes formerly in use.

It is necessary to observe that though the term "settlement" is used both by Gladwin and Jarrett, it does not occur in the headings of the chapters in the original which deal with the matter of the "nineteen years'" and "ten years'" arrangements, and that the so-called ten years' settlement differed very much from a decennial settlement is understood by the revenue officers of British India. The terms *bandobast* or *Taqsim-i-Jama* are not used by Abul Fazl, though he does use the expression *Jama-i-dah sala*, and the headings for the nineteen years and the ten years chapters are the same—viz., "Āyeen," i.e., Regulation; though in the one case this has been rendered "rates" and in the other "settlements." The period of nineteen years was probably taken from Meton's cycle. It overlaps the ten years period, but the latter differs from the first or nineteen years set of tables in that it was more carefully made, and that it contains the rates for the local

subdivisions of a subah or province instead of only for the whole subah. The so-called ten years' settlement did not, apparently, at all do away with the necessity for annual inquiries and measurements. It did not fix the rents or revenues for ten years. It only fixed the prices of agricultural produce, and so did away with the annual wrangle about market rates. Revenue or rent was still paid according to the special crop grown, and as this must be liable to variation every year, or indeed every six months, it must have been necessary to hold local inquiries once or twice a year. Moreover, it was impossible without local inquiry to know to which of the three descriptions of land,—the good, the middling, and the bad—the fields cultivated in a crop, special or ordinary, belonged, and on the decision of this point the question of the amount of rent turned. The probability is that neither Todar Mal nor his subordinates dealt directly with the actual cultivator. In Todar Mal's suggestions (Akbar-nāma, iii. 381) it is stated that the collector's two clerks collude with the village headman (*kalantar*), and defraud the cultivator, and the only remedy that he suggests is that one respectable clerk should be substituted for two dishonest ones. We also find in the instructions to the collector (Jarrett, ii. 44) that the village headman is to get an allowance of half a *biswa* in the *bigha* (one-fortieth) if by his exertions the rental of the village has been raised to its full capacity.

According to Abul Fazl, Todar Mal's settlement was based on the cash value of the produce of a *bigha* during the ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth. The rates for the ten years were aggregated, and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment. For the first half of the ten reliance was placed on figures supplied by trustworthy persons, and for the second half the prices of the produce of a *bigha* were accurately determined. In the *Āyēen* Abul Fazl gives us lengthy tables showing the cash value of the Government share (one-third) per *bigha* of various kinds of produce for nineteen years—viz., from

the sixth to the twenty-fourth years—in the provinces of Agra, Allāhābād, Avadh (Oudh), Delhi, Lahore, Mālwa, and Multān. The tables are expressed in *dams*—i.e., in a coin valued at the fortieth part of a rupee—and they extend over nineteen pages of Jarrett's translation. There are also some tables, giving the average produce of a *bigha*. At page 63 it is explained that there are three descriptions of *polaj*—i.e., annually cultivated land—viz., good, middling, and bad. For example, the first class yields 18 *maunds* of wheat, the second 12, and the third 8 *maunds* 35 *sirs*. These three being added together, the amount comes to 38 *maunds*. 35 *sirs*. One-third of this, or 12 *maunds* 38 *sirs*, is the medium produce, and one-third* of this, again, represents the Government demand. As the amount of produce may seem very large, it should be explained that the *bigha* in question is much larger than the ordinary Bengal *bigha*, and amounts to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an acre.

Akbar's revenue was chiefly, but by no means entirely, realized in cash. Thus in Bengal all rents were paid in cash, but in Ajmere the amount so paid was very trifling. The proportion of produce paid in this province—namely, one-seventh or one-eighth—was unusually small. Perhaps it was not easy to get more out of the Rajputs, and perhaps also the cultivation in the arid tracts of Rajputana was regarded as extraordinarily difficult. Abul Fazl tells us (Jarrett, 61) that Sher Shah and his son Salim substituted money rents for rents in kind, and he also (at p. 151) makes the startling statement that the custom of dividing the crops does not prevail in Bihar. Surely he made a mistake or the text is corrupt, for payment in kind is still, I believe, almost universal in the province. We find also among the general instructions to the collector (*Amilguzar*) that he is to receive payment in kind or in cash, according as the cultivator may desire.

* I do not know on what authority Mr. Sewell states (*Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1897, p. 143) that Akbar laid down the principle that all the cultivator was to get was enough to support him till the next harvest.

It is difficult, I think, to derive much instruction from the tables of the nineteen years' rates, or to understand why Abul Fazl encumbered* his pages with them. It is not because the ten years' settlement was founded upon them, for there are separate tables for this purpose. The nineteen years' tables are nearly useless, because, in the first place, we do not know the value of the *dam* for each year. It was not always worth one-fortieth part of a rupee. In the second place, the areas for which the rates are given were very large, and several rates must have prevailed in each of them. Perhaps this is the reason why the rates vary excessively in the same year. For instance, what use can be made of a table telling us that the price of wheat in the twenty-fourth year was, in the province of Agra, from 52 *dams* to 116—*i.e.*, the value of the produce varied from Rs. 1.4 to 2.10. So also common rice varied in the same year in the province of Allāhābād from 30 *dams* to 61. The tables for the ten years' settlement are more practical, for they give the rates for the various parts of a province in which the same *dastur* or rate prevailed. The really interesting thing in the nineteen years' tables is the list of agricultural products. Thus we see that wheat heads the list of the cold weather crops (the tables are only for some of the Upper Provinces), and sugar-cane that of the hot weather crops; that barley, rice, cotton (*pamba*), flax, pig-nut, opium, and indigo are mentioned, but that there is no reference to tobacco or maize.

We are told in the *Āyeen* (Jarrett, ii. 115) that in the fortieth year of the reign Akbar's dominions consisted of twelve subahs or provinces—*viz.*, Āgra, Ālmadābād, Ajmere, Allāhābād, Bihār, Bengal, Delhi, Kābul, Lahore, Malwā, and Multān. They were subdivided into 105 sarkars, and in these there were 2,737 towns or townships (*qasbahū*). In these provinces Ālmadābād represented Gujrāt, Bengal included Orissa, Multān included Sindh, and Kābul in-

* There is a more useful table in the first volume of the *Āyeen* (Blochmann, 62), where the prices of a great many articles of food are given.

cluded Pakli (the Hazārajāt) and Cashmere. The revenue under the ten years' settlement (here called *Jamā-i-dah sālā*) was 3 *arbs*, 62 *krors*, 97 *lakhs*, 55,046 *dams*, and 12 *lakhs* of betel-leaves (*barg-i-tambul*, i.e., *pān*). An *arb* is 100 *krors*, and a *kror* 100 *lakhs*, so that it is 10 millions, and not merely 1 million. The *dam* was reckoned as the fortieth part of a rupee, so that the revenue in rupees was 90,743,881, or at 2s. the rupee, £9,000,000. What the value of the *pān* was we are not told. The whole of it was contributed by the province of Allāhābād (Jarrett, ii. 160). It has been generally assumed that Abul Fazl is here giving the revenue of the fortieth year, but he does not say so, and his words, "when the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made," rather imply that the figures relate to the twenty-seventh year. After the division into twelve subahs had been made, three more were added—viz., Ahmadnagar, Berār, and Khāndesh or Dāndesh. Messrs. Keene and Rodgers have compared Abul Fazl's statement with Nizām-uddin's, as given at the end of his *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Elliot, v. 186), on the assumption that they relate to nearly the same time, Nizām-uddin's being for the thirty-ninth year of the reign and Abul Fazl's for the fortieth. But, as I have already said, it is not clear that Abul Fazl's is for the fortieth year, and at all events it is clear that the two statements are not for the same area, for Nizām-uddin gives 3,200 as the number of townships, while Abul Fazl only gives 2,737—i.e., nearly 500 less. It is also impossible that Nizām-uddin's estimate can be for the thirty-ninth year of the reign, for he died in the middle of that year. He seems to say that the estimate refers to the year 1002 A.H., but that year included part of the thirty-eighth year, and it can only be to the thirty-eighth year at latest that the estimate refers. If it does, then apparently there is a difference of eleven years between the period of Nizām-uddin's estimate and that of Abul Fazl's, the latter referring to the twenty-seventh year. Indeed, the difference is still greater, for though the ten years' settlement was

made in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year, the figures were taken from the years between the fourteenth and twenty-fifth years of the reign. It is also necessary to bear in mind that though Abul Fazl's summary statement of the revenues may refer to the twenty-seventh year, his detailed figures relate to a later period than even the fortieth year. In that year Khāndesh or Dāndesh, etc., were not conquered, and at p. 227 of Jarrett we find Abul Fazl referring to that province having been incorporated in the empire in the forty-fifth year. It seems to me that Messrs. Rodgers and Keene, and also Mr. Thomas, in striving to make Nizām-uddin and Abul Fazl agree, have forgotten the maxim of the Canonists: "Distingue tempora et conciliabis doctores."

The total revenue as stated by Nizām-uddin is 640 *krors* of *muradi tankhas*. Now, if the *muradi tanka* were the same as a *dam*, this revenue is nearly double that mentioned by Abul Fazl. If, as held by Mr. Thomas, it was equal to two *dams*, being equal to the Sikandari *tankas*, of which twenty went to the rupee, the difference between the two statements is doubled, and becomes nearly as one to four. But, as has been well observed by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his letter to Mr. Rodgers (*A. S. B. J.* for 1885, p. 58), Mr. Thomas *assumes* that the *muradi tanka** was the same as the Sikandari *tanka*, but gives no proof of this, nor even any argument. Mr. Thomas asks us to pay great respect to Nizām-uddin's figures, because he was a provincial administrator for many years; but before we can do so, we must know what his figures are. Even if we know this, we cannot forget that his statement is a summary one inserted at the end of his book, and that he gives no details or explanation of them. It seems questionable, then, if even we understood his figures, we should prefer them to

* Perhaps Elliot and Thomas took no notice of the qualifying word *murādi*, because they regarded it as a mere catchword, like *ek singjir*, elephant, *ek qalāda*, cheetah; but it would appear from the passage in Bayley's "Gujrāt" that the *murādi tanka* was a special coin.

Abul Fazl's. The real point, however, is, what is the value of the *muradi tanka*? And it is this, which is the pinch of the case, that Mr. Thomas has left in obscurity. In Forbes's Hindustani dictionary the word *muradi* is given as meaning "change, small money." From a passage in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, translated in Bayley's "Gujrāt," p. 246, it would appear that the *muradi tanka* had come to be current in Gujrāt. It says that the Gujrāti *tanka*—by which I understand the writer to mean the old Gujrāti *tanka*, current in the beginning of the sixteenth century—is worth eight *muradi tankas*, and that this same old Gujrāti *tanka* is still current in Khāndesh and the Deccan. At least, this is how I understand the passage, which I have looked up in the original, but perhaps the meaning is that it is the *muradi* which is still current in Khāndesh and the Deccan. Unfortunately, I do not know* what was the value of the Gujrāti *tanka* referred to by the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. The author was a Gujrāti, and wrote for Gujrātis in about the year 1611. If, as seems to be the case, he means that the *muradi tanka* was current in Gujrāt in his time, may it not be that it is identical with the Gujrāti *tankcha* mentioned in Bayley's "Gujrāti," p. 6, and described as the hundredth part of a rupee? The use of the diminutive affix *cha* (Bayley's "Gujrāt," p. 6) may be intended to indicate that the coin current in Gujrāt in 'Ali Muhammad Khan's, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, time, was a diminutive of the old Gujrāti *tanka*. He wrote in 1161 A.H., or 1748. If this view be correct, the Nizām-uddin's 640 *krors* of

* The B. M. Catalogue of the coins of the Muh. States of India does not mention Gujrāti *tankas*. It says in Introduction, p. lix, that silver coins of Gujrāt are rare, and that their average weight is 112 grains. It gives none of Muzaffar II., who is the King referred to in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. If his *tanka* weighed only 112 grains, it must have been of much less value than Sher Shah or Akbar's rupee, which weighed 175 grains, even if of equal purity. But probably the *tanka* meant was of copper, or of some base metal (billon coins). The *Sikandari tanka* of base metal weighed about 140 grains. The billon (silver and copper) coinage of the Gujrāti Kings seems to have been of at least two sizes, one weighing 140 or 146 grains, and the other 70.

Murādi *tankas* would come to 640,00,00,000 divided by 100—that is to Rs. 640,000,000, or, at the exchange of 2s. for the rupee, £6,400,000. This is about one-third less than Abul Fazl's estimate of £9,000,000, and if the latter relates to the twenty-seventh year, the result is, I admit, a most improbable one. It is, indeed, impossible that the revenues can have fallen off by one-third in the interval between the twenty-seventh and the thirty-eighth years. Sir Alexander Cunningham's suggestion (*A. S. B. J.* for 1885, p. 58) that *muradi tankas* are the common *dams* of Akbar (worth forty to the rupee) is more plausible, but unfortunately there is no evidence for this. If *muradi tankas* were the same thing as *dams*, one would have expected a practised accountant like Nizām-uddin to use the official term. Mr. Keene's suggestion (*A. S. B. J.* for 1881, p. 101) that the *muradi tanka* stands for the sixty-fourth part of a rupee is more likely, as it seems to be supported by local usage. Mr. Keene tells us that the word *tanka* is in dictionaries and in native usage the equivalent of two *paisah*. As *muradi* is defined in Forbes as meaning small money, it may be that the addition of it to the word *tanka* meant half a *tanka*, or one *paisah*. I am informed by my friend Mr. Irvine that Murādi *tanka* was forty years ago a current phrase up about Delhi for the *dhabū*, or lump of copper, used as a *paisah*, and which was also called Mansūri *paisah*, and still more commonly Gorakhpur *paisah*. Gorakhpur *paisah* are referred to in the Regulations, and were not long ago abolished by the Government. If Nizām-uddin's Murādi *tankah* were sixty-four* to the rupee, his figures give

* The author of the *Hadiqat-ul-aqālim*, or *Garden of Climes*, says (Lucknow ed., p. 663) that he saw at Allāhābād the accounts, drawn up in Akbar's time, of the cost of building the fort of Allāhābād, and that it was stated in them that the rupee was worth fifty-two *kacha khām* copper *tangas*. Perhaps these were murādi *tangas*. If so, Nizām-uddin's figures would yield about £12,000,000. At p. 20 of the "Revenue Resources," Thomas quotes in a note a passage from the *Dastur-ul-'Amal* to the effect that the *ana* is worth twenty (*bist*) *dāms*. May the *bist* not be a mistake for *hasht*, eight? The two words are often confounded in manuscripts.

Should *murādi tankah* turn out to mean double pice—i.e., half *anas*—

a total of £10,000,000, which would be a reasonable increase on Abul Fazl's 9 millions for eleven years previous. As pointed out by Mr. Keene, *paisah* was an old name for the *dam* (Blochmann, 31). Mr. Thomas makes the *muradi tanka* to be double *dams*, and so he raises Nizām-uddin's estimate to the incredible figure of £32,000,000. But, as we have seen, he offers no evidence for this view. He gave none in his "Chronicles," and in his later work, "The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," he gives us nothing more. All he says is, "There can be very little contest about the value of Nizām-uddin's prices, designated as *Tankah Muradi*. They were, in effect, the old Sikandari *tankah* of twenty to the silver *tankah*." But if they were so, why did Nizām-uddin call them by another name? Mr. Thomas argues that Nizām-uddin's six odd *arbs* do not differ very much from the five and nearly three-quarter *arbs* of Abul Fazl's detailed estimate, and on this account he would, in the first place, in defiance of all the manuscripts, alter the *sih* or three of the *Ayeen* into *shash* or six, and, in the second place, in defiance of Abul Fazl's statement, make out the *dams* of his detailed estimates to be Sikandari *tankas*, that is, double *dams*.^{*} But he forgets that it is unnecessary to alter Abul Fazl's figure *sih*, as the statement in which it occurs refers to the settlement of the twenty-seventh year; and he also forgets that though Nizām-uddin's figures do not much exceed Abul Fazl's detailed figures, yet the difference is aggravated by its being in the wrong direction. Nizam-uddin's figures are for the thirty-eighth year at the latest, and cannot include Khāndesh and

Nizām-uddin's total would be 640,000,000 divided by 32—i.e., £20,000,000. This is a not impossible total, especially as Nizam-uddin may have included taxes on manufactures, etc., along with the land revenue. At all events, this sum is an improvement on Mr. Thomas's £32,000,000.

* It appears from Mr. Thomas's monograph, p. 20, that he has abandoned the view contended for in the "Chronicles" that the *dāms* of the *Āyeen* are double *dāms*. But this abandonment leaves us without any explanation of why the later and detailed estimates of Abul Fazl are less than half of Nizām-uddin's, if, as Mr. Thomas supposes, the *murādi tankas* were twenty to the rupee.

Birār, for they were not then conquered, whereas Abul Fazl's do include Khandesh, or Dāndesh and Birār, and are for the forty-fourth year, or even later. Abul Fazl's figures, therefore, should be larger and not less than Nizam-uddin's. In my opinion it is useless to discuss Nizam-uddin's figures until we have more certain information as to what he meant by the term *muradi*. Even if it should be proved that he meant thereby Sikandari *tankas*, I think it would be unsafe to prefer his summary statement to the detailed estimate of Abul Fazl, supported, as the latter is, by the statement of 'Abdul Hāmid that the revenue at Jahāngir's accession was 700 million *dams*. As, however, my only wish is to get at the truth, I am bound to admit that some countenance to the view that *muradi tankahs* means double *dams* is afforded by a statement in the Ayeen about the revenues of Birar. We have seen that the Mirāt-i-Sikandari states that the Gujrāti *tanka* was worth eight *muradi tankas*, and that the former was still current in Khāndesh and the Deccan. We may therefore regard it as probable that the Berāri *tanka* of Jarrett (ii. 231), was the Gujrāti *tanka* of the Mirāt-i-Sikandari. Now, Abul Fazl says that the Berāri *tanka* was equal to eight Delhi *tankas*—i.e., I presume Sikandari *tankahs*—and if so, on the principle that things equal to the same thing are equal to one another, we may hold that Birāri—i.e., old Gujrāti *tankas*—were equal to eight *muradis*. It also appears from Abul Fazl's figures that the Birāri *tanka* was worth sixteen *dams*,* and consequently the *muradi*, or one-eighth, would be worth two *dams*, which is what Mr. Thomas contends for. The point, however, is doubtful, for at p. 225 of Jarrett Abul Fazl speaks of the Berāri *tanka* as being worth twenty-four *dams*. It has occurred to me as possible that the word "murādi"

* It is also worthy of notice that at the end of the paragraph (Jarrett, ii. 231) Abul Fazl uses the expression "Delhi *dāms*." One would hardly expect him to use this expression if he was referring to Akbar's *dāms*, for Agra was his capital, and if he had used any adjective in speaking of them, it would probably have been Shāhinshāh. Probably, then, he means either the *dāms* of Sher Shah—i.e., *paisah*—or the *dāms* of Sikandar.

may refer to Sultan Murād,* Akbar's second son,† who was Viceroy of Gujrāti. Nizam-uddin was long connected with that province as *bakhshi*, or paymaster, and so may have come to use the term. It is also possible that the Muradi *tanka* may mean the debased currency of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, referred to by Mr. Thomas (p. 229, note 3, of his "Chronicle"). Observe the use of the word *murad* in the passage of Nizam-uddin, and observe also that Firishta, as I understand him, makes Muhammad bin Tughlaq's *tanka*‡ equal to sixteen *pūls* (copper pice?). Perhaps these *pūls* are the *paulah* or quarter *dam* of the Ayeen (Blochmann, 31). Hence we may notice that Mr. Grant, in his "Political Survey of the Northern Circars," fifth report, p. 640, says that before Todar Mal's period the only coin in common use in Hindustan was in copper, and that sixteen of them were reckoned equal to a *tanka* of base silver.

Leaving, however, Nizam-uddin's summary statement out of consideration, on the ground that we do not know what was the value of the *muradi tanka*, we have two authoritative statements by Abul Fazl of Akbar's revenues. One refers to the ten years' settlement made in the twenty-seventh year, and which was based on estimates and realizations from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth years. This gives a total of about 9 millions of pounds. The second is a detailed estimate extending down to the forty-fifth year, and

* Another explanation of *murādi* is that originally it meant a small coin offered at a shrine in order to obtain a wish (*murād*). Afterwards it came to be a catchword prefixed to anas and pice; thus we have the expression *murādi panj ana*, meaning merely five anas. "If anything is certain," says Mr. Keene, "it is that the use of the word *murādi* in accounts means that a sum is being expressed in copper." This seems to differentiate *tanka murādi* from Sikandar *tanka*, which were of base metal—a mixture of silver and copper. See analyses in Thomas's "Chronicles," 368.

† Mr. Wright says in *A. S. B. J.* for 1904, p. 73, that Murād Bakhsh, the son of Shāh Jehān, issued copper *dāms* in his own name. As the coins seem to have no year on them, may they not be coins of Sultan Murād, the son of Akbar, Sultan Murād Bakhsh, at p. 69 of the Numismatic Supplement, is clearly a mistake of Dr. Taylor for Sultan Murād.

‡ See account of this coinage in B. M. Cat. of Coins of Delhi Sultans. Introduction, p. xxi *et seq.*

gives a total of over 14 millions (Thomas, "Revenues," 13). This is not an improbable increase on the estimate for the twelve provinces in the twenty-seventh year, seeing that two if not three more provinces are included in it. It also agrees fairly well with De Laet's statement that at Jahāngir's accession the revenue was 6 *arbs* 98 *krors* of *dams*, or 3 *arbs* 49 *krors* of *tangas*, and with 'Abdul Hāmid's statement that at the death of Jahāngir (who did not add to Akbar's territories) the revenue was 700,000,000 *dams*. De Laet's statement practically agrees with 'Abdul Hāmid's, and gives a revenue of 17½ millions of pounds. I submit, therefore, that the proper conclusion to come to is that Akbar's nominal revenue never exceeded 17½ millions sterling, and was during most of his reign much less.

It should also be remembered, in comparing Akbar's revenue with that of British India, that his realm included Afghanistan, Cashmere, and the Native States of Rajputana. It must be said, too, that his details of the revenue are in many instances exceedingly doubtful, and that they probably include many unrealizable items. For instance, he gives a large revenue for the Sarkār of Monghyr, though it had not been measured; and he states a revenue from Chittagong, though it had not been conquered. Under the head of the Subah of Ajmere, he gives revenue from Jodhpur, Amher, and Bikanir, though these were in the hands of Rajput Princes, some of them connected with Akbar by marriage, who were very unlikely to pay tribute.

Besides the land revenue there were taxes on manufactures, but we have no means of ascertaining what these amounted to. As usual, Abul Fazl gives forth an uncertain sound about Akbar's proceedings in regard to taxes. At p. 58 of Jarrett he seems to say that Akbar abolished them entirely, while at p. 66 he says that Akbar diminished the taxes on manufactures from 10 to 5 per cent. In the instructions to the kotwāl he is directed not to demand any tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats, or merchandise (*qumash*, perhaps silk).

Though Akbar did abolish many cesses, especially the *jiziya*, or capitation tax on Hindus, he also occasionally imposed new ones. For instance, he, in 972 or 1565, imposed a tax of 3 *sirs* of corn on every *bigha* in the province (*walayat*), to defray the cost of building the fort of Agra. Apparently this cess extended over four or five years, and produced 3 *kror* of *tankas*, or about £150,000 (see Badayūni, Lowe, 75, and Elliot, v. 295). Akbar's grandfather, Bābar, in 1528 arbitrarily increased the taxes by 30 per cent. At p. 66 of Jarrett we have a long list of the taxes abolished by Akbar. But the Fifth Report shows that human nature was too strong even for despotic reformers, and that *abwabs*—i.e., cesses—increased and multiplied.

The basis of Akbar's settlement was a measurement of the land, and we find many instructions on this subject in the Ayeen. Unfortunately, perhaps, Akbar thought it necessary to introduce a new standard of measurement—namely, the *ilahi* or divine *gaz* (yard). As this was not done till the thirty-first year, the first ten years' settlement must have undergone subsequent modifications. The continual additions to the Imperial domains must also have made fresh measurements necessary.

Elphinstone has given in his history of India a good and careful abstract of Akbar's settlement regulations, as shown in Gladwin's translation of the Ayeen; but it appears to me that he has overestimated the extent and value of Akbar's innovations. He says: "All these settlements were at first made annually, but their continual recurrence being found to be vexatious, the settlement was afterwards made for ten years, on an average of the preceding ten." He adds: "The prolongation of the term mitigated another evil inherent in the system; for as the assessment varied with the sort of cultivation, it had all the effect of a tithe in indisposing the husbandmen to cultivate a richer description of produce, which, though it might yield a greater profit, would have a higher tax to pay at the next

settlement." But as the foundation of the assessment was the nature of the crop cultivated, it is difficult to understand how an annual examination and alteration of assessment could be avoided. A great deal must have depended on the character and honesty of the collector and his subordinates. The instructions to the collector leave him a good deal of independence. For instance, he is told that he should stimulate the increase of valuable produce, and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation.

Each subah or province was under the charge of an officer, whom Akbar called sipahsālār—"commander of the forces," but who was afterwards known as subahdār. The regulations for his conduct are given in the Ayeen, and contain some quaint provisions. Under him was the faujdār, who is described as having several *parganas* assigned to him. He was the sipahsālār's military assistant, and his special duty seems to have been to preserve order and to put down sedition and rebellion. He kept the roll of the troops, and looked after the branding of horses, etc. Apparently the faujdār's services were especially required in frontier and outlying districts, where wild tribes had to be controlled, etc. Accordingly we find such districts as Sylhet, Purneeah, and Rajmahal called faujdāris in the Fifth Report. After the faujdārs came the law officers, the Mīr-i-'Adl and the Qāzī (Cadi). These two offices were often held by one person. The police officer in charge of a town was called the kotwāl. The instructions to him are the most singular in the code, and, as Elphinstone remarks, "keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism." But, as he also justly remarks, "the tone of instructions to all the functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort." The collector ('Amilguzār) was an important officer, and his duties are stated in great detail. The first injunction is that he should be the friend

of the agriculturist. When there was no kotwāl he was to act as such. His assistant, the *bitikchi*, was probably of still more importance to the ryot, for he was to ascertain from the *qanungu* the average demand state of the village revenues in money and kind.

It is unfortunate that we have so few details about Todar Mal and his reforms. The Ayeen-i-Akbari seems at first sight to be very full, but when examined the statements are found to be vague and obscure. Badayūni is valuable as giving the other side of the shield. But he was much more interested in religious questions and in Akbar's treatment of rent-free tenures and of learned men than in the condition of the peasantry. He is pathetic about the sufferings of the *aimahdars*, or rent-free holders, who were deprived of their lands by the *kroris*, but he has little to say about the ordinary husbandman. No doubt it was the resumption of grants that caused the greatest outcry against Akbar's financiers, and even led to the summary hanging of one of the ablest of them—Shāh Mansūr. The great officers were not ashamed to conspire against him, and to forge a letter, upon the strength of which Akbar had him executed. It was also this resumption of grants which led to the Bengal rebellion. There can be no doubt that Todar Mal was a most able administrator, and Akbar deserves all credit for having employed him, and for having supported him against his Muhammadan officers. Badayūni tells us that when the Amirs complained of the Rajah to Akbar and requested his dismissal, he replied: "Every one of you has a Hindu to manage his private affairs. Suppose we, too, should have a Hindu: why should harm come of it?" Apparently, as was also the case with 'Itimād, the eunuch, and other of Akbar's officers, Todar Mal's merits were first discovered by Sher Shāh, for we find in Elliot, v. 114, that Todar Mal was employed to build Sher Shāh's new fort of Rohtas in the Panjāb. There is an interesting account of Todar Mal and his settlement, though not free from errors, in

Mr. James Grant's "Political Survey of the Northern Circars," Fifth Report, p. 637.

The great merit of Akbar in regard to revenue settlements was that he paid attention to the subject, and had the insight to select a capable man to superintend the arrangements. The great merit of Todar Mal probably consisted in his unwearied application to business and in his honesty. Abul Fazl describes him as void of avarice. The wise words of Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, on the subject of administration under the Mughals may fitly close this paper :

"The Mogul dominion, in the best times and under the wisest Princes, was a government of discretion. The safety of the people, the security of their property, and the prosperity of the country, depended upon the personal character of the monarch. By this standard his delegates regulated their own demeanour ; in proportion as he was wise, just, vigilant, and humane, the provincial Viceroys discharged their respective *gists* with zeal and fidelity ; and as they possessed or wanted the recited qualifications, the inferior agents conducted themselves with more or less diligence and honesty. A weak monarch and corrupt minister encouraged and produced every species of disorder, for there was no law paramount to the Sovereign's will. Few of the officers of government were liberally paid, and property was left to accumulate from breach of trust, abused patronage, perverted justice, or unrestrained oppression. This description I conceive to be applicable to all Muhammadan governments, where practice is for ever in opposition to the theory of morals ; and a few remarkable instances of distinguished virtue or forbearance are exceptions which deduct little from the universality of the remark."

NOTE.

1. Though in the *Ayeen* Abul Fazl has assigned the glory of the ten years' settlement to Todar Mal and

Muzaffar Khān, and popular report has always given the credit of it to Todar Mal, yet in the Akbarnāma (Bib. Ind., ed., pp. 282, 283) it is distinctly stated that it was Khwājah Shāh Mansūr who made the arrangements. Todar Mal had been associated with him, but was obliged to go on military duty to Bengal, and Khwājah Mansūr carried out the idea of the settlement, which, of course, Abul Fazl attributes to Akbar. Khwājah Mansūr was the unfortunate man whom Akbar afterwards hastily caused to be hanged on a tree on the faith of a letter which had been forged by Shahbāz Khān's brother and other jealous and discontented officers. Akbar was very sorry afterwards, but we do not find that he punished the forgers. At the same place in the Akbarnāma it is stated that the division of the Imperial territory into twelve provinces and the ten years' settlement took place in the twenty-fourth year of the reign, so apparently Abul Fazl's statement at p. 115 of Jarrett about the amount of the revenues cannot be based on a later estimate than that of the twenty-third year.

2. Whatever doubts there may be about the exact value of the *tanka muradi* of Nizām-uddin's estimate, I think there can be no question about their being much less in value than Sikandari *tanka*—that is, half-rupees. The phrase is used at least twice by Nizām-uddin's contemporary and copyist, Badayūni, who says at p. 416 of Lowe's translation (where the word *muradi* is translated "in small change") that Akbar gave him a horse and 10,000 *tankah muradi* for translating a book, and at p. 402 that Akbar gave a Qandahar princeling and fugitive named Mīrzā Rustam a *kror*—that is, 10 millions—of *tankah muradi*. However liberal Akbar might be, he would hardly give £500 and more to Badayūni, or half a million of rupees to a young man who was not related to him, and had no claim upon him. Mr. Thomas's idea, then, that Nizām-uddin's estimate means that Akbar had a revenue of £32,000,000 seems to fall to the ground. A reference to Mr. C. J. Rodgers' paper on the copper coins of Akbar

(*A. S. B. J.* for 1880, p. 213) shows that Akbar coined a *tanka* only 52 grains in weight, and a double one weighing 109 grains. Either of these was smaller than a *dam*, of which forty went to the rupee. It must be admitted, however, that the word on Mr. Rodgers' plate is *tankī* and not *tankah*, and also note must be taken of Mr. S. Lane Poole's remark: "The *tankī* is quite distinct from the *tankah*." He also observes, "The term *tankah* appears to be used as vaguely as *fulus*, both for *dams* and double *dams*."

3. The derivation of *muradī* from an offering at a shrine is given in Crooke's "Agricultural Glossary," Calcutta, 1892. I have examined the MSS. of Nizām-uddīn's work, the *Tabaqāt Akbari*. Most of them have not the passage about the revenues, and it also does not occur in the Lucknow lithograph. One B.M. MS., Add. 26,209, has the passage, but it has *shash sad hazar u chahal* of *kror*. One I.O. MS., No. 3,320 on 229 has the passage, but the *shash* (six) is not quite clear. Another, No. 998, has distinctly *sihsad u chahal*, 340 *krors*.

HYDROPHOBIA IN THE EAST.

BY F. H. SKRINE, ESQ., I.C.S. (RETIRED).

THE dog holds a unique position in the scheme which was once styled the "Brute Creation." He is emphatically our friend and companion, and for many of us a dogless world would be quite intolerable. A French cynic has said: "The more one sees of men and women, the fonder one grows of dogs." Naturalists ascribe this marvellous sympathy to the wild dog's habit of hunting in packs under the guidance of a recognised leader. By a curious survival the domestic animal has transferred to his human master all the obedience and devotion which his remote ancestors displayed towards their captains in the chase. It is one of Nature's darkest mysteries that a creature which possesses a conscience, is capable of reason, and has assimilated not a little of our civilization, should be transformed by disease into an engine of destruction tenfold more dreadful than the hooded cobra.

As is the case with all infectious maladies, the spread of hydrophobia is largely a matter of geography. In the United Kingdom it has been stamped out by the wise and courageous measures adopted by the present Government ten years ago, in the teeth of a selfish agitation set on foot by certain dog-owners. Thanks to the quarantine imposed by a long sea-voyage, it is unknown in Australia and New Zealand. But an insular position affords the only safeguard against canine rabies. It is endemic in Southern Russia, owing to the abundance of wolves, which are very subject to this pest. In India, too, hydrophobia rages amongst the jackals and the hordes of masterless dogs which haunt every town and village. Few indeed are Anglo-Indians in the interior who have never heard the blood-curdling cry, "Pagal Kutta!" It was raised, many years ago, in the veranda of a Bengal bungalow, whereat I was one of a

merry Christmas party. In a twinkling every guest leaped upon the table, working havoc among their hostess's glass and dessert-dishes. Hardly had we gained this coign of vantage ere a large black dog staggered into the room, with hair erect and ropes of bloody saliva hanging from his jaws. He was evidently in the last stage of the disease, for he seized a chair and worried it with raucous growls. At length one of the group which clung together on the table slew the intruder with a well-aimed decanter.

A few weeks later I was "eating the air" with a friend on the station race-course, when our discussion was interrupted by a pariah which brushed between us, nearly capsizing both. "Hulloa!" I remarked, "what an impudent dog!" Our amazement became terror when the animal turned abruptly to the right and killed one of our judge's turkey-cocks which was strutting on the green; then he sped onwards into the neighbouring town, attacking every living thing he met. In this case there were thirteen human victims, of whom three afterwards succumbed to hydrophobia.

The mystery which, until lately, attended this awful disease has given birth to a host of quack remedies. A family in the North of England lived comfortably for years on the produce of a secret recipe, which turned out to be nothing more than an infusion of box-leaves. The Indian's untutored mind believes that a strip of red cloth tied round the bitten limb, with appropriate incantations, will guarantee the sufferer from infection. Others pin their faith on a porous stone applied to the wound, which is supposed to imbibe the venom, and fall off when replete with it. Champions of these ridiculous nostrums point with pride to many apparent cures. But hydrophobia is invested with a degree of terror which is out of all proportion to its ravages. It is a very rare disease. The virus is often absorbed by the victim's clothing, and statistics prove that it operates in only 10 per cent. of the cases in which the dog was really rabid. Certain canine diseases, notably

distemper, have characteristics which may easily be mistaken for rabies, and a spurious hydrophobia is often excited in the human subject by sheer nervous terror following dog-bite.* It is certain that the vaunted cures belong to one or the other of these categories. An absurd notion prevails that an injured person will contract hydrophobia if the animal which attacked him goes mad subsequently ; hence it is a common practice to destroy dogs which have administered a bite, thus insuring months of agonizing suspense for the sufferer. If a dog suddenly changes his whole nature ; if he refuses food, hides in corners, drops his tail ; if his eyes become set and staring, his barking hoarse ; if he snaps at children and others with whom he was on the best of terms, he should be tied up and kept under observation. Should hydrophobia develop itself, the dog's throat will become inflamed, there will be a copious discharge of saliva, and he will be unable to swallow water, though he eagerly laps it. All doubt will now vanish, and the poor creature's torments should be cut short by a charge of No. 6 shot.

About thirty years ago a much-respected Eurasian official of the old school, who had risen to the rank of Small Cause Court Judge, went on circuit as usual, accompanied by his wife. At one of his halting-places he was returning from court to the dak bungalow, when a mad dog issued from the jungle and fastened on his arm. A plucky peon who followed his Honour came to the rescue, and was severely mauled. The judge did all that science suggested. His devoted spouse sucked the wound ; it was cauterized with a red-hot skewer, and the bitten portions were afterwards excised *secundum artem* by the local assistant surgeon. After a few weeks only a scar remained to remind him of the catastrophe ; but when the brave peon succumbed to hydrophobia, his master's nerves gave way. He procured all the medical works in Messrs. Thacker and Spink's

* A clever assistant surgeon once recorded deaths from hydrophobia in his district as due to "dogbitis."

famed repository that treated of the dreaded disease, and gave his leisure to studying them diligently. Thus he learned that the first symptoms which might be expected at the end of the incubatory period were irritation, with slight redness, at the seat of the wound. But months passed by without their occurrence, and the judge's fears began to evaporate. One night, however, while again on circuit, he was roused from uneasy slumber at the same dak bungalow by a terrible itching in the injured arm. He sprang out of bed, lit a candle with trembling fingers, and examined his limb. Yes! the old scar *was* red and inflamed. His hour had come! Should he waken his sleeping wife? No, poor thing! she would learn the truth only too soon. So the unhappy man spent hours in pacing the veranda, and jotting down his testamentary dispositions in pencil. At length, as day broke, he again sought his couch, and utter exhaustion produced sleep. His first waking thoughts flew to the doom which awaited him; but, lo! the only trace of inflammation was a series of bumps on the arm, which told a tale not unfamiliar to occupants of over-peopled dak bungalow beds.

Some clerks of my office in a Northern Bengal district were returning at dawn from a wedding-party at the house of a colleague, when a jackal emerged from some jungle near the distillery, and attacked the draggle-tailed cortège with fury. They fled in all directions, not before a round dozen had been severely bitten. The first news I had of the disaster was a sheaf of petitions for their vacant posts, for all R—— had made up its mind that the injured *Keranis'* days were numbered. I spent the morning in visiting the patients at their homes. All were in a state of abject collapse, and my words of comfort were unheeded. Then I bethought me of a native prophylactic, consisting of a weed, styled in Bengali *dhankoni*, which thrives in the purlieus of ruined buildings. A store of this herb was quickly collected, and each of the sufferers was obliged to take a copious dose of the infusion, while the spent leaves

were employed as poultices. After several months had passed without claiming a victim, I communicated the facts to the *Calcutta Englishman*, and my story provoked an animated correspondence. Alas for my optimism! Subsequent occurrences proved that local *feræ naturæ* were wont to devour the grains or spent wash ejected from the distillery. This particular jackal had assailed my clerks in the sheer lightness of heart provoked by intoxication!

I have alluded to a few of the quack remedies for hydrophobia; some words now on those suggested by science and common-sense. Unlike the poison of snake-bite, that which is communicated by the saliva of a rabid animal lies dormant near the wound for several weeks. Forty days is, I believe, the average incubatory period; but it is extended in special cases to months, and even years. The first step, therefore, should be to improvise a tourniquet, with a piece of string or a handkerchief bound tightly round the injured part above the seat of the wound. The latter should then be vigorously sucked by the patient, or, if he cannot reach it, some friend may perform the kind office. There is no danger of infection if the mouth be in a normal state. Excision of the flesh and tissues round the bite is the next step, or, if the sufferer will not submit to the knife, the wound must be cauterized with nitric or sulphuric acid, with caustic potash, or a red-hot iron wire. If these simple remedies be applied at once, the danger of infection is almost infinitesimal. M. Buisson's hot vapour bath, repeated on seven consecutive days, has had many advocates, who believe that the poison is carried off by the profuse perspiration resulting from the application of steam at a relatively high temperature. This system, however, tends to lower the patient's strength, which should be maintained by a light but nourishing diet, and it has been discredited by many failures. A larger measure of success has attended copious bleeding from the arm. There are authentic cures on record following this system, even after hydrophobia had set in. One was related in the Madras

newspapers of 1812, in which the agents employed were extensive blood-letting, mercury, and opium. This success prompted the authorities of the Native Hospital at Calcutta to try what bleeding alone could accomplish. In May of that year Amir Bhisti, employed as water-carrier by a European family of Chauringhi, was admitted suffering from all the characteristics of hydrophobia in its most aggravated form. Two pints of blood—another account specifies 40 ounces—were straightway taken from his arm. The tremendous spasms ceased, and before the vein was closed Amir stretched out his hand for a cup of water, though a few minutes earlier the mere approach of liquid had thrown him into stronger convulsions. He regained his senses, and was able to explain that, seventeen days previously, he had been bitten by a mad dog at Russa Pugla. He then fell into a deep sleep, which lasted for two hours. On awakening he exhibited the unmistakable symptoms in a milder form, whereon he was again bled till he fainted away. On recovering consciousness he was practically free from the disease, and ultimately regained perfect health.

Less fortunate was Sergeant Clarke, in garrison at Trichinopoly. In the spring of 1813 he, too, was admitted to hospital in the throes of hydrophobia. After a severe bleeding from the arm he became quite calm, and was able to enjoy a draught of water; but the symptoms afterwards returned with violence, and he succumbed. The failure in this case must be ascribed rather to the patient's idiosyncrasies than to the heroic remedy. Sergeant Clarke's constitution had suffered much from the Indian climate, and more from his intemperance. Before admission to hospital, he had absorbed the morning dram of ardent spirits, which was *de rigueur* in those bad old days.

There remains the well-known preventive treatment by inoculation, championed by the illustrious Pasteur. A storm of controversy still rages round this discovery, and it was provoked by the amazing faddists, whose misplaced

energy is a sore stumbling-block in the path of English students. This question lies in the proverbial nutshell. Vivisection for the mere purpose of demonstrating established facts is, I think, unjustifiable ; for all God's creatures have claims to our respect and pity, and such practices undoubtedly tend to harden the hearts of those who indulge in them. Moreover, the dog has won a unique position in the sentient world, and one's conscience revolts at the thought that his living organism should become a *corpus vile*, to be prodded and hacked by the dissector's knife. But if we may lawfully slay animals for food, we may surely experiment on their bodies, the nervous system having been deadened by anæsthetics, in order to trace the origin of diseases in the human subject. It is impossible to ignore the fact that vivisection was the basis of Pasteur's discoveries, and of many others which have revolutionized surgical treatment, and have incalculably lessened the volume of human suffering. It is high time that a little common-sense were brought to bear on this question, for English research is heavily handicapped by the clap-trap indulged in by extreme anti-vivisectionists. All who are qualified by training and an open mind to pronounce on Pasteurism agree that it is based on scientific principles, and that, if given fair play, it affords practical immunity from hydrophobia. Colonel C. P. Lukis, I.M.D., who is now officiating as Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, has favoured me with the following notes, which summarize the latest conclusions of experts in bacteriology :—

“ Diseases due to the action of micro-organisms are of two kinds : (a) Those in which only the toxin or poisonous matter produced by the micro-organisms is introduced into the body of the subject ; and (b) those in which both toxin and living micro-organisms are introduced. Ptomaine poisoning, which is caused by the toxins of various putrefactive bacteria, is an excellent example of the first class, while all infective diseases are instances of the second. The main point of difference between the two is that in the

one case there is no evidence of *increase* of poison; whereas in the other it is manufactured by the living micro-organism in such large quantities that, after the death of an animal which has received a minimum lethal dose of toxin *plus* its causative organism, the tissues of the animal will be capable of producing the disease in a large number of other animals. Thus the production of the disease can be carried on through an infinite series.

“Artificial immunity may be produced by repeated—

- (1) Injections of attenuated organisms;
- (2) Sublethal doses of virulent organisms;
- (3) Sublethal doses of toxin free from organisms.

“As the result of this series of injections, there are produced in the blood of the animal experimented on certain substances called ‘antitoxin,’ which have the power of protecting the economy from subsequent lethal doses of virulent micro-organisms. It is obvious that such immunity can only be slowly produced, and that therefore it can only be used for protective, and not for curative, purposes. When produced, it is, however, practically permanent, and is therefore called ‘active immunity.’ Moreover, it has been discovered that the blood of animals that have attained to active immunity can confer temporary protection upon non-immune animals if it be injected into them subcutaneously. Such immunity is spoken of as ‘passive,’ because there is no active formation of antitoxin. As its effects can be produced without delay, it is largely used for curative purposes—*e.g.*, the diphtheria antitoxin.

“The best-known protective inoculations, all of which aim at the production of active immunity, are :

1. Vaccination.
2. Pasteur’s treatment for hydrophobia.
3. Pasteur’s vaccination against anthrax.
4. Wright and Temple’s anti-typhoid inoculation.
5. Haffkine’s anti-cholera inoculation.
6. Haffkine’s anti-plague inoculation.

"Inasmuch as the principle of all these treatments is identical, they are technically termed 'vaccines' to distinguish them from the antitoxin and antibactericidal sera employed for *curative* purposes.

"HYDROPHOBIA.—Although up to the present no micro-organism has been detected as the causative agent of this disease, there are at every point striking analogies between it and the bacterial maladies, the most striking being the protective inoculation methods which constitute the great work of Pasteur. Everything, in fact, points to a micro-organism being the causative agency. This may be so minute as to evade observation with the aid of microscopes at their present strength, as is the case with the bacteria of scarlet fever, measles, and small-pox. That organisms may be extremely minute is proved by the recent work of the United States Commission, which has shown that the germs of yellow fever can pass through the pores of the Berckfeldt filter, which are sufficiently fine to render any infective fluids completely bacteria-free. Judging from our knowledge of similar diseases, we would strongly suspect that the germ of rabies is actually present in a living condition, chiefly in the saliva and central nervous system; for by no mere toxin could the disease be transmitted through a series of animals, as we shall presently see can be done. Moreover, the poison of rabies does not exist in the blood, as would certainly be the case if it were merely a circulating toxin.

"*The Prophylactic Treatment of Hydrophobia.*—Until the publication of Pasteur's researches in 1885, the only means adopted to prevent the development of hydrophobia in a person bitten by a rabid dog consisted in the cauterization of the wound. The whole treatment was revolutionized by Pasteur's discoveries. He started with the idea that, since the period of incubation in the case of animals infected by intracerebral inoculation from the nervous system of mad dogs is constant in the dog, the virus has been, from time immemorial, of constant strength; and this virus of natural

intensity is called by him the *virus de la rage des vus*. He found that by passing this virus through a number of monkeys in succession, it gradually lost its virulence, as evidenced by the lengthened periods of incubation, until it finally lost the power of reproducing rabies in dogs.

“On the other hand, he found that, by a similar method of *passage* through a series of rabbits or guinea-pigs, its virulence increased until a constant strength was attained (which would kill a rabbit with paralytic rabies in ten days). Beyond this point no further increase in strength could be attained; he therefore called this product the *virus fixe*.

“Thus he had at his command three distinct strengths of virus—namely, that of natural strength, that which had been attenuated, and that which had been exalted.

“He further found that by commencing with injections of the attenuated virus, and gradually increasing the strength, he could immunize dogs and other animals against lethal doses of virus at its natural strength, which would, prior to their immunization, have certainly produced fatal results.

“Pasteur's next discovery was that the exalted virus of the rabbit could be attenuated to such an extent as no longer to produce rabies in dogs when subcutaneously injected. This was done by drying the spinal cords of rabbits in air over caustic potash, the diminution of virulence being proportionate to the length of time during which the cords had been exposed, until those which had been thus treated for fourteen days were found to have no toxic properties whatever.

“Accordingly, by taking a series of these spinal cords, kept for various periods of time, he was supplied with as many vaccines of different strengths, and he argued that, as there is in man a comparatively long period of incubation between the bite and the appearance of hydrophobia, this might be taken advantage of to vaccinate the patient with gradually increasing strengths of virus, thus producing in time active immunity before the gravest manifestations of the disease took place.

“This chain of reasoning has been proved to be correct ; and Pasteur’s prophylactic treatment of hydrophobia speedily gained the confidence of the scientific world. It is, however, essential that the immunization should be complete before the manifestation of symptoms, as the treatment is in no way curative, and it is useless to attempt it when hydrophobia has been established in a patient. The incubation period in man averages forty days, so that in most cases there is ample time to secure active immunity by means of the *virus fixe* before the well-known symptoms of hydrophobia make their appearance.”

Until very recent years residents in India, who had the misfortune to be bitten by a rabid animal, were compelled to undertake a journey to Paris in order to undergo preventive inoculation. One dark night in the spring of 1890 a Captain in a Bengal cavalry regiment was hurrying to mess with the doctor. They were late, and took a short-cut across an intervening field. In negotiating the ditch, this young officer’s leap landed him in the very jaws of a huge black pariah dog lurking in the excavation. It sprang at him, inflicting fearful wounds on his thigh. Then the animal ran amok, biting many troopers and their steeds, amongst the latter being the charger of the first victim. After undergoing primary treatment he was sent to Paris, without a day’s delay, by a medical board specially convoked. On the P. and O. steamer, which he just managed to catch, he encountered an attentive and skilful medical officer, who, on probing the deepest wound, extracted a large piece of cloth buried in the patient’s flesh by the bite. Pasteur’s famous laboratory was reached in twenty-one days, and its illustrious chief, who was still amongst us, took the sufferer under his immediate charge. His interest was excited by the fact that this was the first case from India, and by its very unfavourable adjuncts. An intensive treatment of great severity was adopted, and after undergoing many subcutaneous injections applied at the waist, the patient was at length discharged as immune. On

returning to London, he was brought to death's door by blood-poisoning, but no symptoms of hydrophobia have since made their appearance.

By way of contrast, I may mention the recent instance of a young engineer officer engaged in constructing a bridge on the Murshidabad-Ranaghat Railway. He, too, was bitten by a rabid dog; but as his work was at a critical stage, he refused to leave it for recourse to the Pasteur Laboratory at Kasauli. Excessive devotion to duty was attended by fatal results for the sufferer.

When hydrophobia has once manifested itself there is little hope of recovery. I will not harrow your feelings by recounting the various stages of this awful malady. On two occasions I have watched its progress, powerless to cure or even to alleviate, and those death-bed scenes have burnt themselves deeply into my memory.

Upwards of thirty years ago a young Calcutta barrister, named M——, went to Barrackpur to spend a week-end with Colonel T——, commanding that pleasant little station. He kept the other guests waiting for dinner long after the gong had sounded, and when he made an appearance everyone remarked that he was not himself. His face was flushed, he seemed to gasp for breath, and the muscles of the throat twitched convulsively. When soup was served M—— shuddered, and, laying down his spoon, said, "I can't bear the sight of this." The host remarked that he must be suffering from fever, and advised him to lie down and take a dose of quinine. With many apologies, M—— retired to his room. A gloom was cast on the meal by his departure, and as soon as the ladies had withdrawn, the Colonel went upstairs to see how the patient was progressing. He found the poor fellow in violent convulsions, and sent for the station doctor. The latter prescribed a calming potion and iced water, but the patient could swallow nothing. At length he became comparatively calm, and laid his head on the pillow in apparent exhaustion. The doctor took advantage of the cessation

of spasms to diagnose the strange symptoms, and asked M—— pointedly whether he had been recently bitten by a dog. After a few moments' reflection, the patient said that a month previously he had accompanied Mrs. T—— to the Viceroy's pretty suburban retreat hard by. In the stables there was a large collection of pet dogs, to which Lady Mayo was very partial, and amongst them a fox-terrier with a litter of puppies. M—— tried to fondle one of the latter, but the mother bit him slightly on the thumb. He sucked the wound, and bound it with a handkerchief; but it healed in a day or two, and had been completely forgotten. On examining the scar, our doctor saw that it was very much inflamed, and frankly told his patient that if he had any affairs unsettled he should lose no time in arranging them. Poor M—— received his death sentence with equanimity, dictated his will, and was barely able to sign it when the convulsions returned. He sunk at day-break from complete exhaustion.

Very little can be done in such cases. The patient should be kept in a darkened room, protected from noise and draughts of air. There is an eruption under the tongue which is believed to be characteristic of hydrophobia; if this be found, the vesicles should be pricked. Hourly doses of a drachm of bromide of potassium in 6 ounces of distilled water should be given, with 10 grains of chloral every four hours. Liquid nourishment is essential if the throat-spasms admit, and the patient can sometimes manage to swallow if he close his eyes. As a last resort, recourse may be had to the old-fashioned expedient of copious bleeding from the arm. But prevention is proverbially better than cure. In all cases of a bite from any animal known or suspected to be rabid, the victim should adopt the primary treatment outlined in this paper, and should then betake himself to the nearest institute or laboratory where Pasteur's "vaccine" treatment is available.

EDUCATION AND REFORM IN CHINA.

BY R. W. SWALLOW,

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It is plainly evident that, under present conditions, there will be no attempts at revolution in China either by the people against the Government or by the Government in favour of reform.

The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, so long the dream of endless Chinese politicians, has become almost an impossibility, and can never be accomplished except by a complete change of circumstances. The foreign Powers are at present the real masters of China, and they would not countenance anything like a revolution which would disturb trade and affect the interests which they represent. In addition, by the late "Agreement," arms and ammunition cannot be imported into the country, so any intended rebellion must fail because its promoters would have to fight with very deficient weapons.

Nor can it be expected, as long as the Empress-Dowager remains in power, that there will be any very great or rapid reform movement, even allowing for the surprises which that energetic lady loves to effect. However, a revolution is not the only remedy in the hands of the forces of progress, and the golden era in the history of China can only be reached by the slow but certain influence of education.

This, as far as it concerns a nation, may be divided under two heads, namely : the knowledge and experience of a larger world, gained through the medium of trade and intercourse with other nations ; and the more direct method of teaching through the medium of schools and colleges. Of the first kind it is not our intention to write at the present time, but its influence may be plainly seen in such places as Canton, Shanghai, and Tientsin, where there is a large foreign community engaged in the pursuit of commerce.

With regard to the question of education in the strict sense of the term, it is necessary to speak of what has been and what is to be rather than what exists at the present moment, for the Boxer movement of 1900 completely destroyed the educational work in North China, and things are only just looking up again. It is during this period of reconstruction that several questions of great importance to educationalists have come to the front and are exciting much interest.

In South and Central China the year 1900 was not so fatal to education, but, unfortunately, most of the largest schools were in the North.

With regard to the future, there are three sources from which educational activity may be expected to spring, and the first of these is, naturally, the Chinese Government.

Whatever may be the faults of the Chinese Government, it cannot be accused of not expressing good, and even noble, sentiments in favour of education. Some of the edicts issued show a perfect understanding of the needs of the people, and nothing is wanting to prove the sympathy of the Government in the matter.

The last great edict demanded the establishment of a provincial University in the capital of every province, with intermediate schools in the "fus" or important cities, and primary schools wherever needed. Western learning was to be taught in the intermediate schools and further developed in the Universities. Provision was also made for the establishment of a translation bureau on the premises of the old Reform Club at Peking, and various officials received appointments, to which were attached titles admirably suited for the work in view.

Unfortunately, Chinese schemes of organization, though often most correctly presented, almost invariably end with the paper on which they were formed. The first difficulty encountered works vividly upon the imagination of the organizers, methods of caution are at once suggested, and the whole affair is quietly dropped.

There are, however, some notable exceptions, and first place must be given to Yuan Shih-kai, the successor to Li Hung Chang as Viceroy of Chihli. He was a military official, but since his appointments to civil offices his rise has been extremely rapid, and at present he is probably the most powerful man in China. He is very progressive, but his methods are tempered with a caution so conspicuously absent in those of the earlier reformers. The Chihli Provincial University at Pao-ting-fu is already in working, under the directorship of Dr. Tenney, late Head of the Provincial College in Tientsin, which before its destruction sent a large number of its pupils to America for further study. The other schools in the province are also being organized by Dr. Tenney, and everything is progressing favourably. In addition the Viceroy is establishing a translation bureau, which is to be supported by the five northern provinces, and Chihli in particular.

If the Peking University were a limited company, I am afraid its shares would have a small market value. The foreign staff has been done away with, and it is their intention to work with Chinese teachers, though nothing seems very definite. In order that progress may be reported, a delegate has been sent to study the educational system in Japan; and though he is a well-known reformer, and may be able to give valuable advice, it is not at all likely that much good will come out of his visit.

In Shansi the Government are building a University as a monument to the martyrs of 1900, and they have put everything into the hands of Dr. Timothy Richard for a period of ten years, so there is little fear of a retrogressive policy during that period. In fact, so alarmed were some of the Conservatives that they intended to start the provincial University in direct opposition, but the diplomacy of Dr. Richard saved such a calamity, and the two systems are to work in union. Even if all the Viceroys and Governors followed the example of Yuan Shih-kai, there are certain difficulties in the way of securing a good educa-

tional system for China, and they cannot be removed immediately.

The first of these difficulties lies in the want of teachers. The number of Chinamen who possess any learning beyond that of their own classics is extremely small, and inadequate to properly supply the needs of a single province.

The Chinese officials are very reluctant to engage foreign teachers, partly on the ground of expense, and partly because of their ancient prejudices, and until some strong line is taken little progress will be made.

On the other hand, the number of foreigners who are qualified to teach Chinese scholars is extremely limited, and nothing is more painful than the attempts of a foreigner who understands a little Chinese trying to teach Chinese students who know a little English.

This leads to one of the most interesting educational problems of the present time, namely, whether Western learning, and especially the sciences, should be taught to the Chinese in their native tongue or in English. Educational experts are sharply divided over the matter, and such high authorities as Dr. Richard and Dr. Sheffield hold that the teaching should be given entirely in Chinese, while English should be taught as a separate subject.

This method has the advantage of enabling the student to get a grasp of a new and difficult subject from the beginning; for to attempt to learn such a science as chemistry in a language which is but half understood, must, of necessity, be an almost impossible task. In those colleges where there is a three or four years' course the time is not sufficient to enable the students to first learn English and then to take the sciences; but in such colleges as St. John's at Shanghai, where the course extends over seven years, it would, perhaps, be better for the students to first perfect themselves in English, and then go on to more advanced work.

On the other hand, it is argued with perfect truth that the teaching of sciences in Chinese has many disad-

vantages. It, of course, demands that the teacher should be a good Chinese scholar, and it also prevents any study except in those books which have been translated into Chinese, which will doom the student to a very limited number of books, and prevent any such thing as original research or self-help.

In addition, the Chinese system of writing is very badly adapted for the use of symbols and abbreviations, which will make any scientific work very slow and tedious. However, there is a band of very enthusiastic and devoted educationalists in China, and a committee has been at work for some time with the purpose of getting a uniform system of scientific terms and symbols, reforming a great many of those already in use, and devising new ones wherever necessary. The task is one of great difficulty, but a good deal has been done already, and it is hoped before long that the results will be published for the benefit of all concerned. When this proper system has come into use, it will be possible to translate scientific books into Chinese, with the knowledge that someone else beside the author will be able to understand what is really meant.

Another matter which furnishes a powerful argument for the Conservatives is the admitted fact that many of the students who are educated at foreign-managed institutions are bad Chinese scholars, because so much of their time is given to other subjects. This is, of course, a just cause for complaint, and it will be remedied in the future. In the Government University at T'ai-yuen in Shansi and in the Chihli Provincial University only those students are admitted who have already taken the Chinese B.A. examination. This remedy, however, cannot be applied to those schools and colleges where young boys are trained.

The Conservatives have also been at their evil work in the demand that the statute which compels all the students in the Government colleges to pay reverence to Confucius should be rigorously enforced. This, of course, is intended to act against the students who are Christians, and who in

such a case have to choose between sacrificing their religion or their education.

In the Provincial University of Shantung, situated at Chinanfu, this demand on behalf of the late Governor and his friends brought matters to a crisis, and Dr. Hayes, the Principal, sent in his resignation rather than sacrifice the interests of the Christian students. This attitude of the Conservatives is in direct contradiction to the Treaty of Tientsin, which opens all the Government colleges to Christian students, and gives them equal advantages with their fellow-countrymen. The whole strength of the Christian forces in China was getting ready to oppose this retrograde and wanton policy, when the Governor of the province was removed, and a progressive and liberal-minded official, Chou Fu Shan, Treasurer of Chihli, was appointed to take his place, and the threatened storm was averted. With regard to the educational work done by foreigners in China, almost all the credit must be given to the missionaries.

It is difficult to name a prominent foreign educationalist in China who is not either a missionary or who was not at one time a missionary.

The Chinese themselves recognise the fact, and now that the question of education has come to the front, the influence of the missionaries has greatly increased. Such a course of things is only to be expected, for, except the missionaries, the Custom officials, and the British Consuls, the number of foreigners who understand the Chinese language is extremely small, so that very few of the ordinary foreign community could, even if willing, take much part in this kind of work. Of the missionary organizations which have devoted themselves to educational work, the chief credit must be given to the Americans, who, as far as they have gone, have been extremely successful. The English missionary organizations have, on the other hand, been very neglectful of this all-important branch of their work, and one of the largest and most influential of

the societies has up to the present devoted itself entirely to evangelical effort. This indictment may not be pleasant reading, and there are signs that in the future efforts will be made to remedy the great mistake; while exception must be made for certain individuals, such as Dr. Hart, who had an excellent college at Tientsin, and Dr. Richard, who has done so much in the way of translation.

The great hold which the Americans have in North China is almost wholly due to their missionaries, who have gained great influence on account of their excellent colleges and medical institutions.

The colleges of the Episcopal Methodists at Peking and Tientsin, that of the American Board at Tungchow, and, perhaps, above all, the work of that almost model institution, St. John's College at Shanghai, are examples of what has been done; while the Chinese scholarship and translation work of such men as Drs. Mateer, Martin, Sheffield, Willcocks, Pott, and many others, have caused the young Chinamen who are anxious to study abroad to prefer American Universities to the English ones, a fact which cannot but be disastrous to our influence in that country.

One of the most gratifying features of this period of re-organization is the evident desire of the various missionary societies to work in harmony, and to prevent overlapping as far as possible. A practical expression of this unity has shown itself in Peking, where several societies which previously had different colleges have decided to join forces for the future, and to have one large and properly organized college, and it is probable that the new educational buildings of the American Methodist Episcopal Society will be the chosen for this work.

The third and last source from which educational activity can spring is that of private enterprise, either in the shape of local organizations or of single individuals. There are several educational institutions which are supported and managed by a local committee, generally composed of

Chinese gentlemen, though in one or two instances foreigners are on the board.

The Polytechnic at Shanghai is an example, and it aims at teaching the mechanical sciences to Chinese youths. The attempt has not been a very successful one up to the present time. There is an excellent stock of apparatus, but the fickle nature of Chinese policy is demonstrated by the changes which are continually taking place in the management of the institution, and consequently good, consistent work cannot be done. For the majority of Chinese, however, the advent of the new learning simply means the studying of the English language, and in this direction the amount of energy which is displayed is extraordinary, and overshadows everything else. This is especially noticeable in the South and Centre of China, and to a somewhat less extent in the North.

A school where English is taught is at once besieged with applications from all sides, and the students, if they can afford it, are quite willing to pay well for their privileges. Teachers are at a premium, and anyone possessing the slightest knowledge of the language at once sets up an establishment and takes in pupils, but how some of these can impose on anyone for even an hour is a mystery. Often the pupil will take other pupils in his spare time and give them the lesson he had received the hour before.

Sometimes, as you are passing along the street, you will see a student scrawling away in a copy-book, and no doubt engaging in day-dreams of the great future which is before him when he has mastered his pot-hooks. The young reformers of the official classes and the common jin-rikisha coolie are equally strenuous in their attempts to learn our wonderful language, and many of them have rhymes by which English and Chinese words are strung together.

This has given rise to great activity in the book trade, and an enormous number of Anglo-Chinese reading-books are being sold. Some of these come from the foreign presses,

a good many are pirated by the Chinese, while a few are written by Chinese who have studied English.

In this connection many errors are made, and in one reading-book where there are many good moral precepts the pupil is solemnly informed that "Sin is not fun."

The situation is not without its amusing side, and actually men from neighbouring provinces who cannot understand each other's dialect converse in broken English.

One young student I met told me he had a great desire to visit England, because the people were all educated there. I afterwards learnt that, in order to become a better English scholar, he bought milk and beef out of his scanty store, as he believed they helped to give us our intellectual faculties.

He, however, was surpassed by the servant who listened patiently for many days to the mother calling the children to dinner, and on an important occasion proudly told the foreign guests "to wash their faces and come in to dinner."

This wonderful eagerness to learn the English language is the most promising sign in favour of our supremacy in that country. It must not be forgotten, either, that the advantages are the same for the Americans as for us, and that in them we have found our great rivals of the future. French is taught in a few of the Catholic Mission places, but there is no desire on the side of the Chinese to learn it, in spite of the fact that they are told it is the language of diplomacy. The Chinese know that English is the language of commerce, that a good knowledge of it will get them positions in firms and other institutions, and they want nothing more. The political reformers, the young men with dreams, the restless enthusiasts who want to throw aside the old ways by one huge effort, seem to take America for their model, but the old-fashioned trader and the cautious man of business still have a fondness for the name of England.

It is the duty of Englishmen to see that in both

directions progress shall be made. We must not be wholly absorbed in the extension of our trade, so that we neglect the powerful influences of education, and in the matter of business everything possible must be done to protect our great interests and to meet the ever-changing circumstances of the time.

As a last reflection we must remember that this work of education which is going on, after all, affects but a few chosen individuals, and that the countless masses will for long remain almost unconscious of what is being done. May the small leaven spread in all directions, and do something to better that strange and mysterious land !

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, March 29, 1905, a paper was read by D. Edwards-Radclyffe on "Ramie, the Textile of the Future : a Promising Industry for India,"* the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair. Among others the following were present : Sir Charles Ollivant, K.C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Dr. E. H. Hankin, M.A., Colonel Sherard, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. W. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. C. M. Kenworthy, Mr. G. A. Jackson, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. Bidyut Gangooly, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. L. R. Davé, Mrs. Grosse, Miss A. Smith, Mr. A. Eggar, Mrs. Hastings, Mr. P. R. Sinha, Mr. Reasut Hosain, Mr. Mahomed Yunis, Mr. Mahomed Ishak, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

After the paper was read, MR. T. H. THORNTON asked if it would not be possible to get any supply from China.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he could not say "any" supply ; they could get a supply, but they knew how exclusive China was in the matter of the opening of a new market, and capital was wanted.

MR. THORNTON : You say it could be produced in England also.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he did not say it was going to be produced in England at a profit, but he thought the time might come when it would be grown at a profit in England. In the case of cotton, American cotton could be obtained from fivepence per pound, but the Egyptian and Bahaman cotton fetched sixteenpence because of its superiority for certain manufactures. Ramie would mature far more slowly in England and Ireland, and when once ramie became known he believed that that grown here would fetch a larger price, because it must be stronger than that grown in tropical climates. He thought there would be a market for it here later on for special purposes.

MR. THORNTON said he recollected that in his time an immense deal of trouble was taken in order to endeavour to utilize the rhea fibre. Large rewards were offered to get over the difficulty of decortication, the removal of the outer sheath in order to get at the fibre, and it was said that until some cheap means of decortication could be found it could not be made profitable.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE observed that that was a point he had raised in the paper. The Chinaman did it without any mechanical means, and so could the Indians till the industry assumed proportions to warrant mechanical treatment.

* For the paper, see elsewhere in this *Review*.

MR. THORNTON asked how the difficulty had been got over.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE produced a specimen illustrative of the condition in which the fibre could be sent over from India.

MR. THORNTON: The difficulty years ago was that they could not do it without great expense.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said the Chinese made a sort of cottage industry of it, and that was, he hoped, one of the things that would come about in India. It could be grown by small men with patches of land.

MR. THORNTON: Have you brought it to the notice of the Indian Government?

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he had brought it to the attention of Mr. Holderness, who suggested his starting the industry in India, and who told him there were fortunes in it as clothing for the troops alone. He replied that the difficulty which confronted him was the difficulty of capital. No matter how clever a man might be, he could not get his ship along without wind. Mr. Holderness also said that this was undoubtedly an industry for India.

MR. DONALD REID, a planter from Behar, said ramie was now being grown in Behar, in his own district of Saran, by a French gentleman named Karpeles, with whom he had an argument in the daily papers in October and November of last year with reference to the cultivation of this plant. M. Karpeles had established two factories, and was growing the plant on what was known as the *sirāat* system; but if ramie was to pay at all and to benefit the cultivator, his own opinion was that it must be grown on a small scale—an acre or two in every village. There would then be thousands of acres under cultivation in every district of Bengal and Behar. Ramie had been grown in India from time immemorial, but only on a small scale. Mr. Mukerji, a native Indian gentleman, in his valuable handbook on Indian agriculture, thus described how ramie is prepared by native cultivators: "In Bogra the ribbons stripped from the stems are boiled in turmeric-water for a few minutes, or in water in which rice has been boiled. This operation softens the fibre and assists in the subsequent cleaning process. In Bhagalpur the green stems divested of leaves are boiled in water with the addition of ten chhitaks of *saji* per maund of plant put in the boiler, and the whole allowed to simmer or boil for one and a half or two hours. Bundles of boiled stems are afterwards dashed on a board until the pith is removed. The fibre is again boiled for half an hour in the original liquor, and then again beaten and washed on the board." He did not want to make money out of this, but he wanted to help the ryot. Some years ago, in 1892, he tried to patent a new process of indigo-steeping by means of vats, to which boilers were attached. Vats of this description could be erected in every village, and would not only revive the indigo industry, which was on its last legs, but would also assist the cultivation of ramie, which might be boiled and prepared in these vats. At present the indigo-planter made only from eight to ten seers per bigha from his plant, but with these vats he would make more, because the plant would be manufactured quickly, and, instead of the plant shedding its leaves on the ground and running to stalk, the

planter would get three heavy cuttings, and during the hot and cold weather he could work the ramie. Moreover, the vats could be made to act as a filter, after the water had been boiled in the boiler, during the cholera season, sand and charcoal being used, these being the best filtering materials known. Owing to this method of filtration, very few planters had suffered from enteric fever or typhoid, whereas that disease swept away soldiers in thousands. He did not, however, succeed in obtaining a patent, but with all the energy of which he was capable he would maintain that vats and boilers of this description should be erected in every village. To give an idea how British soldiers in India have suffered from cholera and typhoid, he mentioned the fact that in 1844-1845, the 78th Highlanders lost 3 officers, 532 men, 68 women, and 134 children—total 737 deaths—from fever contracted by drinking impure water. In the autumn of 1861 the 51st Regiment lost 256 men, 16 women, and 16 children, besides their Colonel, making a total of 289. This was from cholera.

SIR CHARLES OLLIVANT said that he rose in obedience to a call from the chair, but he must confess ignorance on the subject of fibres, being present at the meeting only as a learner, and because he took a deep interest in anything that might advance the industrial development of India. He was profoundly convinced that as the last thirty years had been marked in India by marvellous social changes, so the next thirty years would be characterized by altogether unprecedented developments of the natural resources and industries of the country. But another special cause of interest on his part was that years ago he had devoted a good deal of his leisure time to the reclamation of waste tracts along the western coasts of India, which were covered with sand-drift. He had been able to prove that such reclamations were not a mere matter of conjecture or experiment, but an assured success. His attention had been first drawn to the subject by reading a book of M. Edmond About's which described the territory along the coast north of Bordeaux known as Les Landes; and adapting the methods there described, he had succeeded in bringing into highly remunerative occupation some hundreds of acres of waste land near the mouth of the Tapti, and in preventing the further encroachment of sand-drift on the culturable lands beyond. On his way back from India he had taken the opportunity to visit the territory north of Arcachon, where a very large tract indeed, many miles in extent, had been reclaimed from sand-drift and was now covered with pine-forests. What had been done there, and what had been done at the mouth of the Tapti, could at very small outlay be done in all the sandy waste tracts along the coast of Western India from the Tapti to Cutch. Now, it might be asked what bearing had this on the subject of fibre. He understood that in connection with attempts to develop the production of aloe fibre the two principal difficulties were the want of suitable machinery and the want of sufficient land at a low rental in suitable localities. As to machinery he would not presume to offer an opinion; as to land the only alternative was between the ordinary cultivated land and a waste-land concession. The Government could not be a party

to a commercial speculation in agriculture; the agriculturist would grow the crops which he, or the money-lender on whom he depended, might think would pay him best. All that the Government could directly do in respect of any new venture was to initiate experiments in their industrial farms and technical schools, and to enlist the interest of the Chambers of Commerce. Beyond this the only appeal must be to self-interest and private enterprise. But the Government were always open to grant concessions of waste land on easy terms for reclamation purposes. The areas to which he had alluded, being near the sea and intersected with creeks, offered special facilities for transport, and he believed that if the machinery difficulties could be surmounted they would be found eminently suitable for the production of aloe fibre, as the common aloe flourishes all along the coast. Of one thing he was quite certain from his own knowledge and experience, that these areas could be reclaimed at small expense (differing in this respect from *salt* land reclamations), and ought to be utilized. And for this reason he had come to hear what was to be said about the production of ramie fibre, as to which until he entered the room he was in complete ignorance. But after seeing the samples of the plant and hearing what the lecturer had said in reply to questions, he recognised in ramie an old friend, which under the name of rhea had engaged a good deal of attention in India twenty-five or thirty years ago, and, from what he knew of it, he was afraid that there was no prospect of its taking kindly to sandy soil. The simple question, then, appeared to be whether under benevolent introduction it could offer such hopes of lucrative production as to displace other crops with advantage to the agriculturist. In other words, the only successful appeal must be to enlightened self-interest, and he could hardly doubt that such an appeal would be successful if the virtues ascribed to this fibre, "of being not only a preventive but a curer of colds," were well established, and the knowledge of them widely disseminated in this country.

MR. J. S. McCONECHY said he had been much interested in the paper, as for the last ten years he had been trying to induce Indians to bring this fibre into such a state as would meet the requirements of the manufacturers of Lancashire. One gentleman in Calcutta had taken the matter up experimentally, but, though he had spent a lot of money, he had not been able to do anything with it: not that there was any difficulty in growing it; the difficulty, as had been shown by the lecturer, was in degumming. Once that difficulty could be got over, there would, no doubt, be an enormous trade from India, because the manufacturers in Lancashire were, he knew, willing to take as much as they could possibly get, the different uses to which it could be put being well known there. There was no difficulty as to decortication, and he believed there were now machines that would do the degumming sufficiently to prevent the ramie breaking up into smaller fibres in the course of manufacture. Ramie could be sufficiently degummed by hand labour to supply a small market, but to make it a great commercial and financial success required that there should be some means of degumming it on a large scale, and when that could be done he was sure that both England and India would benefit immensely. The

reason that there was not so much ramie coming into this country from China was no doubt that the cleansing was effected by hand labour. Eight or nine years ago, when he was first looking into the matter, a company was formed to acquire very large plantations in Singapore or Johore to grow the fibre on scientific principles, and have it decorticated and degummed on the spot, and sent home ready for manufacture, so as to save half the cost in freight, intermediate charges, and so on; but he had never heard that it was successful. Perhaps the lecturer might be able to tell them whether anything had been done in the Straits Settlements, for if there had been a success there, other parts of the world might be able to copy it. As to the statement that ramie could be grown almost anywhere, and certainly in all places where cotton could be grown, that might be true to a certain degree; but he did not think it could be grown to any extent unless there was an abundant supply of water, possibly in Travancore and Bengal.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said the company referred to by Mr. McConechy as having been formed to work in the Straits Settlements was promoted by a Mr. Macdonald, who unfortunately died whilst he was at work there, and the process died with him. Mr. McConechy had spoken of the difficulties of degumming the fibre, but if he would look at the specimens produced he would find the degumming was absolutely perfect. One of the specimens—the waistcoat he was wearing—he knew was prepared twelve years ago. The best proof he could give them was an old coat. If the material in that had not been properly prepared, it would have been liable to break, and would not have resisted wear as it had done. Another proof was an old machinist's coat, upon which there was hardly a mark, though it had been as black as coal from working in engine-rooms, and the severe work of the engine-rooms had not worn it out. If the degumming had not been effected with perfect care, he could not have shown them that result.

MR. MCCONECHY assumed that the degumming had been done by hand.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said: No, the material could be degummed a ton at a time, but there were no plantations on which work could be carried on on so large a scale. If the material was only imperfectly prepared and sent over dry, the work would have to be done twice over, as it would have to be brought back to a fluid state, and it stood to reason they were taking away something of its life in bringing it back to its original condition. The Government wanted to prepare the stuff in a fluid state, but they went the wrong way about it; as they did not know how to get it, they described the fluid condition as a condition in which it was impossible to work it. The process was so simple that there was no reason why it should not be set up in every village. The cottage industry would be the very best way of doing it till such areas were in cultivation that could be treated on a large scale by mechanical means.

MR. DONALD REID expressed the opinion that that was the only way in which it could be worked.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE exhibited a specimen produced by the

cottagers in China, who had no expensive machinery. The specimen was not degummed, but was sent over in the form shown.

MR. DONALD REID : Keep the speculator out of India, and you will get as much ramie as you want.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE : Nothing can be done in this world without money, and it is the speculator who has got it ; that, I think, is the root of all evil.

MR. DONALD REID : We do not want him in India.

MR. EDWARDS RADCLYFFE said they must appeal to his tender mercies not to squeeze them too much ; at the same time they wanted his capital. He did not see how the Government could very well create an industry unless they had a lot of land they did not know what to do with, but the Australian Government and the Government of New Zealand were making experiments. The Queenslanders, for instance, had got the sugar-crushing stations under Government control, and were, he believed, the only people who had made sugar pay. They would do well to start ramie degumming in the same way. The Government might offer prizes, which would be a great incentive to the industry, and, as Sir Charles Ollivant had said, they could make this matter known by bringing it to the notice of various institutions, such as the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Agriculture. The present Director of Agriculture in India was working upon these lines, so that they had at the head of agricultural affairs in India at the present moment a man who was very anxious to see ramie cultivated there.

MR. SPARLING HADWYN said he understood the lecturer to say he could not get 100 tons of ramie per week in London, but he understood that the ramie industry in Germany, which was located at Cologne, was getting 1,000 tons a week from India.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he would very much like that we should take a leaf out of the Germans' book, because they had been going ahead, and whilst we had been going in a "go-as-you-please" fashion, they had been coquetting with our own planters. What we should do was to try and grow that which would be of the greatest benefit to our own people, and he was certain that ramie would be of great benefit to the people.

MR. SPARLING HADWYN asked Mr. Edwards-Radclyffe if he could give an estimate of what Manchester would take.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he thought the material would be taken up first by the flax and worsted spinners, Manchester being interested in cotton. Manchester would only use the dross of it, or the noils (by-product) ; he would not call it "dross" because it was beautiful stuff. In the form of a long sliver it would be used on silk machinery.

MR. SPARLING HADWYN asked the price per pound in the London market.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE said he would be happy to take orders from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per pound in sliver form, 5d. per pound in noils.

MAHOMMED YUNIS said that, after hearing the lecture, he thought the cultivation of the fibre would be a great advantage, but he did not think it could be grown in places where there was little rain or water, as it only

grew in marshy places which were very fertile. As regards a Government monopoly, perhaps the Government might be better able to conduct it, but the natives themselves were not in a position to take up any new industry. Perhaps the application of British capital might be found profitable. As to the degumming, he did not think it could be so easily done in India as in England, though it might cost more to do it here. The fibres were very easily separated from the stem. The stems were left in water for weeks; after that the stems were beaten and the fibres were easily taken off; but as regarded the possibility of a large growth, he did not think it would be more profitable than many of the other products of India.

LORD REAY, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said they had heard a most interesting paper on a subject which would require some farther inquiry. He could quite corroborate what had been said by Sir Charles Ollivant, that the Government of India could not very well undertake the growth of agricultural produce on a large scale, as it would interfere with the agricultural activity of the ryot. As Sir Charles Ollivant had shown, there was great need in India for agricultural experiments. What the Government could do was to give every facility and encouragement to those who were prepared to start these experiments. Mr. Reid had clearly shown that the provision of certain mechanical appliances in the villages of India would enable the ryot to make them. But no allusion had been made to the native chiefs and great land-owners, some of whom, they knew, were prepared to encourage the growth of new industries and products, and he hoped the effect of the paper would be to attract the attention of the native rulers to the importance of *ramie*, as it would be much easier for them to start experiments than it would be either for the Government of India or for the local Governments. The Gaikwar of Baroda had shown his interest in the agricultural prosperity of his State by attaching a Chair of Agriculture to the college of Baroda, and that Chair was at one time occupied by a gentleman who now held a very prominent position in agricultural science in England. As showing that the Government of India do take an interest in scientific research, they would be pleased to hear that a resolution had lately been issued giving a handsome grant to the Tata Research Institute. The object of that Institute was to give to those who had graduated in science at Indian Universities facilities for further scientific research inquiries, and Mr. Tata, alive to the wants of India in regard to industries, had founded an institution for this purpose. Bangalore had been selected as the best locality for this Institute, and Mysore had made a liberal grant of five lakhs towards the erection of the buildings, together with a further annual grant in aid of 30,000 rupees. Personally, he was following this new movement with great interest, and he need hardly tell them how much would depend upon the man who would be appointed the first Principal of the Institute. Associated with the principal would be a staff of professors, which at first would not be a large one. The Institute would undoubtedly also be connected with the development of agriculture by means of agricultural chemistry, and by assisting the study of metallurgy would tend to the

development of the mineral wealth of India, and he had no doubt that sooner or later the question which the lecturer had introduced would also be taken up by the Institute. Practical results of great importance were therefore to be anticipated, for hitherto the Indian Universities had been hampered by the fact that there was in India no institution to which promising graduates could be sent. Negotiations with respect to the Institute were commenced several years ago, and in the meantime Mr. Tata had died; but, as showing his liberality of spirit, he might mention that he did not wish that the Institute should bear his name. Mr. Tata was very anxious that the Institute should be located in Bombay; but when these liberal proposals were made from Mysore, and when it was found that for the special work of the Institute the climate of Bangalore was preferable, Mr. Tata showed his devotion to the cause of scientific research by withdrawing the condition as to the erection of the Institute in Bombay, and allowing it to be founded for the general benefit of India in Mysore.

MR. EDWARDS-RADCLYFFE acknowledged the vote, and expressed the hope that his paper would be the means of making ramie better known in India.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, April 13, 1905, a paper was read by Shaikh Abdul Qādir, B.A., (of the *Lahore Observer*) on "The Future of the Hindustani Language and Literature."* Ameer Ali Esq., M.A., C.I.E., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Prince Assadu'llah Mirza, Amy Lady Pelly, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., and Mrs. Yate, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel A. T. Fraser, R.E., Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, C.S.I., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Donald Reid, Miss Hadwick, Mr. Haji Abdul Majid, Mr. N. D. Das, the Misses Delaney, Mr. P. K. Sinha, Mr. Bidyut Gangoly, Mr. H. J. Wallis, Mr. J. G. Silcock, Mr. N. R. Mohuidar, Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. Frederick Grubb, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Miss Beck, General Trevor, Major H. Belgrami, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. A. Eggar, Colonel Ali Altoff, Mr. S. M. Naim, Mr. N. T. Eden, Mr. Harold Spender, Miss Frere, Major Wyndham Malet, Mr. Joseph Hyder, Mr. M. Asgar, Professor W. J. Simpson, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. F. A. M. Hosein, Miss May Humphreys, Miss Lilian Humphreys, Miss L. H. Bates, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. A. P. Dubi, Mr. T. Masaldan, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Moazzam Ali, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec).

* For the paper, see elsewhere in this *Review*.

The CHAIRMAN introduced the lecturer as a graduate of the Panjab University, possessing the reputation of a distinguished scholar, whose connection with the *Lahore Observer* had given him special facilities for discussing this subject.

After the paper was read, SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN congratulated the Association upon the honour done to them by an Indian gentleman of the highest reputation taking the chair, an example which would, he trusted, be often followed, and he would also express their appreciation of one of the most interesting lectures ever delivered to them. Having regard to the excellent language in which Shaikh Abdul Qādir had expressed his thoughts, they would be able to realize one of the reasons why Englishmen in India—the younger members of the service to which he had had the honour to belong—were not such proficient Hindustani scholars, as the generation before them, in the more elegant forms of that language, for when Indian gentlemen possessed so admirable a command of the English language, there was little reason or opportunity to speak to them in their own tongue. This failing, however, on the part of Englishmen, so far as it was due to the cause he had mentioned, was hardly a subject for complaint or, indeed, for regret. The want of a thorough knowledge of the vernacular in the present day was also, to a certain extent, due to a change in manners, for their predecessors in the services at a time when Indian society was not so conventional as it is to-day, had the advantage, in the study of Indian languages, of more agreeable teachers than fell to the lot of the Englishman in these days. Another reason, more accentuated now than formerly, was that the system of education in this country, so far as concerned the teaching of languages, was exceedingly inefficient and bad. If he wished to find an English educated clerk, possessing a competent knowledge of French or German, he would find it exceedingly difficult. The method of teaching modern languages was a disgrace to the educational system of England; and the same might be said of the way we taught the languages of India to men going out to serve there. At the same time, it was quite impossible that civilians, living among the people, and whose whole work was in the law court or among the native population in town or country, should not possess ample conversational facility in the popular vernaculars, and here he joined issue with the lecturer. There was, however, little in the paper with which he could not agree, and he had no doubt it would help a great many of them to realize, what perhaps they had hardly realized before, that Hindustani was becoming for Southern India what Persian used to be called, the French of Asia, the predominant language of India, and it would be a very good thing for the Eastern world when it should have attained the position prophesied for it by Shaikh Abdul Qādir. He had had the honour of having two of his own books—rather large and long ones, to the perusal of which he would not, therefore, invite them—translated into Hindustani by two of the finest scholars, the eminent Pundit Moti Lal, and Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Khan, for many years minister of His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala. He had therefore a personal love for, and interest in, the language which had represented his views as well as he could have himself represented them in

English. To one point he desired to call particular attention. It was in Lahore that he had spent a considerable part of his official life, and he thought that Shaikh Abdul Qādir would admit that he had made an oversight in not mentioning amongst the names of those who had done so much for the Hindustani language and Eastern languages generally the name of a distinguished colleague of the Association, Dr. Leitner, who had done more probably than anybody else to encourage the study of the arts and sciences of the West through the medium of the Indian vernacular. Dr. Leitner, assisted by Sir Donald McLeod and others, was the originator and founder of the Lahore University, at which Shaikh Abdul Qādir received his education. That University was founded principally for the development and improvement of the modern languages and the conservation of the ancient languages of India, and for teaching the people what the West had to teach them through the medium of the vernacular, and in an assembly like this they should not forget that to Dr. Leitner India owed a large debt of gratitude.

MR. PARMESHWAR LALL said he thought he would be expressing the feeling of the entire meeting if he conveyed their thanks to the lecturer. The paper showed that Hindustani had a great future before it. Shaikh Abdul Qādir had not clearly stated the great difference between Hindi and Urdu, for he said that the difference between the two languages was only that one was written in the Sanscrit, and the other in the Persian, character; but the difference was much greater than that. When the literary Indian wrote in Hindi he appealed to the literary sense of the Hindoo. All his expressions, all his allusions, and the entire bent of his mind were derived from the Sanscrit; whereas the writer in Urdu derived his inspiration from the Persian. The genius of the two languages was, therefore, essentially different, and it was impossible to unify them, however great the desire to do so might be. To impress upon both one uniform type would mar the genius of both, in view of the last census report. Mr. Qādir appeared very hopeful about the future of the Hindustani language, but all might not be able to share his opinions. It was undoubtedly a fact, which was often lost sight of, that the Indian people were becoming more and more weak in more ways than one by reason of the Government being a foreign Government, which took from the country a large measure of her wealth for which the people of India got no return. The people possessed a large measure of ability for which they had no scope, and a large number of foreigners were sent out to take the bread out of their mouths. So long as this Government continued, and so long as the temper of the Government was not mitigated by more liberal measures, the future of the Hindustani-speaking people did not appear bright; and as the future of a language depended upon its people, and as the future of the Hindustani-speaking people did not appear bright, the future of their language could not appear to be so.

MR. C. W. WHISH claimed to have some right to address the meeting upon the subject, as he was, perhaps, the only Englishman in the room who had written a book in the Hindustani language. He could not say he had written it with his own hand, as he had preferred to dictate it. It seemed to be quite understood that Urdu, as he preferred to call it, was the *lingua*

franca of Asia, and was the medium of communication which made it possible for those travelling over the length and breadth of India to have intercourse with the people, and therefore it was a most important language to acquire for those who wished to get some insight into the true inwardness of Indian life. But if Urdu was to have a future as a language, there should be an institution resembling the Académie Française, which should settle disputed points of grammar and phraseology, and make it a classical language. Those using the language should sternly set their faces against the admixture of English words. Anyone reading the Indian vernacular journals would find an enormous admixture of such words, which had the effect of demoralizing the language. No language could have a future unless it possessed a literature, and, unless such things as he had drawn attention to were remedied, the future of Urdu literature would not be bright. Another important point was that a movement to introduce the Roman character should be countenanced, but he supposed the Indian gentleman would set his face against that just as Prince Bismarck set his face against giving up the German character, because he said it would denationalize the Germans. But while he did not think the introduction of the Roman character would have the effect of denationalizing the Indians, it would have many advantages. In the first place, everybody would be able to read the language; secondly, though this was a subsidiary point, foreign administrators would be able to come in touch with the people in a way they could not come in touch with them to-day, because they would be able to receive petitions, and read them without the intervention of any subordinate. There was a tremendous field open for the translation of the great epics and dramas of India, such as "The Toy Cart" and "The Lost Ring," which would have the effect of putting one in possession of the real inwardness of the feelings of the people in a way that nothing else could. He was not aware whether there were such translations in existence, but perhaps the lecturer in his reply would enlighten them upon that point. A great many more Indian officials would have been able to read the language had it been written in the Roman character. Fond as he was of the language, and talking it glibly as he did, he would not undertake to read an Urdu paper. The translation of standard school-books, as he believed the lecturer had stated, seemed to him to be very necessary indeed, so that the Urdu-speaking peoples might have access to the stores of Western knowledge. While paying all due homage to Dr. Leitner for what he had done, he thought they should, in the interests of Urdu journalism, also remember the name of Munshi Nawal Kishor, of Lucknow—a great friend of his own, who had done a great deal to popularize Urdu by publishing a daily paper. His purse was unreservedly at disposal for the publication of works for the benefit of India, and if gentlemen would follow in his train a great deal might be done for the welfare of this language.

DR. POLLEN said he had never written a book in Hindi or Hindustani, nor had any works of his, so far as he knew, been translated into that language, but he had written and read a good many letters and petitions in that language, and in the days of his youth had been rash enough to

make a proposal similar to the one made by Mr. Whish, that Hindi should be written in the Roman character, and he never regretted anything so much in his life. The whole of Scinde rose against him, though they knew he was a friend of the country, for they regarded the suggestion as an attack on the picturesque Persian and the stately Sanscrit characters, and thus a national affront. He agreed with Mr. Whish that it would be a very good thing if Hindustani could be written in the Roman character, but he was not prepared to move that proposition against the sentiment of the Indian people. As Mr. Parmeshwar Lall had pointed out, the lecturer was perhaps not quite accurate in declaring that Urdu and Hindi were identical; but he did not accept Mr. Parmeshwar's opinion that there was no future before the language, because there was no future before the people of India. He thought there was now a much more glorious future before them than there ever would or could have been if they had been allowed to go on as they were going on in Hindustan before the English came upon the scene. As he (Dr. Pollen) cordially agreed with the lecturer in all his conclusions, he found himself in the same difficulty as Sir Lepel Griffin in being unable to discover any points of controversy in the paper. He thought the paper was throughout distinguished by three things—love, tolerance, and hope. The lecturer, while loving his own native language, was tolerant towards that of others, and was full of hope for the future of Hindustani; and Dr. Pollen shared that hope, for he could not help feeling that Hindustani stood in the same relation to the various nationalities of India as Esperanto (the new neutral international language, of which he was an advocate) was intended to hold towards the peoples of Europe. Esperanto was destined to become the second or neutral tongue of Europe, just as Hindustani was the second or neutral tongue of India. Hindustani had of recent years acquired a literature; while Esperanto was labouring under the disability—or rather disadvantage—of not yet possessing one. But literature would come in time; and what was really wanted was a colloquial common dialect to enable a man from whatever country he came to communicate freely with the people of the country he happened to be visiting. Dr. Pollen concluded by congratulating Shaikh Abdul Qādir most heartily on his admirable paper.

MR. COLDSTREAM observed that the paper was written in such excellent English that it vindicated the right of Shaikh Abdul Qādir to address the meeting critically upon the subject of the Urdu language and literature; and it deserved a place in the archives of the Association, and, indeed, in general literature, as one of the first attempts to interest a London audience on the subject. He was glad that justice had been done to the effort of Mr. George Ward to bring the Hindustani novel in its English dress before the English public. What Mr. Qādir had said about the desirability of more accurate and extensive knowledge on the part of civilians of the language of the people among whom their work lay was of great importance. Personally, he, and he thought most civilians who had lived in India, had had often felt ashamed that they had not, as a body, a fuller and more intimate knowledge of the language of the country in which they spent the greater part of their lives.

He was sorry the point as to the extension of the English language in India had not received more adequate treatment, as it was certainly complementary to the question of the extension of Hindustani, and a development which they must watch with the greatest interest.

Attention to the Hindustani language and literature was a symptom and development of the approximation of East and West, a matter which he was sure all in the room had at heart.

He ventured to think that not only Hindustani but the languages of India generally should become better known in England. It had long been an idea of his that Londoners should become more familiar with the scripts of these languages. It would, for instance, be very interesting, and would, he thought, tend to the building up of the Empire, if we could see the panels and arches of our great public buildings and architectural monuments bearing sculptured inscriptions in these languages. That would be some recognition of the many different people speaking different tongues, over whom King Edward rules. These scripts were often picturesque and even decorative in form. The Muhammadans had for many ages adorned their public buildings in all parts of the world, from Hindustan to Gibraltar, with inscriptions in Toghra and Nasktalik and other forms of Arabic character; and from the point of view of mere decorative effect these sculptured inscriptions were not to be despised. The flowing Persian script, the massive and stately Devanagari, and the circular characters of South India, all had characteristics of their own. He ventured to think it would cheer the hearts of those who come from remote parts of the Empire to this centre if, when they come here, they could see on our public buildings and in public places examples of the scripts with which they were familiar. It would stimulate the feelings of fellow-citizenship and loyalty. Lord Reay had said that no Indian should regard himself as a foreigner on the streets of London; and he hoped that our Indian fellow-subjects were beginning to find themselves more and more at home here. He threw it out as a slight suggestion with a view to cementing East and West, and bringing India a little nearer to us, that the scripts of her languages should be more in evidence in London.

SHAIKH ABDUL QĀDIR, in replying to the discussion, thanked the meeting most heartily for the appreciative references to his paper. With regard to the remarks of Sir Lepel Griffin, he observed that all recognised in the Panjab how great a debt of gratitude they owed to Dr. Leitner, not only as the organizer and founder of the University, but as being the first to understand the importance of the development of the language and literature of the country, and to discover proper men to do that work. Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad, to whom reference was made in the paper, was discovered by Dr. Leitner, and his best work was inspired by him. Dr. Leitner was also the founder of what at its time was a very good association, the Anjuman-i-Panjab, under the auspices of which was held a *Mushaira*, where the literary men of the day used to get together to read papers on different literary subjects. Some of those papers formed part of the literary stores of Upper India at the present day. With regard to the point raised by Mr. Parmeshwari Lall as to the difference between Hindi

and Urdu, he thought he could prove to the satisfaction of any fair critic that the two languages were essentially the same, in spite of the differences which were made so much of, and he would be very glad, if need be, to read a paper before this or any other association on that particular subject. As to Mr. Whish, for whom and whose work he had a great admiration, he was one of those members of the Indian Civil Service who had devoted themselves to the study of the Indian languages, and really had some claim to speak with authority on the question. He differed from him, however, in the suggestion as to the adoption of the Roman character. That was a point also upon which he would like some day to speak at length. The character in which Urdu was at present written was essentially the same as the Arabic and the Persian. The character was based on a natural phonetic system, and had certain other advantages which recommended themselves very strongly for its retention and adoption even by those who had other characters. That was a fact which he thought was bound to be recognised some day, though it was too soon to hope it would be recognised at present. Another reason why the suggestion as to the adoption of the Roman character became difficult was that the Persian character was a common bond between a number of Asiatic countries, and Asia, though recognising the value of many European institutions and adopting them, still wanted to keep that common bond between its different countries, and India could not afford to take a line different from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, which countries had no reason for adopting the English or Roman character, and were going to retain their own script. If India should give up its own character and adopt a character alien to the genius of the language, she would also give up the opportunities of expansion in Asia, to which allusions had been made in the debate on the paper. As to the suggestion for the translation of the great Sanscrit works, especially the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, it was certainly worthy of serious consideration by every scholar and student of Urdu; but for such work was wanted a scholar knowing both Urdu and Sanscrit well, and such a man was not yet forthcoming. If Mr. Sayyid Ali Bilgrami, of Cambridge, would undertake this work—he had the necessary gifts, and was a recognised scholar in Sanscrit,—he would be laying the whole of the Urdu reading public under a lasting debt of gratitude. So far as he was aware, no really good translation of these works existed. There were translations of some well-known Sanscrit works in Urdu, both in prose and verse, but those were not of sufficient literary value to be mentioned with standard and classical works like the famous epic of ancient India.

As to the observations that fell from Dr. Pollen, he valued them extremely, and was glad to notice the views of the doctor so entirely in accord with his own. He was glad that a civil servant of the long experience and standing of Mr. Coldstream should have supported his views as to the importance of young Indian civilians trying to know more of the languages of the people of India. As to Mr. Coldstream's idea of decorating the public buildings with Eastern characters so that people from the East coming here without any knowledge of English, might learn the character of the various public buildings from such inscriptions, and might feel at home

in this country, it was a capital idea, and he could see no supreme difficulty in the way of its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN observed that it was usual at these functions, in winding up the proceedings with a vote of thanks to the lecturer, for the chairman to make a few remarks. He desired to congratulate Shaikh Abdul Qādir on his excellent paper, and also upon the admirable tact with which he had avoided all controversial matters. Mr. Abdul Qādir had sketched with great felicity and clearness the future of what he (the Chairman) regarded as one of the most important languages of modern India, the value of which as a factor in the administration of the country and in its social development was, he feared, often lost sight of. Recently in his search for other matters he came across an article written sixty years ago in the *Calcutta Review*, in which the language, designated by Mr. Abdul Qādir, Hindustani, but which he preferred to call Urdu, was described in these terms: "A speaking tongue so inviting as to be employed more or less in conversation over the whole of our Indian Empire: a written language in which are united many of the best qualifications of those of the ancient and modern world. The expressiveness of the verbs, the overflowing abundance of actives and neuters, the union of nouns and adjectives drawn from an old and a new source, the absence of all stiffness and the clear but soft tones into which its sentences resolve themselves, these are a few of the advantages which stamp the Urdu language as one to whose perfectibility there is no definite limit." (He had quoted the exact words in order that it might not be supposed, being a Muhammadan, he was prejudiced in its favour.) This was written long before the copious literature to which the lecturer had referred had sprung up. What the writer in the *Calcutta Review* prognosticated sixty years ago has already happened. There are now works in history, in philosophy, in almost every department of literature in the Urdu language, and he entertained the hope that before long, in spite of the divergences that people were attempting to create—divergences which did not altogether owe their origin to the people of the country—the value of the Urdu language as a factor in the intellectual and social development of India would be more appreciably recognised than is at present the case. In his evidence before the Education Commission he had ventured to point out what he considered the mistake made by the Government in the first half of the nineteenth century. Had Urdu been retained as the official language of subordinate courts and executive offices, the difficulties which are now forcing themselves upon its attention would have been materially avoided. It is easier for an officer to acquire a thorough mastery over one general language like Urdu, and that in a short space of time, than over several provincial tongues. With a good knowledge of Urdu, a Bengali, Mahratti, or Madrassi officer could have had his services utilized in any province of India. An English officer could have been moved from one province to another without the least difficulty or trouble, whilst his mastery over the *lingua franca* of the land would have put him in touch, certainly in better touch than is possible at present, with the people wherever he went. The mistaken, though perhaps well-meant, policy of the thirties, put an end forever to this consummation. We have

to make the best use of the present system. And under it the only thing left to be done is to recognise the capabilities of a language "whose influence is felt as widely as the French," and which contains within itself the utmost possibilities of development. No two languages, it seemed to him, resembled each other so much as English and Urdu, not only in their evolution and formation but also in their power of expression.

DR. DONALD REID observed that Gaelic and Urdu were more closely allied.

The CHAIRMAN replied that, not knowing the Gaelic, he could express no opinion on that point, but, with a certain knowledge of English and Urdu, he was able to compare the two. So far as evolution was concerned, it was not necessary for him to mention at this meeting how English had grown up. It was a composite language, formed by the fusion of two different races, not drawing its life from one source alone, but from many sources. The same was the case with Urdu. The language had grown up from the contact of numerous races which the invasion of India by the Muhammadans brought into the country. However they might look upon the introduction of the Muhammadan element, the fact was that they had been there over 1,100 years, and still remained. The admixture of the various races—the Turks, the Persians, the Arabs, the Afghans—all tended to bring into India a variety of tongues, and necessity led to their fusion into Urdu. Urdu was thus as much "composite" as English, and, like it, drew its wealth not from any particular language, but from all sources—from Sanscrit, from Arabic, from Persian, and from Turkish. Personally he did not deprecate the introduction into it even of English words. There were many expressions in use in the English language which it would require a certain amount of circumlocution to express in an Oriental tongue. He ventured to say that Urdu was the most copious and versatile language of modern India, destined to spread itself far beyond its present limits. He did not for a moment wish to disparage or underrate the worth of the provincial dialects; but, as Mr. Abdul Qādir had pointed out, they must, from their constitution, remain confined within certain limits. One fact was not to be overlooked. Until quite recently Urdu was, throughout India, the language of culture and refinement. Latterly, in some quarters, and to a limited extent, English has taken its place. But among the mass of the people, and in the ordinary walks of life, it still retains, and, he ventured to think, would always retain, its old position. It stands to the inhabitants of India in the same relation as Norman-French to the Saxon race. It has supplied them with most of the expressions which relate to social conventions, household comforts, the conveniences of existence, the appliances of art. Even the most determined advocate of the old archaic Hindi would prefer to call the important functionary who rules over the kitchen by his Urdu name, *bāwarchi*, vulgarized into *boborchi*; and the magnate, who is most earnest against Urdu, would not give his butler any other name than *khānsamah*, whilst Anglo-Indian households know no other designations. To give an example from the lowest strata: the rug which furnishes the peasant's cottage (*shatranji*) and the name he bears (*raiya*) are Urdu—of course borrowed from Western Asia.

The lecturer has given us the names of several Muhammadan scholars who have enriched by their writings the Urdu language. He (the Chairman) would mention a few Hindoo litterateurs who, within recent times, regarded it as the common language of their country, and loved to express in it their thoughts: Khub Chand (surnamed "*Zuka*"), Bakhtāwar Sing (*Ghāfi*), Maharaja Balwant Sing (*Rāja*), Lalla Bilas Roy (*Rangin*), Raja Nawnidh Roy, Budh Singh (*Qalandar*), Lalla Ratan Lall, Ajodhya Pershad (*Hairat*), Lalla Mahanund Singh (*Firigh*), Lachmiram Pandit (*Fida*), Pandit Dayadin (also called *Fida*)—all wrote in Urdu.

With regard to the remark of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall that an alien government, like the British, was prejudicial to the development of both Urdu and Hindi, he wished to express his entire dissent. He believed that if only the prejudices of certain individual officers could be eliminated, British rule would prove of the utmost benefit not only to the wider diffusion of the Urdu language, but also to its development. In his opinion the lecturer was right in saying that, in substance, there was very little difference between Urdu and polished Hindi. Whatever difference there was appeared to him mostly artificial. Evidently Mr. Parmeshwar Lall had in his mind the *Thenth* Hindi, the rough, uncouth dialect of the rural population in some parts of the North-West. To quote the writer in the *Calcutta Review*: "The barren vocabulary of the aboriginal tribes enslaved by the advancing Aryans, joined to the language of the conquerors, had become in a moderate space of time the simple and articulate Hindi." *Thenth* Hindi is evidently a survival of that ancient and archaic tongue which was spoken by the masses when the Muhammadans entered India, and which now forms the foundation of the Urdu language. He did not think that Hindi would ever go beyond a certain limit. He joined with Shaikh Abdul Qādir in the hope that every effort would be made for the better teaching of the language not only in India, but in this country, and that officers going out would make themselves familiar with it. With regard to the introduction of the Roman character, he would like to point out that it could never express the sounds of the Oriental languages, and persons acquainted with Persian or Urdu would find considerable difficulty in reading Urdu works written in the Roman character. Besides, any attempt in that direction would meet with great disfavour. It would be remembered what great difficulties the judicial officers experienced when documents written in the Nagri or Kaithi character had to be read out in Court, the time and labour that had to be wasted over them, not to speak of the tax on one's patience. The same would be the case, he believed, with Urdu documents in the Roman character. In conclusion, he proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Abdul Qādir for his interesting lecture, which, he hoped, would be carried with acclamation.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, whose acknowledgment terminated the proceedings.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Thursday, June 8, 1905, a paper was read by F. H. Skrine, Esq., on "Hydrophobia in the East," Sir Edward Strachey, Bart., M.P., in the chair. Among those present were: Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel Wintle, R.A., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Rev. Dr. Bhabba, Colonel John Stewart, C.I.E., of Ardvorlich, Dr. and Mrs. E. Haughton, Dr. Stenson Hooker, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. Crouch Batchelor, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Donald Reid, Mrs. Grein, Mr. J. R. Hallett, Mr. Leonard Magnus, Mr. Sinha, Mr. C. A. Kelly, Mr. T. Lukes, Mrs. Woodward, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mrs. Maurice Grant, Mr. A. H. H. Matthews, Mr. Martin Wood, Mrs. Maclagan, Mrs. G. Magrath, Mr. Davé, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. F. H. Skrine to read his paper.*

DR. EDWARD HAUGHTON said that he had had a good deal to do with this matter, because he had had in his house for several years a bath available for anybody who chose to make use of the Buisson treatment, which Mr. Skrine had alluded to. The lecturer referred to the number of failures of this treatment, but he (Dr. Haughton) had only heard of one, the case of a captain at Long Island in America. In his case the symptoms seemed to have begun and gone on to almost the second stage before the treatment was tried. He did not regard the Buisson treatment as having any very specific relationship to the poison supposed to exist in cases of hydrophobia, but its beneficial action could be explained in a very simple way. In the first place, the vapour bath, which was used at a high temperature, acted on the nervous system, and had a distinctly calming effect; and in the second place, the vapour bath removed through the skin a good deal of the elements which might be productive of injury. Being a medical man, he had to think of tetanus at the same time as he thought of hydrophobia, but the lecturer had not mentioned tetanus, commonly called lockjaw. Lockjaw, being a prominent symptom of this disease, had impressed itself upon the public mind more perhaps than any other symptom, but it was also accompanied by the most horrible spasms and terror. Cases of recovery from the disease were very few; people generally died of it, even after the Pasteur system had been adopted, if the symptoms had really begun. M. Pasteur himself admitted that, because he refused cases in which the symptoms had actually begun, and he (Dr. Haughton) knew of one case refused in this way by M. Pasteur which was subsequently cured by the Buisson treatment. Dr. Buisson had declared that he himself had treated eighty cases with success in which the patients had

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

undoubtedly been bitten by rabid dogs. He was glad the lecturer had in some measure explained the difference between the disease in the dog, which was called rabies, and the disease in the human being, which was called hydrophobia, because a dog did not have hydrophobia, neither did a man have rabies. This difference in the symptoms was generally accounted for on the supposition that the poison acted differently on the system of a man and the system of a dog ; and that was one of the objections to the conclusion to be attained by vivisection experiments, because the substance which would kill a man would not always kill an animal of the same size, neither would the same thing which would kill the animal kill the man. (Hear, hear.) One reason why less of the anæsthetic was given than was pretended was because the animal was very liable to die under the anæsthetic if given in sufficient amount to completely anæsthetize it. There was not a single point in the lecture which had not been debated for the last fifteen years. He had not heard of a genuine case of hydrophobia for a number of years ; and the Royal Commission, when about to send in their Report, delayed it for a whole year before they could get a case which could be guaranteed as a genuine and undeniable case of hydrophobia. There was no great cause for alarm, because one in a million was about the average number liable to it in this country, or even in France. But on looking at the statistics of the deaths from hydrophobia, he found they increased very considerably in a few years after the Pasteur Institute had been established. Therefore he thought there was no more effective way of wasting money than by setting up such an institute here.

MR. F. LORAINÉ PETRE thought the general opinion was that the Pasteur preventive system had worked great results, and that the general trend of modern opinion was in favour of it. He proposed to supplement what Mr. Skrine had said by giving a few details of what had been actually done so far in India, and a few remarks on what remained to be done. They generally looked in India to anything like a Pasteur Institute being started by the Government, but in this case the Government did not at first take up the idea with any vigour. There was still only one Pasteur Institute in India, and that was at Kasauli, on the way to Simla. It owed its origin largely to the exertions of Mr. E. Kay Robinson, of Lahore, who pointed out to the Government that they were already spending more on sending British soldiers and officers to Pasteur's Institute in Paris than an institute in India would cost to keep up. There was great opposition to Mr. Robinson's proposals ; the anti-vivisectionists were strongly against him, and there was even an attempt to show that, in some insidious way, he was aiming a blow at the Hindoo religion. There was the usual difficulty about funds, which was eventually solved, largely by subscriptions from Indians and from the municipalities of Lahore and Amritsar. The Pasteur Institute at Kasauli was in working order as a private institution about 1893, but it only became a Government institution in 1901. From the last report it appeared that during the year ending August 8 last 612 persons were treated, and in only five cases did the treatment fail to afford protection. In three other cases, before the treatment was complete, symptoms of hydrophobia developed, and, of course, nothing more could

be done. In two or three other cases the symptoms of hydrophobia were developed more than fourteen days after the treatment was complete. However, that would be a very small percentage—under 1 per cent.—of failure. As for there being only one case in a million, 612 cases made two in a million, anyhow, and only a very small proportion of the people who were bitten by mad dogs ever got to Kasauli.

DR. HAUGHTON: I was not speaking of India.

MR. LORAIN PETRE said that of those 612 who were treated, 248 were Europeans, and 94 were employes of the Government or soldiers. Only the remaining 270 were natives of India and private persons. If the Pasteur treatment was the right one, it was evident that only a very small proportion of the people requiring it could possibly go to Kasauli. More institutions of the same sort were wanted in other parts of India, and funds were wanted to enable the people to go there. The poor man who was bitten, unless he happened to have a friend to help him on a journey of, perhaps, a week, if he lived in the South of India, was quite out of it, and had no chance of getting to Kasauli.

MR. DONALD REID remarked that nothing had been said about acetic acid as a cure for hydrophobia. In his letter-book for 1892 he had pasted a cutting from the *Pioneer*, a letter from the Rev. H. Lorbeer, of Ghazipur, who had treated several natives with vinegar for hydrophobia. The letter was very interesting. It was called "A Remedy for Hydrophobia," and was as follows: "SIR,—I read 'Consul's' letter in yesterday's *Pioneer* with regard to some institute in India on Pasteur's system, and as I have frequently been asked for advice in the treatment of bites by mad dogs, I wish to give to the public the benefit of my experience during the last fifteen years. As soon as possible after the bite, wash the wound well with English vinegar (malt vinegar) or with caustic. Give to the person bitten, internally by the mouth, two times daily, malt vinegar to drink ($\frac{1}{2}$ ounce vinegar to 1 ounce water); continue to do so daily for two weeks, and the patient will be out of danger. I have saved many lives by this simple treatment, but have not tried it in cases where symptoms of hydrophobia were already visible; but in such cases also the Pasteur system seems to fail. Among the patients cured by vinegar were four persons bitten in one night by a mad jackal; all recovered! One boy was fearfully bitten by a mad dog. After fifteen days' treatment with vinegar he was cured. All the other people bitten by the same mad dog, and not treated with vinegar, died of hydrophobia. Years ago German doctors advised diluted hydrochloric acid for hydrophobia, which, however, I have not tried." Vinegar had been recommended for the plague. In Defoe's "Journal of the Plague Year" it is related how one of the attendants in London and his wife were daily engaged in removing the plague dead, and as a preservative against infection his wife's remedy was washing her head with vinegar, and sprinkling her clothes so with vinegar as to make them moist; and if a smell was more than ordinarily offensive, she spilt vinegar upon her hands and sprinkled her clothes with it, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth. That was Defoe's account of the way in which vinegar acted as a prophylactic. He had consulted doctors on

the subject, who rather pooh-poohed the idea ; but, still, he thought the idea was worth considering.

MR. W. MARTIN WOOD said the paper was disappointing, because the lecturer had taken up the long-discredited Pasteur fallacy. There was one point he noticed in the paper—that Pasteur's treatment did not pretend to be curative, but only preventive. He was sorry to disparage the paper, because Mr. Skrine was a man of considerable literary ability ; but he did not seem to have read up the subject, having regard to his remarks on the Buisson treatment, which had been proved by hundreds of practitioners to be successful. He had instances of scores of cases in India and on the Continent, where the most pronounced cases had been entirely cured. The reason the Buisson remedy was so little known in India was because, owing to this fad taking hold of the rising generation of medical men, the method had been thoroughly boycotted. But it had been demonstrated that there was a cure for rabies, and that cure was the sudorific cure.

MR. S. S. THORBURN said he was merely a searcher after knowledge (*tālib-ul-ilm*). What had struck him as an omission in Mr. Skrine's rather discursive but amusing and interesting lecture might perhaps be supplied by some man of science present. Mr. Skrine began by saying that even in cases of being bitten by a mad dog, in only 10 per cent. of those cases does the virus operate. If so, how was one to know that he had been bitten by a mad dog? Even the Pasteur treatment itself was not successful in probably more than 90 per cent. of its cases! Thus, Pasteur or no Pasteur, 90 per cent. of persons bitten by undoubtedly mad dogs would recover, because the virus only operated in 10 per cent. of the cases. In 1880 he was not only bitten but worried by a dog declared by the whole station to be rabid. He was lying on his back till the police came with fixed bayonets and released him from that dog. Had the Pasteur Institute then existed, he would have gone there, and his immunity from hydrophobia would have been a triumph for Pasteur. In spite of doubts of the efficacy of the treatment, in spite of the fact that the rabies virus had not yet been isolated, he believed every person in that room, even Mr. Martin Wood himself, if bitten by a mad dog, would submit himself to the Pasteur treatment.

MR. H. CROUCH BATCHELOR said he did not pretend to any technical knowledge of the subject, but he heard with the greatest regret Mr. Skrine branching off suddenly at the end of his lecture into a defence of those abominable practices upon helpless animals : he had drawn vivisection into the discussion. The remark made by the last speaker was the most effective that had been made that night ; if that gentleman had only gone through the Pasteur treatment the triumph of his cure would have rung throughout Europe. How was one to prove that the people who went to the Pasteur Institute had been cured by the treatment? They subjected themselves to these disgusting toxins made by this empirical process, the mere description of which was enough to sicken anybody, and which was an utterly inexact process. On the one side it might be said that the man was put through the process and was saved by it ; on the other hand, it could be said that he was put through the process and was not poisoned

by it. It came back to the question : Are you justified in doing a moral wrong for the sake of a material benefit? Put in that naked way, he believed that no reasonable human being who felt that he had a soul, and who was influenced by anything higher than mere animalism, would say one had any right to do a moral wrong to secure a material benefit. He was delighted to hear there was a difficulty about the funds. He felt it a great privilege to come there that night, if only to hear Dr. Haughton. In these questions between medical technologists one man said one thing and another the contrary. There was Sir William Fergusson on the one side and Sir Victor Horsley on the other, and they destroyed each other. There is, therefore, nothing left to guide us but the moral question, and the moral question was paramount and pre-eminent. Mr. Skrine had said that in some cases people bitten by animals, subsequently proved not to have been mad, had actually frightened themselves into hydrophobia, while others of a calmer disposition, in more suspicious cases, had escaped it. That proved that the psychological factor was of paramount importance. The animal had not a psychological factor, though in India it was held that animals had a future state, and therefore these practices there would be a kind of murder. Human beings very often worried themselves into disease, and actual disease had often been got over by an effort of will, allowing Nature's recuperative process to effect a cure. That psychological factor was a reason why one could not appeal to vivisection. These abominable and diabolical practices were utterly to be condemned, taking advantage of defenceless animals, who had their one life to live, and using them for our own purposes, while we boasted we were immortal creatures, for whom a longer or shorter stay on this earth was of the smallest consequence. It was not in accordance with our moral sense of right to indulge in any such practices, and, thank God! such practices could not be proved to be even materially successful, so that for the coward who would not die like a gentleman, the man who would clutch at anything to prolong his physical existence, there was no promise of success, and he thanked God it was so.

DR. HAUGHTON remarked that none of the police had been affected whose business it was to collect all the stray, defenceless, and presumably ill-treated dogs, and who had collected vast numbers of them.

MR. MARTIN WOOD wished to make one remark with regard to what Mr. Petre had said as to how the funds were to be obtained. The funds for that purpose were provided by a public-spirited American citizen, Mr. Phillips, who gave £20,000 into Lord Curzon's hands to be devoted to the benefit of the people of India, and Lord Curzon, being, he supposed, like Mr. Skrine, in the interests of the medical men, gave it to this Institute.

MR. LEONARD MAGNUS said that, as a person knowing nothing whatsoever of the subject, he would like to make two or three remarks on the moral question. There were people who did not consider it was essentially an evil action if for a great good we had to inflict a temporary harm. If they could obtain world-wide results at a very small cost, then that scheme was perfectly sound from a purely ethical point of view.

COLONEL STEWART, C.I.E., of Ardvorlich, remarked that he was the father of the young officer bitten by the mad dog in India to whom Mr. Skrine had referred in his very interesting lecture. He was happy to say he was not an anti-vivisection faddist, and recourse to Pasteur might or might not have saved his son. But no one could doubt the *moral* benefit derived by sufferers from dog-bite who were subsequently inoculated against rabies. They were preserved from agonizing suspense; and belief in a cure was always a moral, and often a physical, victory.

MR. F. H. SKRINE, in reply, said he was sorry the discussion had wandered away from the lines of logic and taken an excursion into the realm of declamation. Oil and water were allied compared with anti-vivisectionists and those who agreed that vivisection was defensible with proper precautions. Dr. Haughton began the debate by mentioning the effect of Dr. Buisson's bath, and asking whether he (Mr. Skrine) knew of any failures. He had heard of at least a dozen, and had never known an indubitable success. Dr. Buisson's disciples resembled doctors: their failures were buried. The causes of the frequent failure of the Buisson treatment was that the sudorific process was so severe and so prolonged that the patient sank under it from sheer exhaustion. When a man was bitten by a mad dog he required tonics and good, nourishing food. He was not a medical man, though he had studied medicine, and he was rather astonished to hear what Dr. Haughton said about tetanus. He was under the strong impression that tetanus had been practically brought under control by inoculation, and that the deaths from tetanus now were a mere fraction of what they used to be. When he was a boy, an old boatswain, who had served on board the *Victory* at Trafalgar, told him of the sufferings of the wounded sailors from tetanus, which was then, and long afterwards, considered incurable. He had listened with great interest to Mr. Petre's account of the working of the Kasauli Institution, of whose history he was not aware. He was sorry to hear that Government had not fulfilled its promise to aid the movement from public funds to the extent it had engaged to do, and he ventured to hope that these proceedings would help to bring the authorities to a sense of their duty. There were some very interesting remarks regarding vinegar; but no one who knew anything about hydrophobia could believe that a disease of such a deep-seated organ as the spinal cord could be conquered by such an agent as vinegar. At the same time there was a good deal in what the speaker said regarding its disinfectant properties. Recurring to Trafalgar again, he had seen an autograph letter from Nelson, in which he gave orders regarding the treatment of an extraordinary disease like spotted typhus, which broke out in the fleet owing to the abominable want of ventilation in the ships in those days. Nelson directed that vinegar should be placed in tubs and stirred with a red-hot poker between decks, and the effect was to banish the disease from all the ships of the squadron. Mr. Martin Wood had suggested that he (Mr. Skrine) had not studied the subject. That was a remark he had heard from Mr. Martin Wood before, and it was an easy charge to bring because it was so very difficult to disprove. As a matter of fact, he had given a very great deal of time to the question.

The monograph he had got from Dr. Lukis was an extremely valuable contribution to medical science, and he thought that fact would be held to justify the lecture when it was published. Then there was his old friend and enemy, Mr. Crouch Batchelor, with whom he had had many a tussle in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the Russian affairs. He wished that a Royal Commission could be appointed to thresh out this question in all its bearings, because it was really not a question for extreme virulence of opinion and expression, such as many anti-vivisectionists indulged in. It had been said that ferocious teetotalers were pillars of the public-house and gin-shop, because their vituperation was so excessive that the publican gained the sympathy of many who did not go deeply into the subject. So with regard to anti-vivisectionists. People devoured luncheons of beef-steaks, and having assimilated a mass of animal matter, which had been prepared for their absorption by vivisection, they went into hysterics about the sufferings of guinea-pigs and rabbits, forgetting what human misery there was in the world. The extreme anti-vivisectionists did a great deal of harm to a good cause. He himself was a moderate anti-vivisectionist, and he did not want to see dogs vivisected under any circumstances. But let them be more moderate, and give their adversaries credit for thinking as honestly as they themselves did. Mr. Thorburn asked how it was possible to find out whether a dog was mad or not. It was practically impossible to diagnose. In a great many cases in which dog-bites were inflicted the dog had some, but not all, the symptoms of rabies, which in its early stages might well be mistaken for distemper. But there was no mistaking hydrophobia when it once made its appearance, for the symptoms were not akin to those of any other disease. One of the most marked was the dropping of the tail. He knew an Anglo-Indian who went so far as to shoot every dog he saw dropping his tail; but this was going a little too far. Another symptom was a prolonged howl, ending in a wail which was the reverse of canine. In conclusion, he thanked his hearers for their courteous attention.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Skrine for his very able and interesting lecture, thought the lecturer must be very much pleased with the result. Although everyone had not agreed with him, yet at the same time it had been a very interesting discussion. Really, the whole object of the paper was to create some discussion and some interest, and he was sure Mr. Skrine had been successful in doing that. He asked the meeting to convey a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Skrine in the usual way by acclamation.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

MR. DURANT BEIGHTON said that in the regrettable absence of Sir Lepel Griffin, the pleasant duty devolved upon him of moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding. He would not say anything about the paper, except that it showed the versatility of his friend Mr. Skrine. He ventured to observe that the Chairman, in declining to commit himself to any observations on the very technical subject of the paper, had shown a modesty which many of those present might well envy, because almost everyone who had spoken, except the distinguished doctor, had prefaced

his remarks by confessing that he knew absolutely nothing about the matter. (Laughter.) With regard to the doctor's observations, he was sorry there was no other professional man present. Had there been any other experts, they would no doubt have had an illustration of that variety of opinion for which they were celebrated. For his own part he had imitated the Chairman, and had kept silence about a subject he had not studied. He had been glad to see his friend Mr. Batchelor present, and from what he knew of the vigour of his speeches in the political field, was not surprised to find the animation he threw into the discussion by dragging in, as it were by the horns, a highly contentious matter, which, he ventured to think, had not much to do with the subject of Mr. Skrine's paper. He was rather amused at the vinegar remedy suggested by one of the speakers, and rather wondered that this was not accompanied by some other of the remedies prescribed by the practitioners of Defoe's time during the Great Plague. The means by which Pasteur worked might not commend themselves to everyone, but he would like to associate himself with the view expressed by the gentleman who had been treated at that institute—that anyone who had any doubt or fear that he was liable to hydrophobia would resort to the only place where any scientific prophylactic treatment of the disease was to be found.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting for their vote of thanks, said it had been a great pleasure, as well as, he thought, a great honour, to be asked to preside at that meeting of the East India Association, and he did so with the greatest pleasure, because he never forgot that for four generations his family had been so closely connected with that great organization.

The proceedings then terminated.

The following has been received :

DEAR SIR,

As one who was present at the meeting at Caxton Hall on the 8th inst., and heard the able and interesting paper on "Hydrophobia," may I crave a little space in your journal to express my views in the matter? Having had some experience in the hydropathic method of treatment, I was sorry to hear the opinion expressed that vapour baths had not met with that complete success in the treatment of hydrophobia which many of us have always understood to be the case, and, further, that this method was found to be enervating to the patient.

In the first place, I would like to say that it would be extremely interesting to see the results of a series of cases of hydrophobia treated by the Buisson system compared with the results of a similar number which had been under Pasteurism. To assert loosely that any one system of treatment has been found wanting is not evidence of any scientific value—in fact, it is no evidence at all. I personally venture to say that the vapour bath, given carefully and scientifically, and combined with special diet, would prove to be of immense value in the terrible disease under consideration. With regard to the accompanying enervation which was mentioned, this is often due to the fact that the bath is constructed, as a rule, upon incorrect (phy-

siologically speaking) principles. It should be made for the reclining posture, or at all events for the semireclining one; this would, I think, prevent any unpleasant after effect. And, after all, one had better let the patient lose his strength—if that is necessary—than his life. Had I been able to speak at the meeting—which a visit just before to the dentist prevented me from doing—I should have reminded those present that there was, however, a method which, in my opinion, is an improvement upon both Pasteurism and the so-called Buisson treatment—that is, the light bath. I have never, it is true, heard of it being advocated for hydrophobia, but feel convinced it would be highly useful. Much personal experience in the employment of the electric-light bath has convinced me of its powers to throw off deleterious particles and organisms from the system; for instance, the poison of gout, rheumatism, etc. In the case of hydrophobia, a reclining one should be used, and a prolonged rest after the bath be insisted upon. It would, in my estimation, be an improvement on the vapour bath, for two reasons especially—viz., (1) there is the stimulating influence of the powerful light itself, causing change of tissue; (2) we can judge of the amount of perspiration going on so much better than in the case of the vapour bath, where it is difficult to estimate it, owing to the moisture on the skin deposited from the steam.

Fortunately there is not much opportunity to try my suggestion in this country, but unfortunately in India and elsewhere hydrophobia is still not very uncommon, and I would beg those in authority to introduce the system and give it a fair trial.

Acting upon my suggestions in the *Lancet*, several of the London hospitals have now installed light baths, and with much benefit in many diseases where effete by-products have to be carried off from the system before improvement can take place.

It has always seemed to me that the adoption of Pasteurism is taking a step in a backward direction, besides being a very crude way of meeting disease. A hundred years or so ago people were advised when ill to take pieces of the various organs of animals. Are we, in this age of advance, to go back to what is practically the same thing? Would it not be more consonant with our present-day enlightenment to search for remedies amongst more refined forces, such as light, heat, electricity, etc.?

It is my confirmed opinion that in a few years Pasteurism will meet the same fate as did Koch's tuberculin, and be heard of no more. This may seem a bold kind of prophecy, but we are surely nearing the time when we shall trust to entirely *natural*, and not artificial, remedies in our combat with disease.

One more point: Hydrophobia, in the case of the Indian native, is often the product of fear. With this in view I would, as one who has had experience in "suggestion treatment," strenuously urge that all those attendant on any who have been bitten by a rabid dog should exercise to the utmost power their *mental* influence over the patient, calming and soothing his mind as much as possible. Indeed, I would go so far as to use hypnotism, or the so-called "suggestion" treatment, though we need not necessarily trust to this agent alone. I have seen in my own practice so much good done with nervous people by the latter method that I would strongly urge its adoption in those pitiful cases of hydrophobia.

J. STENSON HOOKER, M.D.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

THE PLACE OF INDIA UNDER PROTECTION.

SIR,

According to your report of the Proceedings of the East India Association on January 30 last, in the discussion which followed Mr. Thorburn's paper, Mr. Francis Skrine said :*

"Now, everyone was agreed as to the duty of India's rulers to relieve an overtasked soil by promoting manufactures. The lower classes were admirably adapted to the factory system, and if India had been given fair play, she would long since have been self-supporting in the supply of all necessities of life. What were the facts? Cotton goods accounted for more than a third of her imports. In 1903-1904 she sent us £1,600,000 worth of raw cotton, and bought from us nearly £20,000,000 worth of piece-goods. Did such a state of things commend itself to common-sense?"

In the same number of the *Review* in which the above appears (April 20), Mr. R. E. Forrest has an interesting article† on the Maharaja of Burdwan's "little book," and I would commend it to Mr. Skrine's attention—*i.e.*, pp. 285, 286. I will not quote at length here, but the following remarks (by Mr. Forrest) are significant :

"But of the added wealth (of India), the increased purchasing power, there is no doubt."

And again :

"The same improvement in the dress of the people displayed itself to one's own eyes in Northern India. . . ."

The following remark, culled from the same article, is also, I think, a direct contradiction not only to Mr. Skrine, but to Mr. J. B. Pennington, whose letter appears on p. 407 of the *Review* (April, 1905). Mr. Forrest says :

"The people have purchased cotton and woollen goods from England in ever-increasing quantities *because they needed them and could pay for them.*"

The italics are mine. Anybody who knows anything of the details of the piece-goods trade with India, what

* Pp. 403, 404.

† See pp. 279-287.

qualities, kinds, and styles of cloths are bought by India, what uses they are put to, who the buyers are, will, without hesitation, endorse Mr. Forrest's statement: "The goods are bought because they are a necessity."

I am afraid it is impossible to agree with Mr. Pennington's statement* that: "Lancashire cotton (*sic*) is not a necessary of life to the people of India."

"But, on the contrary, the home-made cotton goods, even if somewhat dearer in money-price, and not quite so well finished, are probably more durable, and therefore cheaper in the end."

It all depends what Mr. Pennington considers a necessity of life. Is a silk hat, or white, stiff-fronted shirt a necessary of life in England? or is a black tie or a red scarf a necessity? And yet they are worn.

Mr. Pennington goes on to say that

"there is actually a movement on foot for encouraging the use of home-made goods of all kinds, and boycotting Lancashire cottons, which may yet come to something; but it requires some assistance from the tariff."

The only movement on foot that I am aware of is that which has been going on for some time—viz., the determination of the retail buyer to pay as little as he can! And as such cloth as Indian mills can turn out *is* considerably cheaper than English-made cloths of the same quality, the said retail buyer suits, and always will suit, his requirements in that particular style and quality from the Indian-made stuffs. The only cloth that India makes at present for the native market (as apart from what some mills turn out for Government and army requirements) is in the "gray" or unbleached state (vernac., *korá kuprá*), and I might say that in this line during the last six or seven years the production of the mills on the Bombay side, Nagpur, etc., has seriously interfered with what used to be a large trade for Manchester gray cloths in Delhi and other Northern India markets.

If in dyeing, printing, bleaching and finishing, England has held, and still holds, her own against all the countries of

* Pp. 407, 408.

the Western Hemisphere, it is easy to understand why and how Indian-made piece-goods, except in one or two small and special lines, are quite unable to compete with the manufactures of Lancashire and Glasgow. The matter for surprise is that she has done so well, and it speaks volumes for the enterprise and energy, not only of the English merchants in India, but also the ambition and astuteness of the Bhatiyas, Khojas, Marwaris, and Parsees, who own and manage the bulk of, and the best and most up-to-date of, the cotton-spinning and weaving mills in India.

It must be borne in mind that the highest count of yarns at present spun in India is 40's, and this can only be done with the best Hinghanghat cotton, and in very limited quantities, be it remembered ; most parts of India, owing to climatic conditions, being quite unsuitable to the spinning of fine yarns.

With Egyptian and American cotton, doubtless, finer yarn might be spun ; but is it likely that Indian mills could buy American cotton or yarn cheap enough to successfully compete against Lancashire ?

The bulk of the white (or bleached) goods imported by India is made of "American cotton" yarns.

I cannot restrain from quoting the following from the *Pioneer Mail* of March 31, commenting on a lecture recently given in Madras by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, head of the Madras School of Arts, on the possibilities of chrome tannery of leather as a profitable industry in India. The *Pioneer* thinks "there is grave doubt" whether

"native capital will be attracted by the scheme. Mr. Chatterton, in his lecture, points out that even after the aluminium industry, originated by the School of Arts, had been proved a financial success, native capital fought shy of it, and the company was floated mainly by the subscriptions of Europeans. . . . Here was an industry initiated and fostered by Government, and carried to an assured success. . . . Yet, even then, among the most advanced public in India, the conservatism of the native prevented the purpose of Government being achieved, and naturally the profits of the industry go to those who had the enterprise to embark upon it. The co-operative principle is a plant of slow growth in the Indian mind, but in time this Western method of business will make progress, and

participation in joint stock enterprises will appeal to the native as the natural and profitable method of utilizing his capital. When that happens, India's progress towards commercial and industrial prosperity will be more rapid."

Mr. Chatterton's object was undoubtedly to get at the educated and congress-wallah type of Indian, and in this connection, I might mention it as a curious fact that, with some notable exceptions, mostly Parsis, the majority of native-managed mills are owned—or if joint stock, the predominating shares are held—by natives who, I suppose, the average official in India or English-speaking baboo would call "illiterate," having, if anything, only a smattering of English. In the Punjab and United Provinces, for instance, of the numerous cotton-ginning factories, I should say something like 90 per cent. (if not more) of the owners are natives of this class—*e.g.*, Marwaris. Of the ten or twelve cotton mills in the Punjab, not one is managed or owned by Europeans, the largest shareholders or owners, with hardly an exception, being men who have themselves, or their fathers before them, made their "fortunes" in the import of English piece-goods trade. This, I believe, is largely the case also with Bombay cotton mills. The Marwari and the Bhátia on the Calcutta and Bombay side respectively have practically the whole of the piece-goods trade of Upper and Northern India in their hands, and it is to the enterprise of these two trading classes that we are indebted principally for the starting of factories, etc., in the Mofussils.

Without the aid and influence of just such a Marwari piece-goods trader, some of the largest industrial concerns in India would perhaps never have been started or run as successfully as they have been. The predominating control of one, at least, of the biggest cotton mills in Cawnpore is again with the successful Marwari piece-goods trader and banker.

I am, etc.,

W. KIRKPATRICK.

London, *April*, 1904.

THIRD SERIES. VOL. XX.

M

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM OF MADRAS.

SIR,

There is so much misapprehension amongst writers on Indian topics as to the real principles of the ryotwari system and the practice of the administration of the land in Madras that I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of describing what those principles, in my opinion, really are, and how they work in practice ; and as he is one of the latest critics, I shall take the liberty of referring pretty freely to General Fischer's article on " Indian Revenue and Land Systems," published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1903. But I shall say very little as to his strictures on the Government of India for their neglect of roads and irrigation works, though I think I could show that his criticism on both points is far from justifiable, and that the facts are not nearly so discreditable as he makes out ; though, at the same time, I quite admit that a great deal more might have been done for communications and irrigation, and that they have been unwisely neglected in favour of railways which are, in my opinion, like the rest of our Government, probably too expensive for the country.

It is scarcely possible to say anything about the land revenue of India and its administration which will not be challenged by someone. I can only state my own views for what they are worth, and must premise that they apply mainly to Madras. But I think it can hardly be doubted that, according to the common law of India from time immemorial, the State has always been considered to be entitled to an actual share of the produce of the soil, and has, therefore, a " property " in the land. Then " whatever does not belong to the State belongs to the ryot," as Sir Thomas Munro says ; so that the ryot is also a true proprietor, having as his " property in the soil " *whatever the State leaves him*. What that share ought in justice to be is the great problem of Indian Administration. It has varied from a mere subsistence under the worst administrations to

what is practically ownership in fee simple. As Mr. Dutt in his paper on the "Peasant Proprietors of India"* very justly observed, "however much we may differ in our opinions," (as to the nature of land taxation in India), "there is not one amongst us who is not anxious to secure for the population of India a position of security and comfort and contentment." But, at the same time, the Government of India *must have its revenue*, and some men, as General Fischer says, are more anxious that the Government should get its share than that the ryots should be prosperous. The better class of officials, on the contrary, are firmly persuaded of the wisdom of the Queen's words in the much-discussed proclamation of 1858, and believe with Her Majesty that "in the prosperity of the inhabitants will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." It was with such views as these that three Madras civilians† (one, alas! already dead) joined Mr. Dutt in drawing up what they hoped might be a sort of Magna Charta for the ryotwari districts everywhere, and, as he says, we were fairly successful to a certain extent; but when it came to providing definite safeguards against over-assessment, the Government of India (like a great many other people) unfortunately misunderstood our suggestions, and we failed in our attempt, though we succeeded in eliciting a useful and, on the whole, very generous resolution on the subject. We had no difficulty in accepting the generally-recognised rule that the State demand should be limited to half the actual rental, or, in other words, half the economic rent, though Mr. Dutt objected that 50 per cent. of the net income from cultivation is a higher land-tax than is known in any civilized country. When, however, it is considered that this "land-tax" in a ryotwari district is supposed to include the landlord's rent, I doubt if it is at all excessive in theory—always provided that the expenses of cultivation are calculated in

* Published in the same number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

† R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., J. H. Garstin, C.S.I., and the undersigned.

practice on a liberal scale, as we expressly provided they should be ; and, as an almost perfect safeguard, we added that this " 50 per cent. of the net " should not *ordinarily* exceed *one-fifth of the gross produce*. If after an assessment had been made on these lines any ryot should consider himself over-assessed, and could have an appeal to some fairly unprejudiced authority—probably the collector of the district would really be the best—he would have nothing to complain of.

General Fischer, however, charges the revenue authorities with (still) following "the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people and leaving their industries to starve," though he must surely know that for the last fifty years the general tendency in Madras has been to reduce the assessments very largely from the old native figures, and to leave the ryot the full benefit of his own improvements. Of late years, indeed, there has, no doubt, been a tendency to enhance taxation again, (though this is not apparently what General Fischer meant,) but that is generally because extraordinary reductions were made during the first settlement of many districts, and immense improvements have been effected in the meantime (*pace* General Fischer) in the roads and other means of communication. In proof of this last statement, I might just mention that when I went to Tinnevely in 1866, with the exception of the cotton road to Tuticorin, which was of the most bone-shaking description, there was *no made road in the district* except in the immediate neighbourhood of the stations where Europeans congregated ; whereas when I left in 1883 I was able to report that there was "no village more than ten miles from a fairly good *metalled* road (not always bridged throughout), or more than fifty miles from the railway. To say, as General Fischer does, that minor roads have been "*entirely neglected*," and that "in India no such thing as a good road has ever existed," seems to prove that he knows very little of the progress that has been made everywhere in the last forty years ; but

he surely must know that there were practically no real roads at all in the pre-British days. No doubt far more might have been done, and I have always regretted that Sir Arthur Cotton was not allowed a free hand to introduce canal navigation all over the South of India in preference to railways. However many mistakes he might have made, he would probably not have spent half what was spent on our extravagantly-equipped railways, and we should have had a system of cheap transport far better suited to a poor country.

Interesting as his paper is, General Fischer makes other mistakes which are even more surprising, so that his criticism requires to be taken with a good deal of salt. For instance, he quotes the Viceroy as saying that it is impossible to find water enough in the whole of India for more than 20 million acres of land, whereas we have over 44 millions, or more than a fifth of the cultivated area, actually under irrigation at the present time, *exclusive* of well cultivation. Probably he means more than 20 millions of land under *State irrigation works*; but, as he puts it, his remark is very misleading, though he is probably right enough in ridiculing the idea that no more than 3 million acres are still available for irrigation.

In conclusion, I will just refer to the alterations he proposes for improving the system of collecting the land revenue, and, to make sure I do not misrepresent him, I will quote his own words: "Let the cultivator," he says, "have the land on a fixed tenure by paying a proportion of the annual yield to the Government or the landlord—say, one-fifth, according to Joseph's law in Egypt." In that case, of course, there would be no arrears; but how are the revenue officials to find out the exact yield of every field every year? General Fischer should study the Amáni* system as described by Sir A. Seshia Shastri. He imagines that we maintain an army of revenue officials to prevent the ryot from cheating us; but if he understood the present

* The system under which the crop is *actually divided*.

system at all he would see that there is no ground for such an idea. On the other hand, no conceivable army of officials would suffice to carry out his system, and those very officials would cheat both the Government and the ryot with equal impartiality. To say that "the ryot *knows* he can make nothing for himself by any improvement, because he has no idea how much will be demanded of him under pretence of making revenue for the Government," shows quite phenomenal ignorance of the facts as regards the methods of revenue administration of the present day. Every ryot nowadays knows quite well that every anna he has to pay is entered in his putta,* and he is generally quite shrewd enough to see that the village accountant does not cheat him by false entries. As clearly shown by the Government of India, to collect *20 per cent. of the gross produce every year* would probably double the burden on the ryot, except in famine years, when he would neither pay anything nor get anything; and in famine years the rules already provide for the remission of the full assessment, at any rate on irrigated land.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have had the very great advantage of reading Mr. Dutt's most illuminating work "India in the Victorian Age," and I must confess that he seems to prove that the baneful practice of over-assessment has gone further of late years than I had imagined. It would also appear that Baroda has solved the difficult problem of collecting the revenue in kind without running the risk of doing more harm than good, and we shall all look forward with sympathetic interest to the result of Mr. Dutt's administration of that very advanced, and, I hope, thriving State. It ought, indeed, to be an object-lesson to the Government of India.

J. P.

April 5, 1905.

* Bill for assessment due.

NOTE ON THE ARTICLE "THE FOUNDATION OF
PENANG" IN THE REVIEW FOR JANUARY LAST,
Pp. 112-123.

The verses to "Nona" (p. 121) were addressed to an English lady, Olivia Mariamne, the wife of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Stamford Raffles. I have just seen a copy of the verses in Leyden's own handwriting, dated Penang, 1805, and with the superscription "Olivia M. Raffles." Nona, or Nonyeh, as Mr. Steuart tells us, means "lady" in Malay, and it is evident that Leyden adopted the term because Mrs. Raffles was then living in Penang. Both she and her husband were great friends of Leyden's, and after Leyden's death Sir Stamford wrote a very feeling letter on the subject, in which he also spoke of the death of his wife—the Olivia of the poem. Though the verses are addressed to a lady, they are not descriptive of her, but of a tropical Christmas, and the first two lines are sufficient to show that they are addressed to a sojourner in a strange land :

"Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far
To seek *us* near the Eastern star."

In the third line of the second stanza "such" should be "each," and the lines should run :

"Though hailed in each Malayan grove
The saffron-tinted flower of love,
Of none more loved amid the fair,
Her tulip-buds adorn the hair."

For "heart extending" in the third stanza, read "heart expanding." Leyden was thinking of the Persian *dilkhusha*. That the verses could not have been addressed to Martinha Rozell seems clear from the fact that she was married in 1772 and widowed in 1794, and that Leyden did not come to Penang till 1805.

H. B.

P.S.—I am indebted to my brother for the following additional information about Mrs. Raffles. He obtained it from the life of Sir Stamford Raffles by Demetrius C. Boulger, and from other sources.

Mrs. Raffles' maiden name was Olivia Mariamne Devenish, and apparently her father was an Irishman. She married Mr. Fancourt, an assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment. He died in 1800, and his widow came home. In March, 1805, she was married to Mr. Raffles at St. George's, Bloomsbury. She accompanied him to the East, and died at Batavia in Java, in November, 1814. In 1817 Sir Stamford Raffles married his second wife, Sophia, the daughter of Mr. Hull. Mrs. Raffles (Olivia) is described as being tall and distinguished looking, and possessed of flashing, black Italian eyes. Her remains lie near Leyden's in the old Dutch cemetery at Tanabarrg.

H. B.

We shall repeat the whole of this beautiful poem with the emendations of our correspondent.

" Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far
To seek *us* near the Eastern star,
But wears not in this Orient clime
Her wintry wreaths and ancient thyme.
What flowerets must we strew to thee
For glossy bay or rosemary ?

" Champaca flowers for thee we strew
To drink the merry Christmas dew.
Though hailed in each Malayan grove
The saffron-tinted flower of love,
Of none more loved amid the fair,
Her tulip-buds adorn the hair.

" Banana leaves their ample screen
Shall spread to match the holly green ;
Well may their glossy softness please,
Sweet emblem of the soul at ease,
The heart expanding frank and free
Like the still green banana-tree.

" Nona, may all the woodland powers
That stud Malaya's clime with flowers,
Or on the breeze their fragrance fling,
Around thee form a fairy ring
To guard thee, ever gay and free,
Beneath thy green banana-tree."

STATE OF KELANTAN, SIAM.

A FEW years ago this State was made a bone of contention between the Singapore Government and the Siamese, and was eventually consigned, on conditions, to the Siamese. By an agreement made in London between Siam and Kelantan, it was arranged that an Englishman should be appointed to represent the King of Siam, and to advise and direct the Government of the State ; Siam, at the same time, undertaking not to interfere in any way with the administration, so long as the advice of the English Resident in Siam is followed. In virtue of this arrangement, Mr. W. A. Graham was appointed "H.S.M.'s Resident and Adviser." Mr. Graham has submitted his first report, which contains full and interesting information with regard to the social condition of the State, when he entered upon his office, and the success which has resulted in the discharge of his arduous duties. We shall present to our readers a short account of this important Report* for the year from August, 1903, to August, 1904.

The State of Kelantan lies on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula five degrees north of the Equator. It is watered by the river Kelantan and its tributaries, the watershed of which river-system roughly forms the boundary of the State. The northern districts comprise one of the few extensive plains in the Peninsula, the land rising towards the south, until at the boundary it becomes a lofty range of densely wooded mountains. The State is bounded on the north by the sea, on the west by the Siamese States of Sai, Leggeh, and Raman, and by the British State of Perak ; on the south by the British State of Pahang, and on the east by the Siamese State of Tringganu. The climate of the State is mild and slightly damp. The daily temperature ranges for the greater part of the year between 70° and 87°, falling in January or February to 65°. There is no really dry season, as showers occur throughout the year,

* Report addressed to His Royal Highness Krom Luang Damrong Rachanubap, Minister for the Interior, Siam.

increasing in November to an almost continual downpour, which lasts into January, and causes heavy floods. The soil is light, porous, and exceedingly fertile. No accurate census of the population has ever been taken, but it is estimated at from 250,000 to 300,000. The people are chiefly Malays, but there are many Siamese in the maritime districts, and Chinese in all the larger villages. The Siamese dress in Malay costumes and speak Malay as a second language. The general health of the people is good. Though the country is subject to occasional epidemics, infectious and contagious diseases (with the exception of skin diseases, which are common) are usually absent. Small-pox is the most dreaded. Formerly there were no facilities for vaccination, but the Duff Development Company, Limited, is introducing this boon into its concession, and the Company's doctor, a gentleman of much enthusiasm and experience, hopes soon to persuade the peasantry to adopt it. The religion of the State is Muhammadanism. There are also Buddhists. Education is primitive. The principal industry is silk weaving. Coloured grass mats of beautiful design and texture are also made. Kopra making, fishing, and fish-salting are large industries; but the last two have lately fallen off, owing to the rise in the price of salt. The chief exports are kopra and coco-nuts, bullocks and other live stock, rice, hides, betel-nut, dried fish, rattans, gutta percha, and damar. Imports are cotton goods, dyed threads, timber, gambier, tobacco, sugar, salt, kerosene oil, and silk. Mr. Graham sums up his opinion as follows: "With a dense population, a mild and healthy climate, a fertile soil, growing commerce, and possible mineral wealth, nothing except absence of good administration can prevent Kelantan from ultimately taking her place in the front rank of the Malay States. Hitherto a weak and wretched Government, with its thousand attendant evils, has effectively checked all development of her resources; but it would seem that her ruler, aware that he is being looked to to remedy this state of affairs, is now putting forth his best

efforts to secure for his country an administration sufficient for its development in the best interests of his own people, thereby to preserve it, in fact as well as in name, a true Malay State, and to make it at the same time one of the greatest and most prosperous Dependencies of Siam."

On entering upon his very onerous duties, he found either no administration or mal-administration, corruption and nepotism in its worse forms everywhere, besides a strong prejudice against the new order of an appointment of an Englishman as His Majesty's representative and adviser. By tact and perseverance these prejudices were overcome. The organization of the Police, the Courts of Justice, and other judicial reforms were introduced and adopted, as also gaols, which were in a deplorable condition, as well as the condition of their prisoners. Public works—such as roads, postal arrangements, telegraphs, railways—were all in a state of chaos; but these are now all being placed on a proper footing. Finance, revenue, and expenditure has much improved, and every department of State affairs promises in the future great success and progress under the guidance of the present able Resident and Adviser.

STATISTICS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

There has been presented to the British Parliament the first number of a very valuable abstract of the population, trade, etc., of the British Empire, from which we extract the following condensed figures with respect to *Population*.

POPULATION, 1901.

United Kingdom ...	41,458,721	Newfoundland ...	217,037
India (1) British ...	231,899,507	Labrador ...	3,634
(2) Native States ...	62,461,549	Natal, including Zulu-	
(3) Aden ...	43,974	land ...	925,118
Self-governing Colo-		Cape of Good Hope	
nies, Australia ...	3,776,273	(Census, 1894) ...	2,405,552
New Zealand, exclu-		Basutoland ...	263,414
sive of Maoris ...	772,719	Orange River (Census,	
Dominion of Canada	5,371,315	1904) ...	385,045

Transvaal, including Swaziland (Census, 1904)	1,354,200	Lagos and Protectorate estimated ...	1,388,847
Straits Settlements ...	572,249	Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate ...	1,486,433
Ceylon (exclusive of military population)	3,565,954	Sierra Leone (exclusive of adjacent Protectorate)	76,655
Mauritius and dependencies	375,882	Gambia (ditto) ...	13,461
Seychelles	19,237	Bermuda (exclusive of military)	17,535
Labuan	8,411	British Honduras ...	37,479
Hong-Kong (exclusive of leased territory)	297,142	British Guiana ...	293,958
British New Guinea ...	350,000	West India Islands ...	1,583,480
Fiji	120,124	Gibraltar	20,355
Falkland Islands ...	2,043	Malta	184,742
St. Helena (exclusive of military) ...	3,342	Cyprus	237,022

Thus the total population of the British Empire is 360,646,000.

THE PROGRESS OF EGYPT UNDER BRITISH CONTROL.

Lord Cromer has issued for the past year an elaborate and exhaustive report on the present condition of Egypt, which has been presented to Parliament.*

On April 8, 1904, a "declaration" was signed in London, which, *inter alia*, contains the following provisions: (1) His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. (2) "The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other matter." A similar declaration was subsequently made by the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Thus, the Egyptian question has been settled, and has given the British Government a free hand in the control and administration of the country.

Lord Cromer, in preparing his admirable report, states that it has been his wish in giving such a lengthy report to afford

* "Egypt, No. 1 (1905), Report by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan."

an *educational* document, and not merely a record of facts, with the view of drawing the attention of the Egyptians—especially the rising generation, who are growing up under conditions wholly different to those which existed during the youth of their parents—in order that they may consider what lies before them as citizens of a country which is now rapidly striding towards an advanced state of civilization; also to warn them of those causes which have led to the decadence of so many Oriental States, and to adopt methods best adapted to prevent any recurrence of those causes in Egypt. There can be no doubt that a greater interest is now being taken by the Egyptians in the administration and progress of their country from the fact that Lord Cromer's reports are being translated into the vernacular, and last year no fewer than 4,300 copies were either issued gratis to the subscribers of their newspapers or sold separately. The report then refers to "the Mixed Tribunals," "the Caisse de la Dette," "the Suez Canal Convention," "the Form of Accounts and Estimates," from which it appears that in 1903 the revenue amounted to £E12,463,700, expenditure £E10,125,458; and for 1904 the revenue is £E13,906,152, and expenditure £E12,700,332. Under the new system of accounts the general reserve fund amounts to £E13,376,146, and the expenditure under this head is £E7,529,074, leaving a balance of £E5,847,072, which will be available for capital expenditure of various sorts in Egypt or the Soudan. This fund will be replenished by the surplus of 1905, and also by about £E3,000,000 from the liquidation of the Daira estates. It is therefore clear, says Lord Cromer, "that for the time being sufficient funds exist to provide for additional expenditure on railways and irrigation on a very considerable scale."

The Egyptian debt now stands as follows: on December 31, 1903, £102,186,920. The Guaranteed, Daira, and Domains debt, amounting to £911,580, was paid off during the year; thus at December 31, 1904, the debt stood at

£101,275,340. Of this amount £8,917,280 is held by the Commissioners and the Ministry of Finance, leaving £92,358,060 in the hands of the public.

Referring to the Nile navigation and the fisheries, it is encouraging to find that the boat traffic on the Nile has much increased since the lock tolls were removed in 1900. In 1903 no fewer than 35,732 boats passed through the locks, and in 1904, 41,740. Formerly the fisheries were farmed out, which led to much corruption, but in 1902 this system was abolished so as to allow anyone to fish, who wished to do so, on payment of a license for his boat. It was estimated that this reform would involve a loss of revenue of £E20,000, but in 1904 this loss was only £E11,000, while the gain to the fishing population is estimated at £E50,000.

The total estimated revenue and expenditure for 1905 is as follows: Revenue, £E12,255,000; expenditure, £E11,755,000; hence surplus £E500,000. It was decided on (March 15 last) not to raise at present the Assouan dam. There are many other subjects treated in this valuable report, but our space will not allow us to refer to them.

Lord Cromer concludes by stating that the "most friendly relations—to the establishment of which His Highness the Khedive has in no slight degree contributed—exist between the British and Egyptian portions of the Administration," and he "has little doubt that all questions of public interest, which may arise in the future, will be settled in a manner conducive to the best interests of the country. Further, the new aspect under which all questions of an international character will be treated, now that the Anglo-French Agreement has been signed, affords an additional justification for expressing a belief, that the year 1905 opens under auspices of a peculiarly favourable nature for the cause of Egyptian progress and reform."

STATE OF THE AFRICAN PROTECTORATES ADMINISTERED
UNDER THE FOREIGN OFFICE.*

EAST AFRICA.

Peace has been happily uninterrupted, and steady progress is observable everywhere, but agricultural and industrial enterprises have not had time fully to develop.

A report on cotton-growing has been recently laid before the House in "Africa, No. 2, 1905." Others on agriculture, stock-raising, forestry, and veterinary studies are about to be laid.

The Committee of Inquiry sent out by the Zionists are on their way home, and their report is expected shortly.

A satisfactory solution has been found for the difficult problem connected with the Masai.

Immediately on his arrival in East Africa, Sir D. Stewart, under instructions from the Secretary of State, held a full inquiry into the subject. Meetings were convened, at which the British officials most cognisant of the question, and chiefs of the various branches of the Masai tribe, were present. The result is that, with the unanimous consent of the chiefs, special areas are to be reserved for the tribe. The northern and larger section agreed to vacate the Rift Valley, and withdraw to an area bounded approximately as follows: On the north, by the Loroghi Mountains; on the west, by the Laikipia (Ndoror) Escarpment; on the south, by the Lesuswa, or Nyam, and Guaso Narok Rivers; on the east, by Kisima.

The southern section receive an area to the south of Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo) and the Kisearian stream, comprising within it the Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani, and Matapatu Mountains, and the Donyo Narok, and extending to Sosian on the west, besides other smaller areas. The locations are now being marked out. A Government station will be built in the northern reserve, where an officer, specially selected as a *persona grata* to the Masai, will reside. The tribe will remove to their new settlements as soon as the necessary preparations are completed, and the extensive pastures vacated by them will then become available for European occupation.

The progress of the Uganda Railway has justified the most sanguine predictions. As reported in "Africa, No. 16, 1904," a school has been opened in connection with it, and a recent examination by an independent inspector resulted in a very satisfactory report. The railway is now open throughout on its permanent alignment, the tunnel at mile 526 having been inspected and passed for public traffic on September 21, 1904.

There has been a great development in the traffic during the year. As will be seen by a reference to "Africa, No. 16, 1904," the actual result of working during 1903-1904 was a loss of £60,100 14s. 3d. In view of this result, but looking to the improvement which was taking place, the estimates for 1904-1905 provided for a deficit of £45,000; but a telegram received from the manager on March 21 last gives the following details: Audited

* Memorandum presented to Parliament, March, 1905.

traffic returns up to January 31, £126,573; approximate traffic returns from February 1 to March 31, £25,901—gross earnings, £152,474. Audited working expenses up to January 31, £118,855; estimated working expenses from February 1 to March 31, £30,853—total working expenses, £149,708; profit, £2,766.

It is too early to give the detailed accounts for the year, but some idea of the increase of traffic can be obtained from the following comparison of the earnings per mile per week during the three years since the lake was reached: 1902-1903, £3 2s. 2d.; 1903-1904, £3 4s.; 1904-1905 (forty-five weeks), £4 10s. 8d.

The earnings per mile per week given above do not include the receipts from the lake steamers *Winifred* and *Sybil*. These at present amount to about £14,000 per annum, and have practically increased threefold during the year; but it must be remembered that during ten months of 1903-1904 only one vessel was in commission. In addition to their own earnings, the steamers, of course, bring traffic to the railway of considerable value. These results, and the appearance of development taking place everywhere in the lake districts, make it advisable that a third vessel should be put into the service as soon as practicable. Tenders have therefore recently been invited for a boat similar to the steamships *Winifred* and *Sybil*, but of greater cargo-carrying capacity. It is worthy of note in this connection that, notwithstanding the large cargoes carried by the steamers, the number of sailing dhows on the lake has not diminished.

The survey of the southern or German portion of the lake still continues, the work having been delayed by the illness of Commander Whitehouse, R.N., the officer in charge.

The receipts and expenditure of the Protectorate for the year 1903-1904 were: Receipts, £108,857; expenditure, £418,877, showing an increase over the estimated receipts of £9,396, and over the estimated expenditure of £62,919. For 1904-1905 the receipts are estimated at £121,692, and the expenditure at £376,967; receipts for 1905-1906 at £163,000, and expenditure at £403,360. The above figures, which for 1903-1904 contain under the expenditure heading considerable arrear charges, show an increasing revenue, and an expenditure which, for 1905-1906, is less, *pro rata* to the revenue, than in any previous year since the Protectorate was administered by the Foreign Office.

The total value of trade articles imported into and exported from the Protectorate during 1903-1904, the last year for which figures are available, was £596,762.

The Currency Order in Council, providing for the issue of a note currency on a rupee basis, but with the English sovereign as a legal tender, was passed on February 10, 1905.

An outbreak of plague took place at Kisumu on January 1, 1905. The cases were apparently of a virulent type, as, out of twenty-eight natives who were attacked, twenty-five died; but, so far, it has not spread, and no cases have been reported since February 21.

The Anglo-German Boundary Commission hopes to reach Mount

Kilimanjaro, and finish its local labours in July, 1905 ; meanwhile, it is making satisfactory progress.

UGANDA.

Peace and tranquillity have reigned in the Protectorate ; the earnest endeavours and the cordial co-operation of all missionary denominations with the Administration have simplified the task of the executive.

In spite of the spread of "sleeping sickness," the material prosperity of the Protectorate has increased, and with it there has been a satisfactory growth of revenue. The receipts and expenditure for the year 1903-1904 were : Receipts, £51,474 ; expenditure, £186,800, the receipts being £10,539 in excess of the estimates, and the expenditure £4,679 less.

The actual figures for 1904-1905 have not been received ; but it is already known that the revenue for 1904-1905, up to February 13, had exceeded the estimated amount for the year—viz., £42,985—by over £5,000. The expenditure was estimated at £184,463, showing a decrease of £7,016 as compared with the estimated expenditure for 1903-1904. For 1905-1906 the receipts have been estimated at £48,795, and the expenditure at £183,562. Thus there has been of late years, calculating on the estimated figures, a steady increase in revenue and a decrease in expenditure, while the actual figures which have been up to now received seem to promise even more favourable results for the year 1905-1906.

The value of the trade during 1903-1904, the last year for which figures are obtainable, rose to £176,047, an increase of 86 per cent. over that for 1902-1903.

The efforts to combat the "sleeping sickness" have, unfortunately, not met with success ; but the researches into the disease still continue. Captain Greig's report on the investigations carried on by him on behalf of the Royal Society has been received, and a skilled investigator, Dr. Minchin, has proceeded to Uganda to prosecute further studies. The Royal Society are considering, in consultation with Government Departments, whether any practical measures can be taken to prevent the spread of the malady. Isolation hospitals have already been provided.

Surveying work is being carried on.

The development of the Free State of the Congo should give an impetus to trade, from which the Protectorate must benefit. The improvement of means of communication, and the construction of trunk roads capable of carrying heavy traffic between the Great Lakes, is a subject of much importance, though, from the nature of the country, road-making will prove to be very costly. Still, roads are indispensable for the development of the country, and the question should be faced.

The construction of a new steamer for Lake Albert has been sanctioned, and will be put in hand.

SOMALILAND.

Recent events have effected a great improvement in the prospects of this Protectorate.

After the Mullah had been defeated at Jidballi by the forces under Sir C. Egerton, he retired into Italian territory. The Italian Government

were then taking steps to improve the administration of their Protectorate, and negotiations, to which His Majesty's Government were a party, were entered into by them with the Mullah, who made proposals for peace. These negotiations have resulted in the conclusion of an agreement which, if observed by the Mullah, will relieve the Administration of a constant source of anxiety. Meantime, His Majesty's Commissioner is engaged in organizing the tribes, which have been thoroughly demoralized by the prolonged campaigns of recent years, with a view to their own defence.

The 33rd Punjabis have replaced the 101st Grenadiers and the 107th Pioneers as a temporary garrison, and the 6th Battalion of the King's African Rifles, mounted partly on ponies and partly on camels, has been brought up to strength and placed on a permanent footing. If peace is maintained, the Protectorate may soon cease to be a charge to the Imperial Exchequer.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to observe that, of the results directly due to British Administration of the African Protectorates, not the least satisfactory has been the complete abolition of the slave trade, and the consequent saving of the heavy expenditure formerly entailed by the maintenance of a squadron in East African waters.

INDIAN COOLIE CHILDREN AND THEIR EDUCATION.

Reference has been made on several occasions in these pages to the need for providing additional facilities for the education of children employed "or resident" on tea and other plantations in India and in Ceylon. This question has lately been attracting a good deal of attention both locally and in this country. The subject was raised by Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., in the House of Commons during the discussion on the Supplementary Estimates; and a special Commission has been appointed in Colombo to deal with the matter of coolie education and the grouping of estates for school purposes. This step is largely due to representations made last year by Mr. A. G. H. Wise, who was formerly a planter in Ceylon. Mr. Wise has also recently directed Mr. Brodrick's attention to the scheme sanctioned by Mr. Lyttelton in regard to Ceylon. Interesting despatches have been received from the Government of India, which show that there is very scanty provision for the education of this class in most of the planting districts. The facts are briefly as follows:

In Madras the children are eligible for exceptional grants, but it is not clear how many children there are of a school-going age, nor how many attend school. The schools are situated in hilly tracts, which are generally treated as backward localities, and are consequently eligible for concessions under the grant-in-aid code.

In Bengal no special arrangements exist. In the Ranchi district, where there are a few gardens, there are numerous missionary schools, which these children can attend. In the Chittagong division the schools existing near the tea-gardens are to some extent attended by the children in question. There are numerous tea-gardens in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in the Rajshahi division; but neither day-schools nor night-schools are in existence which the children could attend. In places where the gardens are not far apart it might be possible to try the experiment of starting central schools to serve more than one estate. It appears that the Government of Bengal have been in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction and the local officers, with a view to see whether rural primary schools cannot be established in connection with the tea and other plantations. Further reports are to be submitted to the Government of India in due course.

In the United Provinces the children are said to attend the village schools of the district boards; but no returns as to the number of the labour force, nor the proportion of children who are literate, are supplied by the planters.

In Assam, out of 249,104 children only 696 attend school; therefore the children of labourers on tea-gardens grow up without school instruction of any kind. In only nine cases do the gardens subscribe for the maintenance of schools, and seven of these cases occur in the Surma Valley, where the organization of the labour force is on a less artificial basis than in the Assam Valley. It is urged that the children belong to castes which are apathetic, if not opposed, to schooling. Education is very backward amongst the races of the Central Provinces (such as the

Gond and the Kol), whence many of the coolies come. Furthermore, the children contribute materially to the family's earnings, and their parents, as well as possibly the planters, would object to anything which hindered them from working. In Ceylon, however, many planters have allowed the children to attend school for two hours daily without deducting anything from their pay. Mr. Fuller, Chief Commissioner of Assam, thinks it hardly desirable to spend much money in offering instruction to a class which he considers for many years to come will profit by it but little, or at all. The question is, however, to receive attention, and the Chief Commissioner has been asked to submit a further report. It is thought possible that some beneficial results may be obtained by encouraging tea-gardens employés (presumably the native clerks employed to keep accounts, etc.) to teach out of their working hours, through the offer of a small bonus for each coolie child that can read, write, and sum. It may be pointed out that, if instruction is to be imparted to these coolie children, it could be only through the medium of the Assamese language, as the coolies employed are mostly aborigines from a distant country (Sontals, Hos, Kols, Mundaris, and the like), who have no written language of their own. Although the question is admittedly a difficult one, the concentration of the children on the gardens affords a better opportunity than usually exists for imparting some simple vernacular education. Special measures, it may well be hoped, will shortly be taken by the Government of India to provide them with such small amount of education as is (so far as feasible) the proper heritage of every child under British dominion.

* * * * *

On April 3 Mr. Schwann put the following question in the House of Commons to the Secretary of State for India:—"What is the total number of children between the ages of five and fifteen years employed or resident on tea or other plantations in Assam, Bengal, the United

Provinces, and Madras? How many schools exist for their convenience, and how many of such children attend the schools? Also whether any further facilities have yet been provided in Assam and in Bengal, and whether it is proposed to establish additional schools in the planting districts of the United Provinces and Madras?"

Mr. Brodrick replied: "I would refer the honourable member to the reply given by me on February 27 to a question on this subject by the honourable member for Bethnal Green, North-East Division (Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee). I have no statistics of the children between the ages mentioned on tea and other plantations in India, but the total number of coolie children in Assam is estimated at 249,104, a large proportion of whom are, no doubt, of the school-going age. In that province it is reported that there are seventy-three schools in or near gardens where education can be obtained; the exact number of coolie children attending these schools is not stated, but it is small. I have no statistics for other provinces in India, where garden managers are not required by law to submit returns of their labour force. As I stated in reply to the question of February 27, the matter is receiving attention from the Government of India and the local governments; but I am not in a position to report precisely what action has been taken, or is contemplated."*

* * * * *

As has been made abundantly clear in the case of Ceylon, there is a tendency to neglect the educational needs of Indian children after they have once left their native land. A notable instance is furnished by Natal, where a very serious state of things is revealed by Mr. P. A. Barnett, who until recently occupied the position of Superintendent of Education in that Colony. As he points out, the education of Indians in Natal has its own peculiar difficulties. "In many respects," he says, "these are like those which

* On June 7, Mr. Brodrick stated that he had asked the Government of India to expedite the further reports promised by Lord Curzon.

obstruct any rational and systematic scheme for dealing with the Zulus. But the Indians are quicker witted and more ambitious than the natives; they acquire property, amass wealth, and look much further ahead. This means that much of their destiny is out of our hands. We cannot fight against economic laws, though we may do something to divert their incidence. An ambitious, scheming, and frugal race will get wealth somehow. It must for that very reason be civilized, and be trained to make humane use of its opportunities, or it will horde its wealth, if it is rich, rather than spend it to the general profit, and, while it is poor, will be a danger to a public on whom it will prey. At present our neglect is doing a good deal to confine the Indian population to petty and predaceous industries, to discourage it from acquiring arts and crafts, and to breed a class of peculiarly dangerous criminals. We, as well as they, will benefit if we set up a little machinery for teaching them to use their hands in productive work profitable to us all."

If the facts are as stated by Mr. Barnett, there would appear to be considerable need for an improvement to be effected without delay. The treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal has been actively dealt with in Parliament of late, and members might now turn their attention to Natal, although, as pointed out by Mr. Lyttelton in answer to a question in the House of Commons on June 7, the subject is primarily one for consideration by the local Government, and for discussion in the local Parliament.

In all these matters of education of native races we should do well if we followed the example of France, which is remarkably liberal in the amount expended in this direction, bearing in mind, however, that the education should in most instances be given to Indian natives in the vernacular. Nought but harm can result in providing a form of education, such as is too often given in mission schools, which has the effect of unfitting the youth from following ancestral occupations for which they are for many reasons best qualified.

THE TREATY WITH AFGHANISTAN.

The following is an exact copy of the translation of the treaty signed at Kabul on March 21, 1905 :

“ He is God. Extolled be His perfection.

“ His Majesty Siraj-ul-millat-wa-ud-din Amir Habibulla Khan, Independent King of the State of Afghanistan and its dependencies, on the one part, and the Honourable Mr. Louis William Dane, C.S.I., Foreign Secretary of the Mighty Government of India and Representative of the Exalted British Government, on the other part.

“ His said Majesty does hereby agree to this, that in the principles and in the matters of subsidiary importance of the Treaty regarding internal and external affairs, and of the engagements which His Highness, my late father, that is, Zia-ul-millat-wa-ud-din, who has found mercy, may God enlighten his tomb! concluded and acted upon with the Exalted British Government, I also have acted, am acting, and will act upon the same agreement and compact, and I will not contravene them in any dealing or in any promise.

“ The said Honourable Mr. Louis William Dane does hereby agree to this, that as to the very agreement and engagement which the Exalted British Government concluded and acted upon with the noble father of His Majesty Siraj-ul-millat-wa-ud-din, that is, His Highness Zia-ul-millat-wa-ud-din, who has found mercy, regarding internal and external affairs and matters of principle or of subsidiary importance, I confirm them and write that they (the British Government) will not act contrary to those agreements and engagements in any way or at any time.

“ Made on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of Muharram-ul-haram of the year thirteen hundred and twenty-three Hijri, corresponding to the twenty-first day of March of the year nineteen hundred and five A.D.

“(Persian Seal of Amir Habibulla Khan.)

“ This is correct. I have sealed and signed.

“ AMIR HABIBULLA.

“ LOUIS W. DANE,

*Foreign Secretary representing the
Government of India.”*

FOREIGN TRADE OF PERSIA IN 1903-1904.

The Board of Trade have received, through the Foreign Office, copy of a memorandum by the Secretary to H.M. Legation at Tehran (Mr. E. M. Grant Duff) analyzing the commercial statistics of Persia for the year ended March 20, 1904. Mr. Duff writes:

"The commercial statistics for the period March 20, 1903, to March 20, 1904, are of special interest owing to the fact that the year is the first during which the new tariff has been in force in Persia. Assuming that the figures in the '*Tableau général du commerce avec les pays étrangers*' are accurate, it would appear that the introduction of the new tariff has been beneficial to Persian trade. The total commerce from March 21, 1902, to March 20, 1903, amounts to 459,718,658 kran, or £8,359,430; while from March 21, 1903, to March 20, 1904, the total amounts to 639,810,662 kran, or £11,632,921, showing an increase of £3,273,491.

"The new tariff would also appear to have affected British trade favourably. The total British commerce for 1902-1903 (imports 102,461,452 kran and exports 18,396,675 kran, or £1,862,914 and £334,466 respectively) amounted to 120,858,127 kran, or £2,197,380. To this must be added the figures of the Karun trade, which are not included in the official statistics. The Karun trade in 1902-1903 amounted to about £100,000, so that the total value of British commerce during that period was about £2,300,000.

"The value of British trade with Persia during 1903-1904 (imports 128,401,253 kran, or £2,334,529, and exports 21,113,178 kran, or £383,852) was £2,718,381. This shows an increase of about £400,000 in the trade between the two countries.

"During the period March 21, 1903, to March 20, 1904, Russian trade amounted to—imports 184,732,273 kran (£3,358,770), and exports 115,512,359 kran (£2,827,497), or a total trade of £6,186,267. This is more than double the British trade for the same period, and more than half of the whole trade between Persia and foreign countries."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS: SHANGHAI.

1. *Petit Dictionnaire Français Chinois (dialecte de Shanghai)*, by REV. C. PÉTILLON, S.J. Price 3⁵⁰ mex. (= 6s.). This is almost a counterpart of Père Debesse's dictionary of 1903 (Mandarin dialect), of which 9,000 copies have already been sold, and which we reviewed two years ago. The Shanghai dialect is in many respects merely a local form of that of Ningpo, and corresponds with what the Japanese call the *go-on*, or "dialect of Wu," as distinct from the *kan-on*, or "dialect of Han," both imported into Japan 2,000 years ago, and both still constituent parts of the Japanese language; just as Latin and Greek are two *on* of the same *souche*, imported into Anglo-Saxon, Slav, Teutonic, and other countries. In most cases the definitions given in Chinese character will hold good also for Pekingese, "Southern Mandarin," and the more "reasonable" coast dialects; and even the romanized sounds, though widely different from those of the Mandarin, Fuh Kien, and Southern groups, ought to be etymologically interesting, if not always perfectly comprehensible, to an intelligent student whose speech is confined to one dialect form. The paper is of the finest and toughest; the print of the clearest and neatest. The whole work of 600 pages can easily be carried in the "tail" pocket, and in many respects it recalls the perfect *mécanique* of John Bellows' inimitable French-English, English-French pocket dictionary of thirty years ago. It contains practically everything an ordinary student of Chinese may wish to know for the general purposes of life.—E. H. PARKER.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY: LONDON, 1905.

2. *Japan and the Japan Mission*. Fourth edition, with a map and illustrations. The first part of this little volume is devoted to the general subjects of interest connected with Japan, while the remaining chapters are taken up with the statistics relative to the evangelization of the people. Many works bearing upon this subject have been published, but "Japan and the Japanese Mission" will prove an attractive and readable record of the work and the workers, who are struggling against inevitable adversaries to mission labour. Stories of the lives of native converts are very encouraging, and great hope may be entertained for the future. The volume is printed in good, clear type, and the map marking the special mission fields is excellent.—S.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; 16, JAMES STREET,
HAYMARKET, LONDON, S.W., 1904.

3. *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues*, by K. ASAKAWA, PH.D., Lecturer on the Civilization and History of East Asia at Dartmouth College; author of the "Early Institutional Life of Japan," etc., with an

Introduction by Frederick Wells Williams, Assistant Professor of Modern Oriental History in Yale University. An able and "statesman's" narrative of the various stages of the conflict with Russia, and without prejudice on either side, the author cites the official documents and correspondence which led up to the present unfortunate struggle. There is a map showing the regions where the interests of the two Powers meet, and several well-executed illustrations of the Russian Minister at Washington, the Russian Foreign Minister, Li Hung-Chang, Count Katsura, Premier of Japan, the Russian Minister at Peking, M. Pavloff, late Russian Minister at Seoul, Baron Komura, Japanese Foreign Minister, Admiral Alexieff, Mr. Kurino, late Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, Baron de Rosen, late Russian Minister at Tokio, and a good index. Professor Williams in his introduction states correctly that the author presents his views with "a logical thoroughness that reminds us of the military operations of his countrymen now in evidence elsewhere, and recalls very pleasantly to my own mind the sane and accurate character of his scholastic work while a student at Yale. It is the sort of presentation which a great subject needs. It is content with a simple statement of fact and inference. It is convincing because of its brevity and restraint. We strongly recommend this work to statesmen, and all others who are interested in the justness of the Japanese contention and the result of the war, on the enlightenment and improvement of the inhabitants in the regions of the Far East.

4. *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, by PERCY E. NEWBERRY, author of "Beni Hasan," "El Bersheh," "Rekhmara," "The Amherst Papyri," etc., and JOHN GARSTANG, Reader in Egyptian Archæology, University of Liverpool, author of "The Third Egyptian Dynasty," etc. A short and well-written history, of upwards of 100 pages, of ancient Egypt. In regard to chronology, the opinion of the authors is that it is "certain only as far back as B.C. 1,600—for dates before that time the latest possible year has been appended." They also are of opinion that "the progress which research has made, both in Egypt upon the ancient sites and in the study of the original language and literature, has seemed sufficient authority for setting aside the traditions of later historians, and accepting instead, the evidence of the monument as the ground for their opinions." It has been the aim of the authors "to make no statement which does not rest upon the substantial basis of a fact." These statements are made in a clear and concise form, and embrace the Archaic Period, the Memphite Rule, the Feudal Period, the Early Theban Rulers, the Hyksos Period, the Theban Empire, the Period of Decline, the Disintegration, the Renaissance, the Persian Invasion, and the Final Conquest. There are also in the work various neat and distinct maps, an interesting chronological table, and an excellent index. It would form a most useful text-book for schools and seminaries, as well as a concise, comprehensive, and interesting narrative for the general reader.

JOHN LANE; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1905.

5. *With the Pilgrims to Mecca. The Great Pilgrimage of A.H. 1319; A.D. 1902*, by HADJI KHAN, M.R.A.S. (Special Correspondent of the

Morning Post), and WILFRID SPARROY (Author of "Persian Children of the Royal Family"). With an Introduction by PROFESSOR A. VAMBÉRY. This remarkable volume is not a republication, but a great portion of it is absolutely new, while the whole of the remainder has been not only carefully revised, but also recast, and, to some extent, rewritten. It is divided into three parts: I. A Persian Pilgrim in the Making. II. The Story of the Pilgrimage—(1) London to Jiddah; (2) From Jiddah to Mecca; (3) Within the Harem, of which there is a beautiful illustration; (4) Compassing of the Ka'bah, and various other particulars. III. Meccan Scenes and Sketches. In the appendix there is a remarkable contribution entitled "Some Reflections on the Existence of a Slave Market in Mecca," to which we shall shortly refer. The volume contains many beautiful illustrations of men and places, including "The Harem, showing the Ka'bah and the other Sanctuaries within the Harem (taken from an old Indian illustration)."

Mr. Vambéry, in his introduction, says: "Amongst the varied and manifold impressions of my long and intimate connection with the Muhammadan world, none is more lovely and more interesting than my experience with the Hajees—the dear, pious, and good-natured companions on many of my wanderings in Moslem Asia. We in Europe can hardly have an idea of the zeal and delight which animate the pilgrim to the holy places of Arabia—not only during his sojourn in Mekka and Medina; not only whilst making the Tawaf (procession round the Kaaba); not only during the excursion to the valley of Mina, where the exclamation of 'Lebeik Yā Allah!' rends the air round the Arafat—but long before he has started on his arduous and formerly very dangerous journey to the birthplace of Islam. The Haj, being one of the four fundamental commands of Islam, is looked upon by every true believer as a religious duty, the fulfilment of which is always before his eyes." "The further the Moslem lives from Arabia, the greater becomes the passion to visit the holy places of his religion." "The Haj is a most wonderful institution in the interest of the strength, unity, and spiritual power of Islam; it is a kind of religious parliament, and a gathering-place for the followers of the Prophet, where the sacred Hermandad is fostered despite all differences of race and colour." It is, therefore, important to become acquainted with this religious custom in order "to appreciate duly the political, social, and ethical qualities of this pilgrimage ordained by the Prophet." Hence the importance of this work, written by "a Muhammadan who is not attracted by curiosity but by religious piety, who had free access to every place, who is not hampered by fear of being discovered as a Christian, and who is, besides, a shrewd observer." The work will therefore be read with the keenest interest by our English readers.

As our space will not permit us to prolong our notice of the main portion of the work, we shall conclude by referring to Mr. Sparroy's reflections on the question of Moslem slavery. Mr. Sparroy says: "To be frank, the present-day followers of the Prophet—those who have not been brought under the influence of European civilization—have far less sympathy (with the opinions of the West) than had Muhammad himself.

Humanly speaking, the British crusade against slavery is not only beyond their comprehension ; it is also above it. Their outlook on life, with its sights, its limitations, and its responsibilities, differs fundamentally from that of the followers of the Founder of Christianity. The Christian, who speaks of himself as 'a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,' believes that the first step is with him and the road with God"—hence his responsibility as a free agent. "The Muhammadan, on the other hand, cannot admit that he has the power to move of his own free will, much less the right to do so. He holds that every true Muslim is, and must be, 'the slave of God.'" Here lies the parting of the ways, and from this simple distinction springs the Moslem's idea of slavery and the Christian's idea of freedom. "He is a free man whom the Truth makes free." This acute essay is worthy of an earnest perusal and careful study.

LIBRAIRIE ORIENTALE ET AMÉRICAINES ; E. GUILMOTTE, ÉDITEUR ;
PARIS.

6. *Grammaire d'Arabe Régulier*, par L. GALLAND, Capitaine d'Infanterie Coloniale. Préface du DR. E. MONTET, Professeur d'Arabe à l'Université de Genève, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie. The author of this grammar of literary Arabic appropriately bears a name long celebrated among French Orientalists through the labours and the learning of Antoine Galland,* whose translation of the "Arabian Nights" in 1704, just 200 years before the appearance of Captain Galland's work, was beginning to lay bare the romance of the East to an astonished and delighted world. Captain Léopold Galland, on leaving St. Cyr as a sub-lieutenant in 1893, was employed in Sénégal and the Soudan. After a distinguished career in these provinces, by which he won his way to a captaincy in 1900, and received the decoration of the Legion of Honour and the silver medal of the Geographical Society of Paris in 1901, he found himself quartered at St. Louis du Sénégal, where he composed the work under review. And, as Professor Dr. Montet justly remarks, the fact that an officer on active service in the colonial army, under trying climatic conditions, should devote his scanty leisure to so abstruse and laborious a task evinces the possession of no common calibre of mind, and of no ordinary enthusiasm for his subject. The work contains an interesting preface by Professor Dr. Montet, an introduction by the author, and 306 pages of text, concluding with a few additions and corrections, an alphabetical index (French), and a table of contents. The bulk of the text is devoted to orthography, orthoëpy, and etymology, which occupy 266 pages, leaving 40 for syntax. Two very useful features are noticeable in this grammar: that it is unusually well furnished with tables of conjugations and other grammatical forms, and that it provides facilities not only for rendering Arabic into French, but also for the converse process. Thus, after explaining the uses of the tenses in the Arabic verb, it proceeds to lay down rules for translating the tenses of the French verb into Arabic.

* Born at Rollot, near Montdidier, 1646; appointed Professor of Arabic at the College of France 1709; died 1715.

And, in addition to numerous examples selected from the Kur'ān and other sources ancient and modern, it gives a careful analysis of the composition of a modern letter in Arabic. It is, perhaps, a pity that the author did not follow the example of Alexandre Chodzko, in his Persian grammar, by appending some facsimiles and transcriptions of modern letters to illustrate his analysis. But probably considerations of space forbade. Captain Galland has certainly succeeded in compressing an immense amount of useful and interesting information into the modest proportions of his book, which may be confidently recommended as a clear, compendious, and practical guide to the study of literary Arabic. The fact that the work was passed through the press, in consequence of the author's absence in Africa, by Professor Dr. Montet is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the printing. I have, however, come across one misprint, "Tas'a 'ashrata (19)," at the bottom of the table on p. 256, for "Tis'a 'ashrata," unless it be defended as a variant, on the authority of a reading mentioned by Az Zanakshari and Al Baēdāwi in "Kur.," xxxviii. 22.—M. S. HOWELL.

ERMANN LOESCHER AND CO.; CORSO UMBERTO, 1° 307, ROME, 1904.

7. *Vocabolario Italiano-Tigrai e Tigrai-Italiano*, by ALFONSO CIMINO, Colonial Officer. This vocabulary consists of two parts. The first, of 203 pages, gives on each page of three columns about thirty Italian words with their significations in the Tigre character and their pronunciation. The second part consists of 118 pages of two columns each, giving the Tigre words and their meaning in Italian. It winds up with 18 pages of Abyssinian nouns and names, with their meaning and pronunciation in Italian. This book will prove most useful to Italians and those knowing Italian who have any business in Erethrea, and are desirous of attaining a knowledge of the language, which some people are under the impression is but a dialect. It is a language not only spoken all over the highlands of the Colony of Erethrea, but also in the countries bordering on it.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1905.

8. *Chandra Shekhar*. A Bengali novel by the late RAI BAHADOOR BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, C.I.E., translated by MANMATHA NATH RAY CHOWDHURY of Santosh. The portrait of the translator, in the frontispiece of this volume, is that of a young man, apparently not much over twenty. It was a bold venture, perhaps a little beyond his strength, for him to undertake the translation of a Bengali novel into so difficult a language as English. But those who read the book through will probably be inclined not so much to cavil at the occasional mistakes into which an imperfect acquaintance with the English language has betrayed the translator, as to wonder why it is that no *Englishman*, of all our professed Orientalists, has been found equal to the task of rendering into English for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen, a work which is justly reckoned one of the masterpieces of modern Bengali literature. The work has been known to fame, in India, for upwards of thirty years. Considered merely as a novel, its

plot and the masterly delineation of character which it exhibits, entitle it to rank with the most famous creations of Western genius. Its descriptions of manners and of scenery are vivid and picturesque. A spirit of the purest morality breathes in all the casual utterances of the author, and animates the conduct of the principal actors in the story. The characters of the two heroines—one a high caste Brahmin girl, and the other an Armenian adventuress who has presumably adopted the tenets of Islam—are finely contrasted, as also are those of the two girl friends who respectively enjoy their confidence. And the author, without in any way concealing their faults, has succeeded in making each of them charming. The time with which the action of the story is concerned is one of exceptional interest in the history of modern India. The style (of the original Bengali) is said to be a model of perspicuity and vivacity. Although the author received the distinction of a Companionship in the Order of the Indian Empire from the Indian Government, probably no recognition of his merit would have been more gratifying to him than that his books should have been rendered into English and read and appreciated in British homes.

Many ponderous volumes have been published in England dealing with every phase of life in the India of generations long since dead and buried. And still the cry is that, for all practical purposes, the mind of the East must ever remain a sealed book to that of the West. Is it not time for our Orientalists to change their methods and try to give us some notion of the living India of to-day by studying and reproducing in English translations the best specimens of the *modern* Indian literature? It will then be found, as anyone who reads this book will be convinced, that human nature is much the same in India as it is in England, and that there is no barrier between the inhabitants of the two countries save that which is bred of wilful antipathy and mistrust.

We congratulate the youthful translator of "Chandra Shekhar" on having performed, with far more success than might have been expected, a task which should long since have been undertaken by some English man of letters, and cordially commend his work to all English readers who take an interest in the India of our own age. The book is well printed, and the beautiful illustrations with which it is adorned should greatly add to its popularity.—W.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON, TEMPLE HOUSE, AND 125, FLEET STREET;
LONDON, E.C., 1905.

9. *Hakluyt's English Voyages*, selected and edited, with introduction, notes, and glossary, by E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A., F.R.G.S., with a Preface by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., President of the Hakluyt Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society, with illustrations and maps by R. Morton Nance. Mr. Speight has revived old times, and by his selections from Hakluyt's works has given us, as a Rip Van Winkle, interesting and pleasant stories of our ancient English voyagers and explorers, which to some extent conveyed a knowledge of the geography of a certain portion of the globe, and which laid the germ of our Colonial

Empire, as we find it in our own day. Sir Clements, in his short preface, says truly, "There is no more important study to prepare for any love of life whatever than the study of geography. It embraces so much, the need of it is so great in every profession, ignorance of it is so disastrous. The best preparation for such a study is a knowledge of its history, and of the voyages and travels, of the adventures and valorous deeds, of the makers of geography in the days of old, the builders of our Empire. These stories excite the imagination, arouse curiosity, and prepare the mind for the study of that science of geography, which was created by the ability, perseverance, and bravery of the heroes embalmed by Hakluyt. No one has ever told these stories so well as Richard Hakluyt."

Hakluyt was a Herefordshire man of Dutch ancestry. On leaving Westminster School, he went to Christ Church, Oxford. He died in 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His narratives are contained in three bulky volumes, issued in 1598-1600. The present volume contains a small selection from his works, one of which, relating to Japan, is of interest at the present time. The writer, a Mr. R. Willes, describes "Giapan," or Japan, in 1565, as follows: "The country is hilly and pestered with snow. Barley-bran the Islanders do use instead of salt. Medicinable things wholesome for the body they have none. Nevertheless, in that island sundry fruits do grow, not much unlike fruits of Spain, and great store of silver mines are therein to be seen. The people are tractable, civil, witty, courteous, without deceit, in virtue and honest conversation, exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so much standing on their reputation that their chief idol may be thought honour. . . ." "These fellows neither eat nor kill any fowl. They live chiefly by fish, herbs, and fruit so healthfully that they die very old. . . ." "Utterly they do abhor dice and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man than to give himself unto those things that make us greedy and desirous to get other men's goods. If at any time they do swear, for that seldom they are wont to do, they swear by the Sun. Each one is content with one wife. They be all desirous to learn, and naturally inclined to honesty and courtesy. Godly talk they listen to willingly, especially when they understand it thoroughly." Such is the impression of the traveller more than four centuries ago. This attractive and interesting volume contains useful notes and explanations, a bibliography, and a glossary of terms, words, and phrases, now nearly obsolete, of our ancient voyagers, explorers, and merchantmen now almost forgotten.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W., 1905.

10. *Five Years in a Persian Town*, by NAPIER MALCOLM. The reverend author gives a short but a remarkably simple and correct description of the town of Yezd, its people, its surroundings, their social customs and habits, and the various types of their religious beliefs. He states that his work "is not a book upon mission work," although by his narratives and opinions he opens the door whereby a Christian missionary may see and enter, and that successfully. He also touches upon the system of Persian

Government, and gently indicates the various departments that may be improved with respect to religious liberty and good government, with the view of promoting and fostering not only civilization but the welfare of the people. The author describes the two chief sects of the place, and gives very useful hints to the missionary in ascertaining those points in which Islam and Christianity agree, and then arguing out the points in which differences of belief and tenets arise. The illustrations, both coloured and otherwise, are interesting and well executed. There are an excellent map of Persia, a good index, and a very useful glossary of terms and words occurring in the course of the work. The general reader, the traveller, the missionary, and the merchant will find, in their respective spheres and objects, very interesting and valuable information.

GEORGE NEWNES, LTD.; SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

11. *Indian Life in Town and Country*, by HERBERT COMPTON, with seventeen illustrations. This is a concise and well-written work, giving at a glance, from its well-executed illustrations and descriptions of (1) native Indian life, and (2) Anglo-Indian life. There is also a minute index of the subjects and objects referred to in the volume. The author correctly states that India is "a conglomeration of distinct kingdoms and peoples, differing as widely in conditions and characteristics as Russia and Portugal, or the Norwegian and the Turk." The people are "a heterogeneous, polyglot combination of individuals, who belong to a dozen different nationalities, talk a Babel of tongues, and live in a variety of countries, the physical features of which differ as much as their climatic conditions." The author's description of bungalow life is interesting and amusing to those who have not visited India. He says: "The Anglo-Indian bungalow is as different from an English house in its external appearance and internal arrangement as a temple from a church. It is always a detached building standing on ground of its own, which is called the 'compound,' single-storied, rambling, and flat-roofed. The doors are ill-fitting and clumsy, the windows small and often unable to be opened, and a 'sash' window is unknown. The walls are whitewashed or distempered, and the floors are of concrete. Every room has direct access to a veranda, and all enter one into another, for there are no passages. Each bedroom has its own bath and retiring-room, there being no drains in India. A room with a single door in it is unknown: all have two, and many three, four, and even six, and those leading on to the verandas are generally glazed, which saves windows. Very few bungalows have halls, the veranda in the front of the house doing duty for such. Cellarage does not exist, and, naturally, there are no fireplaces, save in those districts in the North of India where the nights are chilly in the 'cold weather,' which is the Indian name for winter. Except in the capital cities, water and gas are conspicuous by their absence, and you may call at every house between Cape Comorin and Cashmere without finding a bell to pull." Our space does not allow us to give a further description of the various topics to which the author refers in his interesting and instructive narrative.

"NORTH CHINA HERALD" OFFICE; SHANGHAI, 1904.

12. *East of Asia*, vol. iii., Nos. 3 and 4. This illustrated quarterly magazine keeps up its interest for all who care to acquire knowledge of either notable or obscure places in Eastern regions of the earth. There are many able papers included in these numbers, especially "Manchuria, the Coveted Land," by G. W. Hierman, and "Notes of a Voyage across Manchuria," by Count Vay de Vaya. In Papers I. and II., on the "Loochoo Islands," by Professor Leavenworth, much information and pleasant reading is embodied. As the Loochoo Islands belong to the Japanese, we are glad to find that the Loochoans are a docile race, capable of a higher civilization, under the guidance of their energetic rulers. On "Chinese Marriage Customs," Helena Von Poseck has much that is curious to tell us; while in the Chinese fairy-tale, "The Simpleton," we are reminded how much we are indebted to the East for the construction and general tenor of our own folk-lore stories. "The Gem of the Orient Earth" and "The Beautiful River Min" are both prettily written. The illustrations of this magazine continue to charm us, both by reason of their variety of colour and subject.—S.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sūdān, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LITT., D. LIT., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum (London: Thos. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd.; and the Offices of Messrs. Cook in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Assouan, Halfa, Ismailia, Khartoum, Luxor, etc., 1905). This volume, with its numerous maps and illustrations, is more than a mere guide-book. It contains much historical information of all kinds about places and monuments brought up to the present time, an elementary Arabic grammar, a vocabulary of English and Arabic words and colloquial phrases. In short, it is a *vade mecum* to the whole Egyptian region, its history, and present condition. It is got up in a very handy form, and will prove of much interest and usefulness to travellers.

Rice Papers, by H. L. NORRIS (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1905). This volume is dedicated to the Commodore and Officers of H.M.S. *Tamar*. It is composed of a "Sailor's Yarns," amusing in themselves, and well written. The author acknowledges that they are only stories, and have not the merit of being true. Nevertheless, they possess an interest in showing that the Chinaman is not a "doddering idiot," but a man altogether of a different sort.

The Riyaz-u-s-Salatin, A History of Bengal, by GHULAM HUSAIN SALIM; translated from the original Persian, by MAULAVI ABDUS SALAM, M.A., Bengal Provincial Civil Service (member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), author of translations of "Urfi and Sih-nasr-i-Zahuri" Fasc. I. Calcutta: the Baptist Mission Press, and published by the Asiatic Society, 57, Park Street, 1902). This translation has been rendered by Maulavi

Abdus Salam, at the instance of, and published by, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The original is "much prized as being the fullest account, in Persian, of the Muhammadan History of Bengal." The translator has contributed many valuable notes in the course of his translation, exhibiting great research, and adding much valuable information to the original history. We cordially recommend it to the attention of our readers.

Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office: Part VII., Sanskrit Literature; B, Poetical Literature; III., Poetic Compositions in Verse and Prose; IV., Dramatic Literature. Edited by JULIUS EGGELING, PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh (London: printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1904). This interesting and well-printed volume consists of more than 200 quarto pages.

The India List and India Office List for 1905. Compiled from Official Records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (London: Harrison and Sons, 59, Pall Mall, booksellers to His Majesty and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.) This most useful compilation contains, in detail, every information connected with Indian administration—its officials in active service and those who have retired. It also possesses an excellent map, showing the Indian Empire, the British Territory, Dependent and Subordinate Native States, lines of railway opened and not opened, roads, etc. The work confers much credit on the compilers, publishers, and printers, and it ought to be on the table of every public library both in Great Britain and in India.

Baroda Administration Report, 1902-03 and 1903-04. Compiled under the Orders of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. By ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E., Revenue Minister of Baroda (Printed at the Times Press, Bombay, 1905). The present report is designed to take the place of the double issue of reports of preceding years. It states in a concise form figures, tabular statements, and facts essential, useful, and interesting. It embraces the following subjects: (1) Political; (2) Legislative; (3) Judicial; (4) Revenue; (5) Settlements; (6) Self-government; (7) Finance; (8) Education; (9) Medical; (10) Public Works; (11) Police; (12) Jails; and a statement in regard to the Famine Relief of 1904-05. There is also a very striking map of the Territory of Baroda and the population of each district, showing a total of 1,952,692.

The Handy (Shilling) Atlas of the British Empire, by J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S. (London: George Newnes, Limited). This well-got-up atlas may be considered an atlas for the pocket. Besides clear and well-executed maps of the countries and chief towns of the British Empire, it contains tabular comparative statements with other countries, including almost every subject relating to population, imports, exports, and other topics connected with trade, commerce, etc. There is a good portrait of King Edward VII., and there are also numerous lists and indices.

The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, by V. KANAKASABHAI (Higginbotham and Co., Madras and Bangalore, 1904). A volume of nearly 250 pages, with a minute index, dedicated to the Hon. Dewan Bahadar, Sir S. Subramanya Iyer, K.C.I.E., Acting Chief Justice of Madras.

The work consists of a series of articles contributed to the *Madras Review* from 1895 to 1901. It treats of the civilization of the Tamils and their literature during the first century and a half of the Christian era. There is an admirable introduction, a description of the geography of their kingdom, their trade and commerce, races and tribes, their social life, their poems and poets, their systems of philosophy and religion, and their decadence. The work will be read with much interest, as an exhaustive historical research and an excellent narrative of a people of Southern India, whose history, civilization, and literature have hitherto been little known to the English reader.

The Srauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana with the Commentary of Dhanvin, edited by J. N. REUTER, PH.D., LL.D., Lecturer of Sanskrit, in the University of Helsingfors. Part I., reprinted from the *Acta Societates Scientiarum Fennicæ*; T. xxv., Pars II. (London: Luzac and Co., opposite the British Museum, 1904). The text is clear and well printed, and is accompanied by the complete "Commentary of Dhanvin," compiled from fragments in various MSS. It is entirely independent of Agnisvāmin's Commentary on the "Sūtras of Lātyāyana," but both will form useful complements to one another, whenever the two Sūtra texts agree. This work will be completed in three parts, the editor reserving to the concluding part a full discussion of the manuscripts used by him in preparing this edition, a text of which is now given. The subsequent parts and introduction will be looked for with much interest.

Selections from Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, edited by A. S. LAMPREY, B.A., late scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Assistant Master at the Maidstone Grammar School (Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, and 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C., 1905). Among the works suggested by the Board of Education as suitable for school reading is Prescott's "History of the Conquest of Mexico." The selections which compose this small work briefly describe the adventures of Cortès, the Spanish pioneer and explorer of Mexico. The work is well adapted for the purpose for which it is compiled. There are several very old and quaint illustrations, and an admirable portrait and letterpress description of Cortès himself.—*Selections from Prescott's History of the Conquest of Peru* (edited by the same writer and published by the same firm). Prescott's "History of Peru" having been selected also by the Board of Education as a course of reading to young students, Mr. Lamprey, the compiler, has written this small volume, partly to show Prescott's style of description and rich vocabulary, and partly to exhibit the Spaniards' daring with the view of obtaining gold. There are various illustrations and maps. Mr. Lamprey has executed his task judiciously, and the work will be found interesting and useful as a school book.

The Indian World, a Monthly Review of Indian Politics and Economics, Indian Arts and Industries, Indian History and Literature. Edited by PRITHUIS CHANDRA RAY (Printed and published from the Cherry Press, 3, Humāyoon Place, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta). No. I., Vol. I. An interesting and a well-illustrated periodical containing valuable and useful articles on several of the subjects indicated above. The first article is

by the well-known Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., giving his "First Impressions of Baroda." Among the illustrations is a portrait of Akbar and of H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda.

The Original Sources of the Qur'ân, by the REV. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion of the Crescent," "The Noble Eight-fold Path," "Manual of Muhammadan Objections," etc. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., Brighton, and New York, 1905). This well-written and well-printed book, dedicated to Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., late Principal of the University of Edinburgh, will be found most useful to the Christian missionary. The author, after a thorough personal study of many ancient records, has given the result of his researches regarding sources from which Islam has sprung. His conclusion is that we have the Qur'ân as Muhammad left it, and hence it constitutes the "Bible" of Islam. There is a useful index to the topics referred to throughout the volume.

The Sportsman's Year-Book, 1905. Edited by A. WALLIS MYERS (George Newnes, Ltd., Southampton Street, Strand, London, W.C.). This is the first year of the "Sportsman's Year-Book." It contains a short history of all the games or sports that prevail in England, accompanied with excellent illustrations of many who have won prizes, and also a short biographical sketch of those whose names are well known in the respective sports. No doubt the work will be esteemed by English sportsmen, and as years come round many improvements will be introduced, enhancing the value and interest of the publication.

A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Part III. *A Compendious Tamil-English Dictionary*. Seventh edition (the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905). A very useful dictionary of about 100 pages, containing all the words in ordinary use. High Tamil words have, for the most part, been excluded. The Tamil-English and the English-Tamil dictionaries are intended mutually to illustrate one another. The type of Tamil and English are very clear and distinct, and will give the student much information and pleasure when consulting the dictionary.

Livingstone College Year-Book, 1905: *A Record of a Year's Work at the College, and of Former Students in all Parts of the World. Containing also Hints to Travellers in the Tropical Regions in matters of Health, Outfit, and Travel* (Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.). A most useful compendium of facts and useful hints, showing the importance of missionaries possessing a knowledge of medicine and acquiring medical skill. We hope all missionary societies will co-operate and send their students to this unique College. The saying formerly was that the Moravian missionary went to foreign parts with "the Bible in the one hand and the spade in the other." But this saying may now be extended by the revelation of this year-book—"the Bible in the one hand, and in the other the medicine-chest and medical skill."

The Sayings of Muhammad, edited by ABDULLAH AL-MĀMUN AL-SUHRĀWARDY, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, Haymarket, London). A handy little volume containing collections

of the authentic utterances of the prophet on various ethical and other social topics. Also sayings to "illustrate the rude and barbarous manners of the people amongst whom the Law-giver lived, while a few are specially meant for the Muslim, the mystic, the spiritualist, and the sūfī." The object of the writer is "to quicken the march of the spirit of Renaissance and Reform now abroad in the Dār-al-Islām, and to awaken an interest in the faith amongst those seekers after Truth in the West." The booklet has a minute index to the sayings which are quoted.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain, The Strand Magazine, The Grand Magazine, The Sunday Strand, The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney; *C. B. Fry's Magazine, How we recovered the Ashes*, by P. F. Warner, price 1s.;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh);

Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E.; and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*Lo Spettatore* (Rome);—*The Publisher and Bookseller*, a week's review of the book trade (37, Southampton Street, Strand);—*Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1903-1904* (Bombay: printed at the Government Central Press, 1904);—also *Resolution Reviewing the Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, and Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1904 (vol. xlii.), *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute* (vol. iii., No. 1, 1905);—*Lullabies*, used for Japanese children, by Syed Amirshah of Chakival, Jhelum District, Panjab, India, English and Urdu (for private circulation);—*A Plea for Universal Peace*, a proposed establishment of a Universal Peace Society, by Chohei Yoshimura, Citizen of Japan.

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *The Ring from Jaipur*, by Frances M. Peard, author of "The Rose Garden," "Contradictions," etc. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904);—*The Story of my Struggles*: the memoirs of Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest, two volumes (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1904);—*The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, by Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., with portraits, etc., 8vo., two volumes (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.);—*The Story of an Indian Upland*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A., I.C.S., late Scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford, etc., with twenty illustrations and a map, and an introduction by the Hon. H. H. Risley, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Home Secretary to the Government of India (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, S.W., 1905).—*The Masai, their Language and Folk-lore*, by A. C. Hollis, with an introduction by Sir Charles Eliot (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1905);—*Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?* Being outlines of "The Redemption of Labour" and "The Science of Civilization." By the late Cecil Balfour Phipson, edited by Mark B. F. Major (Cassell and Company, Limited, London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne, 1905);—*The*

Original Sources of the Qur'ân, by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion of the Crescent," "The Noble Eightfold Path," "Manual of Muhammadan Objections," etc. (Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, London, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.);—*Indian Problems*, connected with education, agriculture, and land revenue, by the Rev. A. Andrew, Chingleput (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co.);—*The Drift of Buddhism from India, to the Mongols, and Tibet*, with a map of the religions of the world, by Colonel A. T. Fraser, late Royal Engineers (London: Robert Banks and Son, Racquet Court, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*The Mahabharata: A Criticism*, by C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Fellow of the University of Bombay (A. J. Combridge and Co., Bombay, and 31, Newgate Street, London, 1905).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Budget estimate, published in March, 1904, showed a surplus of 918,700 lacs. It is now estimated that the surplus will amount to 3,485,500 lacs. The improvement of 2,566,800 lacs is made up as follows : Total Receipts, + 4,550,500 lacs ; Total Expenditure, + 1,913,700 lacs ; Net Improvement, 2,566,800 lacs. The Budget for 1905-1906 provides for the remission of taxation, etc., amounting to 2,495,000 lacs. The surplus, but for several items of taxation, etc., would have been estimated at 3,398,800 lacs, is consequently reduced to 903,800 lacs. Capital Expenditure, Borrowing, etc., in 1905-1906 : Capital Expenditure by State on Railways, £6,862,000 ; Capital Expenditure by Railway Companies, £1,588,300 ; Capital Expenditure on Irrigation, £833,400 ; Purchase of Bengal Central Railway, £500,000 ; Discharge of Debt (temporary and permanent), £893,300 ; Net Payments under Deposits, Advances, Remittances, etc., £1,198,000 ; Total, £11,875,000. Method of provision for Capital Expenditure as follows : Revenue Surplus, £903,800 ; Borrowing by Railway Companies, £2,520,800 ; Sterling Loan, £2,000,000 ; Rupee Loan, £2,666,700 ; Savings Banks Deposits, 846,500 ; Reduction of Balances in England and India, £2,938,100 ; Total, £11,875,900. Estimated Closing Balances, March 31, 1906, in India, £12,160,052 ; in England, £5,573,482 ; Total, £17,733,534. Estimated Drawings of Council Bills and Telegraphic Transfers in 1905-1906, £17,833,000. *Railway Programme*.—The expenditure on railways in 1905-1906 of capital provided or guaranteed by the State is estimated as follows : On Open Lines, £3,720,067 ; on Lines Under Construction, £4,265,600 ; on New Lines to be commenced during the year, £347,667 ; Total, £8,333,334. Of this sum, £8,000,000 is the grant sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council for 1905-1906, and £333,334 is re-allotted from the unspent balance of the grant for 1904-1905.

According to a return just published, the total gross revenue of India for 1903-1904 was 83,756,155 lacs, and the total gross expenditure charged against revenue, 80,759,755 lacs.

Northern India was visited by an earthquake on April 4. Lahore was wrecked. The hill station at Dharmasala was completely destroyed, the barracks of the Gurkhas collapsing and overwhelming 470 of them. At Palampur and Kangra sub-districts 13,000 lives were lost, including a number of Europeans. Amritsar, Jalandar, Firuzpur, Multan, Rawal Pindi, Dalhousie, Patiala, also suffered.

At the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Panjāb *Anjuman-i-Himāyat-i-Islām* at Lahore, 8,000 persons were present daily. Its income was stated to be for the past year Rs. 72,000, and the expenditure Rs. 65,000. The sum in hand amounted to Rs. 2,07,000. There were 1,600 students in the college.

The Chancellor of the Panjāb University has appointed Mr. T. Gordon

Walker, C.S.I., officiating Financial Commissioner of the Panjāb, to be Vice-Chancellor *vice* the Hon. Sir Lewis Tupper, resigned.

Measures are being concerted for giving a suitable reception to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of their approaching visit this autumn to India.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The Thakor Sahib of GONDAL has offered Rs. 5,00,000 towards the building fund, and Rs. 35,000 annually for maintenance, with a free site of 300 acres of land, provided the Tata Institute is located in Gondal. These terms are more favourable than those offered by the Maisur Government for locating the Institute in Bangalore.

The Nawab of Pahasu district has placed Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of Government for constructing a masonry bridge over the river Kali, and metalling the Chettari road. Other donations made by the Nawab are Rs. 20,000 for the boarding-house at Aligarh College, and Rs. 1,000 to two institutions at Agra.

The Maharaja Gaekwar of BARODA was in London during May, on a private visit and for the benefit of his health.

The Maharaj-Adhiraj of BURDWAN has given Rs. 2,500, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga Rs. 1,000, to the Kangra Earthquake Relief Fund.

The young Raja of Jawhār was installed on the *gadi* on April 19.

The marriage of the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur and the Princess of Nabha took place in June.

The summing up of the review of the Cochin Administration Report for 1903-1904 is as follows: "The finances are sound, and a moderate land assessment is shortly to be ordered and equalized under the direction of a Diwan specially well qualified for the task by long experience of settlement work. The departments were conducted efficiently in most respects, and the active participation in public affairs of an enlightened and progressive chief continue to conduce to the welfare of the State, and to deserve the appreciation and commendation which His Excellency the Governor in Council gladly places on record.

At a Darbar held at Khatmandu, the capital of NEPAL, the insignia of the G.C.S.I. was presented by the Resident (Major Manners-Smith, V.C., C.I.E.) to H.E. Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamshir Jang, Rana Bahadur, the Prime Minister. This was followed by a grand review of the Nepalese troops, 10,750 strong.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—It is said that the chiefs of Dir have practically agreed upon the terms of a settlement.

On the Tibet frontier all is quiet, and trade is increasing.

CEYLON.—The total receipts of the last pearl fishery were valued at 25 lacs of rupees (£166,000), the largest amount on record.

Messrs. Solomon Christoffel Obeyesekere and Semasinha Navaratna Wanninayaka Hulugalla have been reappointed unofficial members of the Legislative Council of the island.

The population of the whole island at the end of 1904 was estimated at 3,812,931.

BURMA.—On May 8, Sir Hugh Shakespeare Barnes made over the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma to Sir Herbert White.

A mission composed of English and Chinese officials started from Rangoon in March last for the Burmo-Chinese frontier, with the object of examining the conditions existing there. The Government have in view the extension of trade along the caravan route from Bhamo, on the Upper Irrawady, to Momein (Teng-yueh), in the Chinese province of Yunnan.

BALUCHISTAN.—The Sistan Mission started on its return to India via the new trade route and Quetta on May 15, having completed their labours, which have lasted over two years.

AFGHANISTAN.—The British Mission to the Amir, under Mr. Louis Dane, C.S.I. (since appointed K.C.S.I.), after having fulfilled its object, returned to India early in April. It was very cordially entertained by His Highness the Amir. The renewal of the treaty with Great Britain concluded by the late Amir, Abdur Rahman Khan, was signed. See text of treaty elsewhere in this Review.

PERSIA.—H.I.M. the Shahinshah left the capital on his visit to Europe, via the Caucasus, on May 7, leaving the Heir-Apparent as Regent. Over forty persons are accompanying His Majesty.

His Highness Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, 'Ala-es-Saltaneh, Amir Nuyān, the Persian Minister at the Court of St. James's, after having been on a short visit to Persia, has returned to London. He was accompanied by a Special Mission, composed of His Excellency Mirza Daoud Khan, Miftah-us-Saltaneh, Chief of the British Department at the Persian Foreign Office Councillor to the Special Mission, and Mirza Hussein Khan, Muin-ul-Vazāreh, First Secretary, etc. The Special Mission was the bearer of many valuable presents from His Majesty the Shah for the King and Queen.

The Persian Army is being reconstructed. It will consist of twelve divisions, composed of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, each under the command of a Sirdar.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—In Yemen the position of the Turkish forces (mainly composed of Syrians) is precarious. Zamar, Yerim, Aneysa, and Hadieh have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. The mountain fortress of Ibb is surrounded, and Sana, after a long resistance, surrendered to the Imām on April 20 last. It is stated that an emissary from Muhammad Yahyā, the principal Shaikh of Yemen, has reached Constantinople, and submitted certain proposals for the autonomy of Yemen in return for a payment of an annual tribute.

A caravan of Egyptian pilgrims has been attacked by Arabs, and seventeen Egyptian soldiers of the escort have been killed.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Orenburg-Tashkand railway is now open for passenger and goods traffic.

The following Press communique has been issued: "In July, 1902, the Russian Government notified the withdrawal of all restrictions against foreigners wishing to travel in Trans-Caspia, Turkestan, and Russian Central Asia, except that visits to certain named places were prohibited.

"The Russian Government have now restored the regulation prohibiting

foreigners from travelling in their Central Asian possessions generally. The effect of this is that no foreigner can enter Trans-Caspia or Turkestan without a special permit from the Russian Government."

ADEN.—The boundary of 300 miles of frontier between the Aden Protectorate and Yemen, from the Great Arabian Desert to Point Murad, on the Gulf of Aden, has, after nearly three years' negotiations, been satisfactorily settled.

JAPAN.—At the Clearing House Association of Tokyo, Baron Komura, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Sone, Minister of Finance, and Baron Shibusawa, made observations. The latter said that the commerce and productive capacity of the country were growing in spite of the war. The clearings in 1904 exceeded 4,000,000,000 yen (£400,000,000), and he estimated that in 1905 they would exceed 5,000,000,000 yen (£500,000,000).

The Russo-Japanese War.—The Russian Baltic fleet, under the command of Admiral Rozhdestvensky, which had left the shores of Madagascar on March 16, was attacked by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo on May 27, after entering the Tsushima Straits, between Korea and Japan. The battle was continued during the night and the next day. All the Russian battleships were sunk, with the exception of two, which were captured. Admirals Rozdestvensky and Nebogatoff, both of whom were wounded, were taken prisoners with their staff. All the other Russian ships were either sunk or captured, with the exception of the *Almaz*, which managed to reach Vladivostock, the destroyer *Bodry*, picked up by a British steamer and towed into Shanghai, and the *Oleg*, *Aurora*, and *Jemtchug*, with Rear-Admiral Enquist, which, although much injured, arrived at Manila, and have been interned by orders of the United States Government.

Fourteen thousand Russians were killed or wounded, 6,142 were captured, and 3,000 escaped.

Marvellous to relate, the loss of the Japanese consisted of only three torpedo boats sunk, 118 officers and men killed, and 424 officers and men wounded.

Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the United States, took the initiative early in June, and in a note to the Russian and Japanese Governments urged them in the interests of humanity to open direct negotiations for peace. (Up to the time of our going to press nothing has been definitely decided.)

CHINA.—The Anglo-Chinese Telegraph Convention of 1894-1895 has been renewed. It is expected that the overland route to Europe, via Burma, will be patronized, as the rates will be cheaper than by cable.

Tseng-chi, the Tartar General of Mukden, and the highest Chinese official in Manchuria, has retired, and has been succeeded by Chao Erh-hsun, the present President of the Board of Revenue.

SIAM.—The revenue for the current year has been estimated at 53,000,000 ticals (£2,940,000), being an increase of 5,500,000 as compared with the previous year.

H.M. the King has abolished slavery in all his dominions.

ABYSSINIA.—An agreement has been arrived at in regard to the Ethiopian railway between Great Britain, France, and Italy.

The principal terms of the contract entered into between the Emperor Menelek and the National Bank of Egypt are the monopoly by the bank of banking business in Abyssinia for a term of fifty years, the perpetual monopoly of minting and bank-note circulation, as well as that of trading entrepôts.

RHODESIA.—The great bridge, the highest in the world, over the gorge at the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi River was linked up on April 1, in the presence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, consulting engineer in Rhodesia.

The new Budget estimates the revenue for the current year at £518,000, and the expenditure at £530,000. Mining and farming are making satisfactory progress, and the attitude of the natives is also satisfactory. Samples of Turkish tobacco grown at Bulawayo are pronounced to be of first-rate quality.

Great finds of diamonds and other precious stones have been made in the neighbourhood of Gwelo.

NATAL.—Parliament was opened at Pietermaritzburg on March 30, when the Governor, in his speech, paid a warm tribute to Lord Milner. The Bill confirming a railway agreement with the Orange River Colony has been passed in the Assembly, and the loan of £650,000, required to carry out the same, has been sanctioned.

The Ministerialists and the Opposition being about evenly balanced, Sir G. M. Sutton, the Premier, has resigned, and a new Cabinet has been formed as follows: Mr. Smythe, Premier and Colonial Secretary; Mr. Hayslop, Treasurer; Mr. Winter, Native Affairs and Public Works; Messrs. Maydon, Watt, and Clayton retain their portfolios.

TRANSVAAL.—The revenue for the eight months ended February 28 last amounted to £2,623,702, as compared with £2,843,343, and the expenditure to £2,522,527, as compared with £2,639,519 in the previous year.

The New Constitution.—The Legislative Assembly will consist of the Lieutenant-Governor, six or nine official members, and from thirty to thirty-five elected members. Every burgher of the late Republic is entitled to vote for the First Volksraad, and any white British subject occupying premises of the annual value of £10, or capital value of £100, or earning £100 a year, may vote. Debates are to be in English, but by the President's leave any member may speak in Dutch.

A petition has been forwarded to the King praying that the safeguarding of native interests in the new Constitution may be secured.

The number of whites employed on the Rand at the end of last year was 16,276. The value of the output of minerals and precious stones for the half year ending December 31 has been estimated at £9,634,453. The number of Chinese employed in April last was upwards of 34,000.

Lord Selborne reached Pretoria from Bloemfontein on May 23, having been met on the frontier by Sir A. Lawley. He was sworn in as Governor and High Commissioner. The next day he was entertained at a banquet where the gathering was thoroughly representative of the whole of the Colony.

CAPE COLONY.—Lord Selborne, the High Commissioner for South Africa, arrived at Cape Town on May 16, and was well received.

A revenue of £8,880,000 and an expenditure of £8,802,000 has been estimated for next year.

In the House of Assembly a Loan Bill for £662,000 has been passed. Parliament has been prorogued until September 8.

WEST AFRICA AND NIGERIA.—The Amir of Hadagia, in Northern Nigeria, has submitted. This is one of the results of the journey lately made by General Sir Frederick Lugard.

Yenema, the headquarters of the chief Kafura, who was the instigator of the raids by the Kissi tribes in the Panguma district, has been destroyed by the expedition under Major Palmer.

AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.—The letter postage from England to Australia has been since April 1 last reduced from 2½d. to 1d., and from Australia to England from 2½d. to 2d. the half-ounce.

The Federal Government has accepted the Orient Pacific's amended offer of a fortnightly mail service at an annual cost of £120,000, subject to the approval of Parliament.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Good rains have fallen in the Colony and also in the northern portions of Victoria.

The number of sheep in the State has been computed at 33,838,000, as compared with 28,656,501 in the previous year.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Ministry has been modified as follows: Mr. H. Daglish, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. W. D. Johnson, Mines and Railways; Mr. J. M. Drew, Colonial Secretary and Agriculture; Mr. R. Hastie, Justice and Labour; Mr. J. H. Bath, Lands and Education; Mr. P. J. Lynch, Public Works; Mr. W. C. Angwin, without portfolio.

NEW ZEALAND.—A surplus of £761,000 for the last financial year is announced.

CANADA.—Last year 45,000 Americans settled in the Dominion. This year it is expected that 60,000 more, mostly farmers, will do so.

The Dominion Government intend to spend £600,000 in fortifying the city of Quebec.

The British Columbia Legislature has again passed an anti-Japanese Bill.

Mr. Frank Oliver has become Minister of the Interior.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Bait Act has been enforced against American as well as French fishermen.

The Legislature was opened on March 31. In a speech from the Throne, Sir William MacGregor congratulated the Colony upon the material advance made during the last four years, the annual balance of trade in favour of the Colony now exceeding \$1,250,000.

In a Blue-Book prepared by Sir W. MacGregor, he stated that the total trade of the Colony for the year 1903-1904 amounted per head of the population to \$88.135 (£18 1s. 10d.), exports to \$46.141, and imports to \$41.994.

The revenue for the fiscal year ended June, 1904, amounted to \$2,513,633, and the expenditure to \$2,393,286, leaving a surplus of \$120,347. The public debt amounted to \$20,000,000 in June, 1904, and has since been

increased by \$2,250,000. The estimated revenue for the year ended June, 1905, is \$2,500,000, and the expenditure \$2,460,000, leaving an estimated surplus of \$40,000, after setting aside a sum of \$65,000 for unforeseen purposes. For the fiscal year ending June, 1906, the revenue is estimated at \$2,498,000, and the expenditure at \$2,470,000. The result of last season's seal fishery was a total of 177,206 seals, valued at \$240,890 (£48,180), as compared with 284,473 seals, valued at £80,740, in the former year.

The Legislature was prorogued on June 15.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded this past quarter of Sir Edward Fleet Alford, sometime chairman of the Shanghai General Chambers of Commerce;—Mr. Clinton Baker, barrister under the Sudan Administration at Khartum;—Hon. Lieutenant Cyrus George Horlick, Indian Army Department;—Captain George Manley Alldridge, R.N., retired (coasts of Asia Minor, etc.);—Sir Alfred Jerome Cadman, Speaker of the New Zealand Legislative Council;—The Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, K.C.M.G., first Baron Norton, sometime Under-Secretary for the Colonies, President of the Board of Trade, etc.;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry William Alex. Mackinnon, D.S.O., A.M.S., retired (Egyptian war 1883, Burmese expedition 1885-86); Captain Edmund Barker van Koughnet, C.M.G., R.N., retired (Canadian Lakes 1867-68, Nile expedition 1884);—Colonel B. C. Graves, C.B., R.A. (Afghan war 1879-80, North-west Frontier and Tirah campaigns 1897-98);—Mr. Robert Waller, one of the very few survivors of the prisoners taken by Akbar Khan in Afghanistan in 1842;—Lady Durand, widow of General Sir H. M. Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb;—Major-General Samuel Peters Jarvis, C.M.G., a former commandant of the Ontario Rifles, and Commandant-General of the Forces at the Cape (Indian mutiny);—Mr. W. C. Howard, of Allahabad, a volunteer in the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry during the Mutiny;—Mr. H. Slade, Conservator of Forests (Burma and Siam);—The Hon. Sir David Tennant, K.C.M.G., for thirty years member of the Legislative Assembly, Cape Colony, and afterwards Agent-General for the Colony in London;—Mr. Henry H. J. Pearse, a war correspondent;—General Frederick Gaspar Le Grand, R.M.L.I., retired (Sevastopol, Zulu war, Alexandria 1882);—Colonel John Robert Fairlie, late Madras Cavalry (Mutiny campaign);—Captain F. C. Turner (Crimean campaign, Indian mutiny 1857-58);—Captain James Muscroft, 2nd Battalion 1st Gurkha Rifles, killed in the earthquake at Dharmasala (Tochi Field Force 1897-98, Ogden Somalis [Juba-land] 1901);—Sir John Budd Phear, Judge High Court of Calcutta 1864-76, and Chief Justice of Ceylon 1876-79;—Mr. C. W. Loxton, I.C.S., killed in the earthquake at Dharmasala;—also at the same time Captain Stanley Clay, 7th Gurkha Rifles (Manipur expedition 1891, Lushai expedition 1896, Vaziristan and North-West Frontier 1901-02);—General Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. (Crimea, Mutiny, Abyssinia 1868, Kafir and Zulu wars 1878-79);—General Sir William Frederick Traill-Burroughs, K.C.B., colonel of the

Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Umbeyla Pass 1863-64);—Lord David Kennedy, formerly captain in 1st Madras Cavalry);—Mr. John Lowis, Government advocate and member of the Legislative Council of Burma;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. Thompson, retired staff-paymaster (Indian mutiny);—Mr. Maurice King, P.W.D., retired;—Mr. Henry Benedict Medlicott, late Director of the Geological Survey of India;—Major James S. Richards, 96th Berar Infantry;—Mr. Felix Martin Levi, in the earthquake at Dharmasala;—Sir Richard Temple Rennie, sometime Chief Justice Supreme Court at Shanghai, and the Consular Court at Constantinople;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Martindale Temple, late Indian Political Department, served in Kelat, Bikanir, Khurasan, and Sistan;—Sir Neale Porter, for twenty-six years in the Colonial Service, holding administrative appointments in Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica;—Mr. Lessar, the Russian minister at Peking;—Mr. Alexander Anderson, C.I.E., Commissioner of the Lahore Division;—Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G., formerly administrator of the Government of Labuan, and afterwards British Resident at Perak;—Mr. Henry Pendock St. George Tucker, a former member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay;—Monsignor Usse, formerly Roman Catholic Bishop of Burma;—M. Pilinski, French Consul-General at Calcutta;—Dr. J. E. Dutton (in the Congo), a well-known expert of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine;—Nawab Akbar-ul-Mulk, Commissioner of Police, Haiderabad (Mutiny, Abyssinian campaign);—Trumpet-Major Roberts Kells, v.c., Sergeant-Yeoman of the Guard (Indian mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Floyd Bonham, D.S.O., Essex Regiment, British military attaché, Paris (Ladysmith Relief Force, 1899-1900);—Major-General Francis Barry Drew, C.B., late 14th West Yorkshire Regiment (Afghan war, 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel Leonard Howard Loyd Irby (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Frederick Lincoln, a volunteer at the siege of Lucknow;—Sir Robert S. W. Herbert, G.C.B., Premier of Queensland, 1860-65, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies 1870, Permanent Under-Secretary 1871-91, Agent-General for Tasmania 1894-96;—Rear-Admiral Henry Phelps (Kafir war 1834-35, St. Jean d'Acre 1840, China war 1842, River Plate 1848, Crimea);—Colonel E. Blaksley, late R.A. (Afghan war 1879);—Colonel Dods, East India Company's Service, late Bombay Staff Corps (Multan);—Hon. W. H. L. Impey, C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government United Provinces and member Legislative Council;—Mr. Robert Charles Stevenson, late Burma Commission and Deputy Commissioner of Mergui;—Raja Jai Kishen Das, C.S.I., a notable figure of native society in the United Provinces;—the Nawab Shams-i-Jahān Begum, C.I.E., of Murshidabad, widow of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal;—Colonel E. M. Larminie, formerly R.E. (Afghan war 1879);—Captain J. G. Crosthwaite, land revenue settlement Dera Ismail Khan district;—Baba Sir Khem Singh Bedi, K.C.I.E., high-priest of the Sikh community and fourteenth spiritual head of the Sikhs by direct descent from the founder of their faith, Guru Nanak Shah;—Sir James Carroll, R.N., 1871-87 (Ashanti war);—Dr. Mizzi, a well-known leader in Maltese

local politics ;—Mr. Robert Charles Stevenson, an accomplished Burmese scholar ;—Sir Francis Ringler Drummond-Hay, Consular Service (Constantinople, Cairo, Crete, and Tripoli) ;—Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission in 1865 ;—Major-General Brydges Robinson Branfill, East India Company's Service ;—Colonel C. W. Godfrey, formerly of the Bombay Artillery, afterwards of the Revenue Survey ;—Major Edwin Doherty Delmege, Madras Supply and Transport Corps ;—Right Rev. James Bellord, formerly Roman Catholic army chaplain (Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881, Egyptian war 1882) ;—Lieutenant-General Robert William Lowry, C.B., Colonel Princess Charlotte of Wales's (Royal Berkshire) Regiment and Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem (Eastern campaign 1854-55) ;—Moulvie Sayyid Shahab-ud-din, Sajjāda, Sirāj-ul-Ulemā, a well-known 'Alim of Bangalore and a great Arabic and Persian scholar ;—Surgeon-General J. Warren, late Army Medical Staff (Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian war 1882, Sudan campaign 1885) ;—Colonel C. Slaughter, R.M.L.I. (Mexico 1861, Chinese campaign) ;—Captain Charles Vernon Anson, R.N. (suppression of slave-trade in the Persian Gulf and South-East coast of Africa) ;—Mr. Alfred Lloyd Vandyke Ewbank, late principal of Patna College and Fellow of Calcutta University ;—Lieutenant Richard Anketell-Jones, 6th Dragoon Guards (South African war) ;—General Sir Julius Richard Glyn, K.C.B., colonel commandant of the Rifle Brigade (Orange River 1848, Kafraria 1851, Crimea, Indian campaigns 1857-59) ;—Major William Arthur Boulnois, R.A., Governor of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province under the Egyptian Government ;—Lieutenant Evelyn Routh Udall of the 36th Sikhs at Peshawar (South African war) ;—Admiral the Hon. George Henry Douglas (coasts of Syria 1840, Sumatra 1844, Baltic 1834-55) ;—Commander Arthur W. Chitty, C.I.E. (Persian war 1856-57, China 1860-61, etc.) ;—Mr. Protap Chunder Muzumdar, leader of the Brahmo Samaj, a celebrated Hindu social and religious reformer. Captain Edward Stuart Beglie (Mutiny).

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HYDERABAD : PAST AND PRESENT.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR DAVID BARR, K.C.S.I.

HYDERABAD is rightly held to be the premier Native State in India. Its area, including the assigned districts of Berar, is about 100,000 square miles, or considerably larger than England, Wales, and Scotland combined. The population is about 12,000,000, and the revenue approximates £3,000,000. The State next in size and importance is Mysore, with an area of 30,000 square miles, a population of 5,000,000, and a revenue of £1,500,000. I do not propose to do more than to touch briefly upon the earlier history of the Hyderabad State. The ruined fort of Golconda, about seven miles from the city of Hyderabad, bears testimony to the Bahmani and Qut'b Shahi dynasties, which ruled the Deccan for nearly 400 years before the invasion of the Moghuls. In the reign of Mahmúd Shah, the fourteenth Bahmani Emperor, about A.D. 1490, Sultan Quli Khan became an *Amir*, with the title of Qut'b-ul Mulk, receiving as his *jagir* Golconda and the surrounding country. In 1512 Qut'b-ul Mulk threw off his allegiance to the waning power of the Bahmani Empire, and proclaimed himself an independent Sovereign of the territory which he had hitherto ruled in the Emperor's name. He took the title of Sultan Quli

Qut'b Shah, and made Golconda his capital. The Kings of Golconda of the Qut'b Shadi Dynasty ruled the Deccan for upwards of 175 years. The last of the line was Abu-l-Hassan, whose gallant defence of the fort of Golconda during the eight months of its siege by the Emperor Aurungzeb, in A.D. 1687, still lives as one of the greatest episodes in the history of the Deccan. Golconda fell into the hands of the Moghul conquerer, and Abu-l-Hassan, who surrendered himself to Aurungzeb, was sent as a State prisoner to Daulatabad, where he was treated with honour and indulgence till his death. The spoils of Golconda were enormous; they are estimated at from £70,000,000 to £80,000,000 in gold and silver, besides large quantities of jewels and plate. And here I would remark that Golconda, famous for the accumulation of treasure during the Qut'b Shahi Dynasty, is not the place where the far-famed diamonds were found, though visitors to Hyderabad make frequent tender inquiries for Golconda diamonds. I believe I am right in saying that the diamond-fields were, and still are to be, found in the delta of the rivers Kistna and Tungabudra, distant 150 miles at least from the fort of Golconda. But all the territories ruled by the Kings of Golconda were called by that name, and the fort was the depository of the famous stones.

The city of Hyderabad was founded by Muhammad Quli Qut'b Shah, the fourth King of the dynasty, and was first called Bhagnagar, after the King's favourite Hindu mistress, Bhagmati. The name was changed adventitiously to Hyderabad; it was not given in honour of Hyder Ali, as some suppose. The State gradually lost its old appellation of Golconda, and long before the Moghul conquest it was known only as Hyderabad, and as such was afterwards governed, as an appanage of the Moghul Empire, by delegates from the Court of Delhi.

Kam'r-ud-din, the founder of the ruling family of the Nizams of Hyderabad, was appointed Subedar of the Deccan by the Emperor of Delhi in A.D. 1713, with the

title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He, following the example of the first of the Qut'b Shahi Kings, threw off his allegiance to the Empire, and established himself as an independent ruler of the territories in his charge. Asaf Jah died in 1748, and was succeeded by his second son, Nasir Jung, in the absence of his eldest son, Ghazi-ud-din, who was holding high office at the Court of Delhi. The claims of Nasir Jung were disputed by Muzaffar Jung, his nephew, with the support of Dupleix, the Governor of the French settlements, who saw in the establishment, through his influence, of Muzaffar Jung as Subedar of the Deccan a means of securing the ascendancy of the French in India. The support which Muzaffar Jung received from the French was, in those times, of itself sufficient reason to induce the English to lend their aid to Nasir Jung. Muzaffar Jung fell into the hands of his uncle, by whom he was imprisoned; but in the following year, after the murder of Nasir Jung by Pathan rebels, he was released, and, with the support of the French, assumed the authority of Subedar.

After his accession Muzaffar Jung received into his service a body of French troops under the command of Bussy, and assigned to the French large territories near Pondicherry, the province of Karikal, and the town and district of Madras. He was soon after killed in a mutiny of his troops. His only son being a minor, Salabat Jung, the third son of Asaf Jah, was placed in power by the influence of the French. On the outbreak of the war between France and England in 1756, the French were driven out of the Northern Sircars by an English force. Salabat Jung advanced to oppose the English, but did not feel himself strong enough to risk a battle without the aid of his French auxiliaries, who had been recalled by Count Lally. He accordingly concluded a treaty in 1759 with the English.* This was the opening of our relations with the State of Hyderabad, and marks an era in the history of

* Aitchison, vol. viii.

the Nizams. Salabat Jung was deposed in 1761 by his younger brother, Nizam Ali Khan, and died two years afterwards in prison.

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of Hyderabad deals with the period when British relations were cemented by the treaties negotiated by Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, who was then Resident at the Court of Nizam Ali Khan. During the lapse of 100 years the services of this remarkable man have been forgotten; and before dealing with the subject of Hyderabad of the present day, it may be interesting to recall some of the facts connected with his tenure of the post of Resident at Hyderabad, because our present relations with the State hinge on the conditions made by him at a time of trouble and danger to our power in India.

James Achilles Kirkpatrick was a Company's officer who, almost by chance, succeeded his brother, Colonel William Kirkpatrick, as Resident at Hyderabad when the latter was compelled by ill-health to leave India in 1796.

There is an article in the July number of *Blackwood*, 1893, written by the late Sir Edward Strachey, entitled "The Romantic Marriage of Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, sometime British Resident at the Court of Hyderabad." The story therein told is very striking. It deals with the loves of the British Resident and a young and beautiful Indian lady, the daughter of one of the nobles of the Nizam's Court. We are told that Kirkpatrick was sitting alone in the Residency one evening, when an old lady was brought in a palanquin to the house and demanded an interview. She was the grandmother of the young Begum Khair-un-nissa, and she told Kirkpatrick how her granddaughter had seen him and loved him, and was determined to marry him, and that she had come as an emissary to arrange this marriage. Kirkpatrick refused to listen to the old lady, who with much difficulty was persuaded to leave the Residency. But a few evenings later another palanquin was brought to the house, and from

it stepped the young Begum, who threw herself at the feet of the astonished Resident, and declared that her affections had been irrevocably fixed on him for some time, that her fate was linked to his, and that she would be content to pass her days with him as the humblest of handmaids. The result of this extraordinary meeting was that the Resident sought the hand of the Begum Khair-un-nissa from the Nizam, who communicated the request to the young lady's father, who after much demur gave his consent to the marriage, stipulating that the rite should be performed in accordance with the customs of the Muhammadan faith. To this Nizam Ali Khan assented. His Highness also announced that he would stand as father, during the marriage ceremony, to Major Kirkpatrick, whom he styled as his "son united to him in the bonds of love," and on whom he bestowed the title of Hashmat Jung (Glorious in Battle), and that the Minister, who is referred to in the article in *Blackwood* as Aristo Jah, though Ázam-ul-Umrah is probably meant, should stand in a like capacity as the father of the bride. The preliminaries to the marriage had proceeded thus far, when Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, having been informed that the Resident had turned Muhammadan, and was using force and violence in pressing his suit, called upon Major Kirkpatrick for a report on the whole matter. Kirkpatrick repudiated the idea of any dishonourable conduct on his part, and placed his resignation in the hands of the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley wrote more than one letter censuring the Resident's conduct, both for acting in a manner injurious to the public interest and also for his concealment of what he had done. In a letter dated May, 1802, he declares his final resolve to remove Kirkpatrick from his office. But Lord Wellesley understood the value of Kirkpatrick's public services too well to wish to lose them at a place where his personal influence was so great, and at a time when the Governor-General's policy was practically centred at Hyderabad. Threats of removal

were withdrawn, with handsome expressions of the Governor-General's sense of the great public services of Major Kirkpatrick, and the promise that the King should be asked to give him the honour of a baronetcy.

The marriage was not publicly celebrated, but the contract was made in the presence of witnesses, and the ceremony of *nikah* was performed. Sir Edward Strachey tells us that there is a legend in the family that there was also a Christian marriage. He adds: "I have myself found no reference to such a marriage, and Kirkpatrick gives as a reason why his children had not been christened that there was no chaplain at Hyderabad." In any case, the Muhammadan marriage was valid in English law, as Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice of Bengal, told his son, who was Kirkpatrick's assistant and subsequent successor at Hyderabad.

There is no doubt that Kirkpatrick and his wife lived happily at Hyderabad. He built a palace for her adjoining the Residency, where she dwelt in all the seclusion of the zenana, but surrounded by the magnificence of a Court. This palace, which was called Rang-mahal, was demolished by Sir George Yule, who was Resident at Hyderabad from 1863 to 1867, and all that remain as memories of the Begum Khair-un-nissa are some beautiful trees which she planted, the floors and courtyard of her palace, and a few handsomely carved fountains, all of which are now enclosed in a garden, still called the Rang-mahal.

Kirkpatrick and his wife left Hyderabad in 1805, and lived for some years at Calcutta, where their tombs are to be seen in one of the old cemeteries. They had two children: a son who died young, and a daughter named Katherine Aurora, who married Major Phillips, of the 7th Hussars, and died in the Isle of Wight at the age of eighty-seven in 1889. This lady is referred to in Carlyle's "Reminiscences" as "Kitty Kirkpatrick," and in his "Sartor Resartus" as "Blumine," a type of all that is beautiful, witty, and wise in womanhood. It may be

easily imagined that Kirkpatrick's influence with the Nizam of Hyderabad was of an unusual character, and it is to this, more than anything else, that we must ascribe the great success of the Resident in negotiating the treaties concluded with Hyderabad during the years 1798-1804. These provided for the protection of the State by the British ; the establishment of a garrison of horse, foot, and artillery at Secunderabad, the cost of which, in perpetuity, was met by the cession of a large area of land, now included under the Madras Presidency, and known as the Ceded Districts ; the expulsion of the French levies ; the deportation of French officers from Hyderabad : and commercial arrangements limiting the Nizam's power to levy duty on goods in transit through his State.

It must be remembered that Kirkpatrick's tenure of the post of Resident at Hyderabad was coincident with that period of Indian history when Lord Wellesley was fighting the French in Southern India, the Mahrattas in the Deccan, and Tippoo in Mysore. The plan of campaign which the Governor-General had in view was to use the Nizam and the Mahrattas against Tippu, and to crush the power of the French in Southern India. How ably Kirkpatrick assisted the Governor-General in this policy is recorded in history ; but there is one incident still held up for admiration by the people of Hyderabad as indicative of his bold and resolute character.

The State of Hyderabad was not strong enough to maintain itself without foreign aid ; it had hitherto been protected by a large military contingent of French officers and under French discipline. But Nizam Ali Khan's Minister, Ázam-ul-Umrah, advised his master that the English would be his best allies ; and Major Kirkpatrick was able to negotiate the treaties already alluded to, by one of which a British subsidiary force was to take the place of the French contingent, which was to be disbanded, and its officers arrested. But at the last moment the Nizam and his Minister wavered, and Kirkpatrick, with the judgment

of a statesman and the prompt action of a soldier, himself ordered the advance of the British sepoy who had been already assembled, and arrested the French officers, who were well treated and sent back to France. Many of the descendants of the French are still to be found in Hyderabad, and there is a tomb raised to the memory of M. Raymond, one of the most popular and efficient of the French officers, which has become a place of pilgrimage to many of the Muhammadans of Hyderabad, who have never forgotten the name and the history of the distinguished soldier who lies buried there.

We owe to Major Kirkpatrick the beautiful building which is still occupied as the Residency at Hyderabad. It was planned and designed by him, and conceived in a very liberal spirit. Kirkpatrick, like his chief, Lord Wellesley, loved Oriental grandeur, and persuaded himself that such magnificence gave real importance to Englishmen with native Courts and people. It was with this design that he built the Residency, and sent to Madras for an architect acquainted with all forms of European architecture, and for skilled masons and carpenters who could instruct and direct the Hyderabad workmen. He showed his own practical knowledge by his specifications as to brickwork and the framing of very large beams. The palace—for such the Residency was, and it still preserves its main features—has a hall 60 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 40 feet high. It is approached by a terrace with thirty-two granite steps leading up to a broad portico. It is described as standing in a park a mile in circumference, with a lake round which was a gravel walk with a row of lamps; a garden with all the fruits of Hindustan and of Europe; and a paddock filled with deer. Besides the apartments in the Residency allotted to his personal use, there were well-built houses in the park for the Resident's escort and his band, and also for natives who there took refuge under British protection.

Kirkpatrick's official income was large, but could not

have provided for the cost of these buildings. Indeed, he mentions in a letter describing the Residency that "the cost had been defrayed by the liberality of the Nizam Ali Khan, his father by adoption," but his own expenditure in keeping up such an establishment was lavish, as is shown in his instructions to friends or agents at home or in Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta. While he hesitated whether to make his great hall 50 or 60 feet by 30 feet, he ordered a Wilton carpet of the lesser size, and then, on deciding for the greater length of the hall, ordered a second carpet for the larger floor. He requests his brother William, then in England, to lay out £500 on a reflecting telescope, 12 or 14 feet in length, as an ornament to his terrace, in the use of which he expects to be sufficiently instructed by one of his staff who was the son of the Professor of Astronomy in Edinburgh. He sends for chemical and electrical apparatus of large dimensions for the amusement of the grown-up children at Hyderabad. He gives a commission for 100 of the best Chinese lamps, and several thousand smaller ones for illumination, such as native Princes still delight in, with no limitations but that the cost shall not ruin him. He sends for the finest kinds of European orange-trees, which he thinks will be found in Portugal. He desires a friend to find and engage an English bandmaster for him. He acknowledges the receipt of an elk and an Abyssinian goat as welcome additions to his paddock.

Of this magnificence as it was seen by Mountstuart Elphinstone and Edward Strachey (described by Kirkpatrick as "two superior young men passing through Hyderabad on their way to Poona") we have a record in Elphinstone's diary of September, 1801: "Went to the Durbar. Major Kirkpatrick goes in great state. He has several elephants, and a state palanquin, led horses, flags, long poles with tassels, etc., and is attended by two companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry." One cannot help smiling at this account of the Oriental splendour of the Resident at

Hyderabad a hundred years ago, and comparing it with the smaller amenities enjoyed by his successor of the present day, when easements such as those accepted by Major Kirkpatrick would be regarded as evidence of corrupt practices.

But India in the days when the pagoda-tree flourished was very different from India of the present time, and Kirkpatrick's mode of living at the Court of the Nizam was doubtless very much the same as that adopted by other representatives of the growing power of the English in India. Hyderabad was torn with internal dissensions, harassed by warfare, and a prey to marauders. The State was threatened on all sides—by the French, the English, the Mahrattas, and by the incursions of Tippu. There were no roads and no means of communication. Villages were despoiled, large tracts of land laid waste, and the State was periodically given up to plunder by one or other of the belligerent forces. Seringapatam fell, and Tippu was killed in the defence of his stronghold in 1799; but it was not until 1803 that the first severe check was administered to the Mahrattas by Wellington's victories at Argaum and Assaye, and for many years after those events disorder reigned supreme at Hyderabad, for even so late as August, 1815, we read of a column of troops being defeated with heavy loss in an attempt to put down an outbreak within the city, brought about by a faction fight between two of the Nizam's sons, whose armed rabble fought for several hours, until troops from the Residency intervened, when apparently both sides joined to overthrow the peacemakers, who retired, leaving their leader, Captain John Darby, of the Resident's escort, and many of his men, dead in the streets of Hyderabad.

The marvel is that Hyderabad, or, indeed, any other State in India, preserved its autonomy during those troublous times. That they survived, and that rulers of weak and barbarous character, as many were in those days, were maintained on their *musnads*, must be ascribed to the in-

domitable courage, the tact, and the influence (however it may have been acquired) of the political officers, who, like Kirkpatrick and many of his successors at Hyderabad, were left to act on their own initiative and to exercise those principles of brave decision combined with courteous insistence which have been, and always will be, the attributes of English gentlemen endeavouring to uphold the honour of England in isolated places and in times of peril.

With this glimpse of Hyderabad of a hundred years ago, let us turn to a consideration of Hyderabad of to-day. The first thing that strikes us is the wonderful fertility of the country and the peace and order pervading all parts of the State. It must be remembered that the population is chiefly Hindu, and that only one-tenth of the 12,000,000 are Muhammadans. The State is divided for purposes of administration into two districts, known as Telingána and Mahratwára. Telingána comprises the southern and eastern parts of the State. It is a land of lakes and tanks, well irrigated, and producing large crops of rice, sugarcane, and cereals. It is watered by innumerable affluents of the rivers Tungabudra and Kistna, which form the southern boundary of the State, and, uniting at Karnul, flow in a broad stream, known as the Kistna, into the Bay of Bengal, near Masulipatam. Large tracts of this district are under forest; the population is sparse, and there is still a vast opening for cultivation of land which, for more than a hundred years, has been deserted and given over to jungle. It is in this portion of Hyderabad territory that strenuous efforts have been made of late years under able English engineers to renew irrigation works, such as anicuts, canals, and reservoirs, built at great cost in the time of the ancient dynasties. Some idea of the possibilities of irrigation in this area may be formed from the fact that outlays of from two to three lacs of rupees have proved adequate to the complete restoration of works which must have cost from ten to fifteen lacs originally, and which yield under very light assessment more than 20 per cent.

on the charges for their repairs. The Nizam's Government are wisely and economically spending from twenty-five to thirty lacs a year on these irrigation works, with results that have already proved most beneficial, and with good promise of large profits in the future.

The districts known as Mahratwára form the northern and western portions of the State. The land is higher and drier than in Telingána, and produces cotton, oil-seeds, and *jowar*, which is the staple food of the country. It is comparatively devoid of water-storage in the shape of lakes, but it is a pleasant country, with a larger population, better cultivation, and freer from jungle and waste-land than Telingána. It is watered by the Godaveri and its tributaries, and includes that portion of the Deccan proper which was held by the Moghuls during the invasion of Aurungzeb, whose tomb is to be seen at Roza, near the famous cave temples of Ellora, and whose name is perpetuated in the town of Aurungabad.

The system of administration in Hyderabad compares favourably with that of other Native States. For revenue purposes the State is divided into *tehsils*, *talukas*, and *subahs*. There is a secretary for each of the Departments—Finance, Revenue, Judicial (including police and gaols), and Military. There is a Cabinet Council of Nobles of the State, each member holding one of the departmental portfolios. The Council is presided over by the Minister, to whom, as the executive head of the Government, considerable powers are assigned. The Council is subordinate to His Highness the Nizam, who is the final authority in all matters of administration.

Hyderabad is now well served by railways. The Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company, which has hitherto been supported by a guarantee of 4 per cent. from the State on its capital—a guarantee which is about to expire in respect of the main line—has constructed a railway from Wadi, on the G.I.P., to Hyderabad, 124 miles; from Hyderabad to Bezwada to the south, 140 miles; and from

Hyderabad to Manmar to the north and west. This latter is a narrow-gauge railway, which passes through the Godaveri valley, tapping the important towns of Nander, Aurungabad, and Jalna, a total distance of 360 miles.

The mineral resources of Hyderabad are extensive and valuable. Coal, iron, and gold undoubtedly exist over large areas. The Hyderabad Deccan Mining Company have worked the Singaréni coalfield successfully for the past twenty-five years, and a very promising goldfield has lately been opened at Hutti under the auspices of this company. The Nizam's Government has also under consideration other mining enterprises, which should very soon be commenced, with every hope of a successful future.

The finances of the State have always been a source of anxiety. It is satisfactory to notice that considerable improvement in this important branch of the administration has lately set in. Three years ago His Highness the Nizam obtained the services of Mr. Casson Walker, of the Punjab Commission, as his financial adviser. The result has been most advantageous. The assets of the State are better by more than a crore of rupees than they were three years ago; several lacs of the old State debts have been cleared off, and savings have been effected under various heads of expenditure. By inviting Mr. Walker to remain, with extended powers, for a further period of three years in the service of the State, His Highness has shown how thoroughly he appreciates the excellent work accomplished.

Ever since the Government of India closed their mints to the coinage of silver, the currency of Native States has been thrown into confusion; and Hyderabad has suffered more in this respect than any other State in India. Its old currency was the Halli Sicca rupee, which bore to the rupee of British India an intrinsic value at a ratio of 116 Halli Sicca to 100 Government. The fluctuations in the State currency for the past ten years have been most

disastrous to trade. The Halli Sicca rupee at one time rose in exchange value to 106, and at another fell—and within six months—to 135. Measures have been taken for placing the currency on a sound footing. A new mint has been established with complete machinery, and placed under the charge of a capable English mechanic. The mint is now turning out daily two lacs of a new and well-designed rupee, as also one lac of copper money, and we may look forward with confidence to the maintenance of a stable rate of exchange between the Halli Sicca and the British Government rupee, which will obviate those sharp fluctuations which, in past years, have proved so injurious to the interest of the mercantile community and to the subjects of the State at large.

Hyderabad is without question one of the handsomest cities in India. It is situated on the south bank of the river Moosi, which is spanned by three fine stone bridges; it is enclosed by a wall, and is entered by four main gateways. It covers a large area, and contains some fine buildings, the chief of which are the Delhi Mosque, the Jama Musjid, the Charminar, and the palaces of His Highness the Nizam and of many of his nobles, each standing in its own large enclosure with fortified walls and projecting bastions. Some of these enclosures contain fine trees, well-laid-out gardens, and sparkling fountains. The city is very carefully designed. The four main roads meet at the Charminar, which is in the centre of the town, and consists of four minarets, about 200 feet in height, standing on a domed archway 50 feet high. The streets in some parts of the town are narrow, with houses on each side three or four stories in height; but in other parts the roads are broad, level, and well laid. The whole city is drained and kept in excellent order. The cautions "Keep to the left" and "Drive slowly," which are seen in many places printed in English and also in Urdu, are very necessary, for the city is thronged with wheeled traffic of every description, from the equipages of nobles (English-built

landaus drawn by fine Australian horses) to the humble *ekka*, and it is no uncommon thing to meet eight or ten processions with elephants, camels, and a cavalcade of sowars in each, indicating the progress of some noble on his way to call on a friend or to attend a durbar at the palace. The city is always full of people, but on market-days, held on Sunday in each week, it is thronged with immense crowds, and presents the most picturesque and striking spectacle. Two-thirds of the population of Hyderabad are armed, and carry matchlocks, shields, and daggers. About 10,000 of the Nizam's irregular troops—Pathans, Arabs, and Africans—are quartered in the town, and are to be seen at all times dressed in the most fantastic costumes, and, whether mounted or on foot, armed with swords and lances.

The population of Hyderabad and its suburbs is 450,000. Ranking next to Madras in numbers, Hyderabad is considerably larger than any of the cities of Northern India. Some years ago it was considered dangerous for Englishmen to pass through Hyderabad without an escort, and even now it is necessary for visitors to obtain permission before entering its limits, and for a notice of their advent to be sent to the municipal authorities. But I must say that I know no town in India where peace and order are better maintained than at Hyderabad. During my five years' residence I heard of no single case of violence or riot, even during such trying periods as the Muhárram, or the festivals of the many *Ids*, which are celebrated with the greatest *éclat* at Hyderabad. The police arrangements are excellent, and reflect great credit on the late Commissioner Akbar-ul-Mulk, C.S.I., of whose death after forty-five years' service I have heard with much regret since my return to England.

The greatest feature of Hyderabad is the scenery. The city is surrounded by hills, which are covered with vegetation and studded with large flat-topped masses of stone of quaint and fantastic shape. Trees grow to a large size,

and the city and its suburbs are full of magnificent specimens of the banyan, pipal, and mango.

Separating Hyderabad from Secunderabad lies the Hussan Sagar, an artificial lake some fifteen miles in circumference, along one side of which runs the railway connecting Hyderabad with the Great Indian Peninsula. The dam of this lake is about 2 miles in length, 60 feet in height, and 200 feet in breadth. Its surface forms one of the most beautiful drives to be found in India. It is the main thoroughfare between the city and the cantonment, and on fine evenings in the cold weather it is difficult to imagine a more picturesque view than that to be obtained from the Hussan Sagar Dam, with the sun setting over the city, throwing a glow over the water and bringing out in silhouette the towers and minarets of Hyderabad, and the sharp outline of Golconda Fort as a background. To the south is another beautiful lake, constructed and named after Mir Alam, the famous Minister of the State in the years 1802-1808. This lake lies among the hills at a considerable elevation above the city, to which it provides an ample and pure supply of water, carried by a system of iron pipes to every part of the town.

The Residency, built by Major Kirkpatrick, lies at a short distance from the city, on the north bank of the Moosi River, and stands in a park more than a mile in circumference, surrounded by a wall with fortified gateways. The frontage of the Residency is not less than 200 yards; the centre contains the famous hall, with spacious dining and reception rooms and offices on each side on the ground-floor, and two sets of bedrooms above. Two wings have been added since Kirkpatrick's day; each contains two fine suites of rooms. The offices and public buildings are at the back of the Residency, and within the walls surrounding the park are the houses occupied by the assistants to the Resident, the barracks for the escort (250 native infantry and 40 sabres), the stables, and the post and telegraph offices. But perhaps the most interesting spot within the

grounds is the cemetery, which contains the tombs of thirty-three of the former occupants of the Residency. Some of these graves are more than a hundred years old, and there are monuments to three Residents—Colonel Cuthbert Davidson, Mr. Bushby, and Mr. Roberts—and the tombs of several members of the celebrated firm of Rumbold and Palmer, which financed the State during the period immediately following the Mahratta war, when Chandu Lall was Minister to the Nizam Secunder Jah.

I should like to add a few words as to our present relations with His Highness the Nizam and the administration of the State. With a considerable experience of Native States, and including such important principalities as Kashmir, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Jodhpore, and Rewah, I would say that there is no State in India more dependent upon the advice of the Resident, or more desirous of conforming with the wishes of the Government of India, than is Hyderabad. During the minority of the present Nizam, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, the State was administered by that distinguished statesman the Nawab Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I., to whose ability Hyderabad owes much of its present prosperity, and to whose unswerving loyalty to the Crown of England we are indebted for the safety of the Deccan, and possibly of the whole of Southern India, during the Mutiny of 1857. It was only right and proper that while such a man was at the helm a policy of non-interference with the affairs of State should prevail; and so it came about that the Minister, during the Nizam's minority, was *de facto* ruler of Hyderabad, and that great importance and responsibility were attached to the Minister's office. Sir Salar Jung died before the young Nizam was invested with full ruling powers, and one of the first acts of His Highness on assuming charge of the administration was to appoint Laik Ali, the eldest son of Sir Salar Jung, Minister with the title of Salar Jung the Second. This arrangement, so full of promise at first, did not, for various reasons which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, work well for any length

of time. The Minister resigned, and was succeeded by one of the principal nobles of the Shams-ul-Umra family, Sir Asman Jah, who, after holding office for some five or six years, was replaced by his younger brother, Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, in 1894.

Without entering into details which would be out of place, and might prove wearisome and unprofitable, I think it is sufficient to remark that the glamour which the great ability and administrative talent of Sir Salar Jung threw upon the office of Minister at Hyderabad was perhaps the more direct cause of the failure of his successors ; for not one of them was in any way qualified to bear the burden of administration which their great predecessor had borne so efficiently. The natural consequence was that each of these Ministers was, in turn, subjected to the intrigues and machinations of clever, but sometimes unscrupulous, persons, who endeavoured to pluck authority from their hands, and to pose, with more or less success, as moving spirits in a weak and vacillating form of Government. The general result was chaos in the administration, and friction between the Nizam and his Minister.

Another and perhaps still more important result was that the Nizam withdrew himself from public affairs, and in the bewildering circumstances it was perhaps only natural that he should do so. Meanwhile the Resident was looked to as the final arbiter of all matters in dispute, and the only course open to him was to support the Minister so long as possible, and to keep things going until the inevitable catastrophe occurred, when the Minister was changed and a general shuffling of the cards took place. In 1901 the Nizam, wearying of these failures, resolved to assert his authority ; and when Sir Vikar-ul-Umra was permitted to resign, His Highness appointed the Peshkar-Maharaja Kishen Pershad, a direct descendant of Chandu Lall, to succeed him. But this change was made on entirely fresh principles, and in marked contrast to precedent. The Minister was no longer to be independent, nor was he to

conduct the administration on his own lines, nor upon lines indicated by other officials ; he was to be the Nizam's executive officer, acting in subordination to His Highness, and referring for orders all matters of importance and all cases in which ambiguity or controversy was involved during discussions in Council. A complete change was at once effected, and it soon became evident to all concerned that the Nizam was by *far* the shrewdest and most capable man in the State, and that he was determined to exercise the functions of a Ruler, not, as hitherto, in name only, but in very deed and with distinct purpose. The results for the last four years have been most happy: intriguers have found their occupation almost gone, and interference with the administration has been relegated to the trivial forms of jealousy, dislike, and backbiting. The more elaborate process of forming parties to support or to obstruct the Minister was found to be of no avail, because the Minister, though exercising the true functions of his office, no longer desired to assert undue authority ; nor had he the power of doing so, even if he wished, because His Highness the Nizam was at last master of the situation, and was recognised as such, not only by his Minister and his officials, but by the subjects of the State.

I had the honour of enjoying the confidence of His Highness the Nizam during my tenure of office as Resident at Hyderabad, and I have full knowledge of his character and ability. I am not so rash as to prophesy what the future of Hyderabad will be, but I am convinced that the State has great possibilities before it, and I have every reason to hope that if the present system of government is maintained, and if His Highness continues to receive that measure of helpful sympathy which has been so freely held out to him by Lord Curzon, and of which he has so readily availed himself, the State of Hyderabad will be wisely governed, and our faithful ally the Nizam will prove himself to be one of the most powerful pillars of the Indian Empire.

MADRAS IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION— A REPLY.

BY W. HUGHES, M.A., M.I.C.E.

GENERAL FISCHER'S articles, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1904, and April and July, 1905, in which he comments in very severe terms on what he considers the failure of the Indian, and more particularly of the Madras, Government in regard to irrigation, communications, the land revenue system, and other matters, will no doubt help to keep these important questions before the public and sustain interest in them ; but, in my opinion, the articles are to a large extent based on incorrect information. General Fischer appears to have long ago got out of touch with Madras affairs. Madras is probably the most progressive province in India. It is not the fact that it is governed in the interests of a priestly caste ; irrigation works and communications are not neglected ; nor is it a fact that practically nothing has been done to improve the condition of the agricultural class since Sir Arthur Cotton left India. The progress made may not have been as rapid as was desirable. The development of the country, as far as it rested with the Government, has always been hindered by financial difficulties. Before Lord Mayo's time each province had to take what it could get and make the best of it, and as the Indian finances were not very prosperous, the assignments were far from sufficient. After the decentralization of the finances, the share of its revenues left to Madras was repeatedly reduced at the quinquennial settlements, and many needed improvements and reforms had to be delayed or postponed.

The subjects discussed by General Fischer cover so wide a range that all that can be done on the present occasion is to notice some of the more salient points, and offer some information on those with which the writer is more specially

conversant. Omitting the statements regarding the revenue system, which are of too general a character to form a subject of discussion, the remainder of the subjects dealt with by General Fischer may be arranged in three classes, viz. :

Maintenance of existing irrigation works ;

Extension of irrigation ;

Communications—roads, railways, and irrigation.

Referring to the writer's article in the *Review* of April, 1904, General Fischer says* : " Mr. Hughes would have us believe that nothing more can be done for the 40,000 minor works in Madras," and he quotes and accepts as correct a letter of Mr. Ragoonatha Row, in which it is said, " the less interference of the engineers with them (minor irrigation works), the better it is for all concerned. Of late these have been *much neglected*, and the revenue officers do not take one-hundredth part of the interest which their predecessors used to take some twenty or twenty-five years ago. These are *now* in a *very inefficient state*, causing loss to the ryots, and rendering the collection of the Government tax more and more rigorous." There can be no hesitation in characterizing such statements as very incorrect and misleading. To explain how the matter stands with the minor works, it is necessary to go back a little. Under the old native governments the *rayats* were under obligation to carry out *kudi-maramut*—that is, repairs by the cultivators—to an undefined extent. The State also had a certain recognised duty, but its assistance was fitful and unreliable, and probably seldom given, except when some work beyond the power of the villagers was required in order to save the revenue. The East India Company continued the old system, and presumably did what they could to prevent the decay of the works ; but whatever success may have attended their efforts to preserve the larger works, it is clear that the smaller ones were left almost entirely to the care of the *rayats*, who, from a

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, p. 269.

number of causes, had become greatly impoverished. The reports of the second quarter of the century and later describe the works as generally in a most deplorable condition, apparently as bad as anything which can now be found in the zemindaris. When things had settled down after the suppression of the Mutiny and the assumption of the government by the Crown, a regular Public Works Department was formed, and the construction and maintenance of the irrigation works became part of its duties. The great imperial systems, now irrigating 3,000,000 acres, and the larger provincial works, irrigating 700,000 acres, have naturally always received most attention, and no assistance in maintaining them is demanded from the *rayats*. The minor works have always been difficult to deal with. About 5,000 of them, chiefly spring channels, irrigating small areas, have always been in charge of the villagers, and the remaining 35,000 are in charge of Government officers. Long before 1857 the decay of the *kudi-maramut* system had set in, and not many years later it had practically ceased to exist. It is not surprising that, under the circumstances, and with very small grants for work, little or no headway was made in the attempt to remedy the neglect of generations. The famine of 1876-1877 emphasized the value of the minor works, and at the same time brought to notice the failure of the attempt to keep them in repair. The Famine Commission of 1878-1880 recommended that the tanks irrigating 50 acres or less, which formed the great majority, should be handed over to the *rayats* as they were—a course which could not possibly be adopted—and that the *kudi-maramut* system should be revived and placed on a legal basis. A Bill, having this for its object, was introduced in the Legislative Council in 1883, and dropped in the following year, owing to differences of opinion. The Government meanwhile had elaborated a scheme, subsequently called the Tank Restoration Scheme, for dealing with the minor works, and in connection with this divided the charge of them, the Public

Works Department keeping charge of about 3,500, which it was thought would always require professional supervision for their maintenance, while the remainder were handed over to the Revenue Department, the intention being that, as each of these works was put in order under the Tank Restoration Scheme the revenue officers should arrange for its future maintenance by the *rayats*. Under the Tank Restoration Scheme the works are being surveyed, grouped, and all the hydraulic particulars, catchment, irrigated area, details of sluices and weirs, standard height and section of bank, and all other information required for future guidance, are permanently recorded on plans and in memoirs, which are printed and bound together for the use of those who have to maintain the works in future. Complete estimates are made for everything necessary for putting the works in an efficient state, and these are carried out in due course. While works are thus being dealt with under this scheme, other works are being repaired all over the country, but not generally in the same complete manner—in fact, in most cases only urgent repairs may be done, pending the complete repair which will be done later. General Fischer is quite mistaken in thinking that the works are being neglected. So far from this being the case, the expenditure has been steadily growing, and in the three years ending 1901-1902 averaged over 21 lakhs. The Irrigation Commission recommended that it should be increased to 26 lakhs, or about a third of the gross revenue, until all the works are repaired. Probably this is being done, but the old problem, how to get the works kept up to the high standard laid down, seems to be still unsolved. It is an interesting example of the difficulties of Indian administration.

The Irrigation Commissioners went very fully into the *kudi-maramut* question, and sum up the case in the following words :

“Formerly the cultivators had to depend almost entirely on themselves for the maintenance of these works. If a

tank failed, assistance in restoring it might or might not be afforded sooner or later by the State ; but no reliance could be placed on such assistance, and the people had to rely on their own efforts or *kudi-maramut*. But this system was not in itself sufficient to insure the perpetual maintenance of the tanks. Sometimes repairs were required which were beyond the power of the cultivators to carry out ; or the works were wrecked by disastrous floods ; and in other cases even *kudi-maramut* could not wholly prevent, however much it might retard, deterioration. It thus happened that Government devoted more and more attention and money to the restoration and upkeep of these works, even before the obligation was accepted, on the recommendation of the Commission of 1880, as a part of its regular policy. But the more the State had risen to a sense of its obligation, the more have the people become unmindful of their own, so that *kudi-maramut* has almost ceased to exist, and no care is taken even to retard the progress of deterioration."

The Commissioners then go on to recommend the revival of the system of *kudi-maramut*, by legislation if it cannot be enforced without. The fate of the *kudi-maramut* Bill of 1883 has been alluded to above. Later, the Government tried to induce the cultivators to take charge of some of the tanks which had been completely repaired and, mindful of what had occurred under the old system of divided responsibility and undefined obligation, stipulated that the works should be kept up to the standard laid down in the descriptive memoirs. A grant-in-aid towards this was offered. The cultivators refused the proposal for several reasons. Their chief reason—the only one which did not admit of any working compromise—was the want of union among themselves. Those who advocate the revival of *kudi-maramut* do not seem to realize the profound changes which have taken place in the last century. The old village community, self-centred and almost self-sufficing, no longer exists. We have removed

its isolation by the improvement of communications and by trade developments; we have destroyed its solidarity by dealing with each cultivator individually, and making him responsible for his own assessment alone; we have struck at the roots of caste ascendancy by offering the same educational facilities to all, by teaching Western literature and science in all, and the Bible in most of the schools where English is taught; we have fostered a spirit of independence by equal laws and zealous safe-guarding of individual rights; we have, in fact, destroyed the old village system, which, though it had its good points, was unsuited to modern conditions. It would be better perhaps to drop, until some definition has been agreed upon, the use of the term "*kudi-maramut*," which now may mean anything between the pettiest repairs and full maintenance to a high standard. It is impossible to revive it in the old form. When it did work, it depended on the coercion, moral and other, of reluctant contributors, and on forced labour, open or disguised; but anything of this sort is now impossible. Whatever work is done now must be paid for at market rates, and the levy of contributions sanctioned by law.

The rights of the matter seem to be simple enough. Whatever theory be adopted as to the *rayat's status*, he is, in fact, as long as he pays his assessment, in partnership with the State in the cultivation of the soil, but the partnership is not on equal terms. The State, as the senior and predominant partner, has always claimed and exercised the right of fixing the share of produce to be paid to it. Up to some time in the nineteenth century the share taken by the State was a proportion of the gross produce, but this system was found to be a bad one, and was superseded by the present system of taking a share of the profits, or the difference between value of gross produce and expenses of cultivation. The demand is at present limited to one-half the profit, by administrative order, not by legal enactment. Obviously the cost of providing water is as much a part of

the cost of cultivation as ploughing or sowing, but it has never been taken account of in calculating the assessment, nor was there any reason to do so as long as the cultivators did their share of the repairs. Now that the *kudi-maramut* system has broken down, the State can very justly demand compensation, and insist on the cultivators paying their share of the cost of maintaining the works. This might readily be done by levying an irrigation cess, to which the Government should add an equal amount, to form a fund for the maintenance of each work or group of connected works. The cess should vary from time to time according to requirements, and no special grant-in-aid should ever be required from Government, except in the event of the works being wrecked by exceptional floods which cannot be provided against. As to the agency for carrying out the work, the people are now familiar with the working of district boards, taluq boards, and village unions, and the time is ripe for the creation of irrigation unions. Probably these would even be popular, and secure the gratuitous services of competent men, if official interference were limited as much as possible and large powers of initiative and management were allowed to the representatives of the cess-payers.

Before dealing with the general question of new irrigation, it will be well to correct some of General Fischer's errors. In the *Review* of October, 1904 (p. 259), he says : ". . . India, which with its most abundant water-supply is declared to be unable to irrigate more than some 20,000,000 acres of land." No such statement was made. The area irrigated in British India from all sources is about 44,000,000 acres, and of this about 20,000,000 acres are irrigated from Government works. The Irrigation Commission proposed new works to irrigate 6,500,000 acres, but expressly stated that their list was not intended to be exhaustive, and only included works which it was thought might be carried out in a period of perhaps twenty years. In the same article General Fischer quotes and misunderstands the writer's

statement that "the Godavari practically cannot be utilized except in the delta." A reference to the context would have shown that what was spoken of was the Madras portion of the Godavari, which runs through steep or mountainous country down to about twenty-four miles above the head of the delta. There was no suggestion that irrigation could not be extended in the Central Provinces; in fact, about 200 projects for irrigation there were brought to the notice of the Irrigation Commission. General Fischer gives what he calls "a plain, unvarnished tale" regarding the Tungabudra project, and complains that, though his suggestions and proposals were eagerly accepted by the Irrigation Commission, his name and evidence have been entirely suppressed in all the official reports. The writer has not had an opportunity of consulting the volume of evidence taken by the Commission, but believes the fact to be that the idea of taking the canal over the Penner-Hagari watershed was Sir Arthur Cotton's, that it was given up by him, and that it was subsequently independently revived by Colonel A. W. Smart, who succeeded the writer as Chief Engineer for Irrigation. If General Fischer also advocated the idea in his evidence before the Commission, he had been anticipated. The investigation of the project was completed last year. The writer willingly admits his error in thinking it would take much longer. It is difficult to treat seriously General Fischer's vague ideas regarding the possibilities of extending irrigation in Madras. His article on the Mopand project in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1905, furnishes an example of his ill-grounded optimism. He quotes the writer's statement that "in the river basins from the Penner southwards 70 per cent. of the surface flow is utilized, and that there is very limited scope for impounding more water," and, as disproof of this, refers to a report by the Collector of Nellore that there are seven such rivers (as the Maneru) in that district the waters of which have always been allowed to run waste into the sea. He

then alters the statement, making it read "that 70 per cent. of *all such drainages have been so fully utilized* that there is now only a very limited scope for impounding more water in any of them." Such an inference is absurd. The rivers referred to by the Collector are *north, not south*, of the Penner. An officer was put on special duty in 1898 to examine all these rivers, and see what possibility there was of utilizing the water. No really favourable reservoir sites were found; the country everywhere is most difficult to irrigate; long and expensive distributaries are necessary, and the cultivators would have to spend a good deal in preparing their land for irrigation.

The Government, however, was anxious to do all that was possible to prevent or mitigate famines, and an investigation of the more promising of the possible projects was undertaken. The Mopand project is one of these. General Fischer criticises its details, and gives his opinion that the reservoir should be made large enough to hold the equivalent of a run-off of 26 inches, and he estimates the quantity which would be regularly available for use as sufficient for 37,500 acres of rice, or 150 acres per square mile of catchment. Unfortunately, the average rainfall is only some 28 inches, which gives a probable run-off of 4 inches; one year in ten, perhaps, the rain would be heavy enough to give a run-off of 8 inches. The principle advocated by General Fischer of making reservoirs large enough to catch and store exceptional floods, so as to keep up the supply for irrigation in years of deficient rainfall, has often been advocated. The idea is attractive, and at first sight it seems the right thing to do in a country where the rainfall is very variable, and where the failure of the rains in one year causes much distress and the failure in two successive years acute famine. The principal objections to it are on the ground of expense. The cost of storage at any site is generally nearly proportional to the capacity of the reservoir. If the capacity of a reservoir be doubled with a view to carrying over water from one season to

another, the effective supply is not thereby doubled, because probably at least one-half of the water which is reserved will be lost by evaporation, which, in a country like West Nellore, is not far short of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch a day in the hot weather.

Another point to be considered is that good and bad seasons have a certain tendency to run in groups, and it may be that the only advantage derived from an increase in the reservoir capacity would be that the regular supply for irrigation could be kept up during the first of a series of bad seasons. This, however, might be of great value. It would be a mistake to lay down a hard and fast rule in such matters. The engineers who design the works should be the best judges of what provision should be made for storage in each case. Where the main object is the prevention of famine, and the cost of storage is not a very large proportion of the total cost of a project, it might well be considered whether the reservoir should not be made large enough to hold much more than the supply expected in an average year. It must also be remembered that cultivators will not incur the expense of levelling their lands, or otherwise preparing them for irrigation, except where they are assured of a fairly regular supply of water. Irrigation cannot be expanded to take advantage of unusually copious supplies in a reservoir.

In the neighbouring district there is a reservoir—the Cumbum Tank—which nearly fulfils General Fischer's ideal of what a reservoir should be. It has a catchment of 430 square miles of country similar to the Mopand catchment, and is so large that it rarely spills over and rarely dries. Yet it supplies water for only 23 acres per square mile of catchment. The Mopand reservoir could not irrigate above 5,000 acres of rice; it is not however intended for rice, to the cultivation of which the Madras people are thought to be too much addicted, but for "irrigated dry" crops, which only require periodical watering in the absence of rainfall. This is the reason so large an area of cultivation as 17,500 acres is contemplated.

With regard to the sweeping assertions of neglect of duty in extending irrigation, it may be pointed out that works which cannot be referred to the Government of India for sanction as productive or protective works have to be carried out from current revenue, and that the expenditure on such works is stated by the Irrigation Commission to have averaged about $4\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs a year for the ten years ending 1900-1901, a sufficiently large sum, when so many of the old works are still in bad order. The total expenditure up to four years ago was over 100 lakhs. This is merely for the smaller class of works. On the larger works, for which funds are provided by the Government of India, the expenditure for the thirty-five years ending 1901-1902 was 620 lakhs. How, in the face of these facts, can General Fischer say* that "all the irrigation works were discouraged and mismanaged after Sir A. Cotton left the country? For more than forty years everything possible was done to prevent the extension of hydraulic works." All that he is entitled to say is that the severe financial restrictions imposed in the case of works which have to be carried out from loan funds have delayed the extension of irrigation. One good effect of these restrictions is that the best schemes have been brought forward first, and very few unsuccessful ones have been sanctioned. The result is that the surplus revenue from "productive" works is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores; but this is taken into the general revenue, instead of being used to finance schemes which, though very advantageous to the country, would not bring in sufficient direct revenue to pay the interest on borrowed capital. Apart from the prevention of famine, the benefit of irrigation to the country consists in: (1) The employment afforded for labour, which might otherwise be unemployed, or employed less productively; (2) the profits derived by the cultivator; (3) the profits derived by the State. Setting aside the first, which is of great but indeterminate amount, we have the realized

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, p. 238.

profits, which are divided in various proportions between the cultivators and the State. The way in which the system operates to the discouragement of irrigation is as follows: The capital of a project is provided as required by the State, and simple interest is debited at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The capital includes the cost of investigation, the expenditure on works, compensation for land with capitalized loss of revenue if the land belongs to Government, percentage charges for tools and plant and for establishment, including leave and pension allowances. The capital expenditure at any time, *plus* accumulated interest, *minus* accumulated net revenue (generally a *minus* quantity for some years), forms the "sum at charge," and it is insisted on, as a condition of sanction, that there shall be a reasonable probability of a scheme paying $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest on the "sum at charge" within ten years after the completion of the works. This means that even these projects, which can be completed and developed rapidly, or which can begin earning something while the works are still very incomplete, have to show a probable net revenue of about 5 per cent. on capital.

It will be seen that the debit side of the account is made up on the strictest commercial lines, but when it comes to providing income commercial ideas are thrown to the winds, and—at least, under the Madras system of consolidated land and water assessment—the cultivator is told that he may keep for himself half the profits of irrigation, and that the State will bear all the cost of providing and leading water to the land and take all risk of loss. The cultivator gladly accepts such a one-sided bargain, and in places like the great deltas, and in flat country generally where the initial expense of irrigation is small, his land goes at a bound to eight or ten times its previous value, and he gets an unearned increment of probably forty times the annual charge for the water. It is only in the rare cases where unoccupied land is sold that full value is obtained for the water. Thus, when the Periyar works

were opened, a quantity of waste land which the villagers could previously have taken up if they had thought it worth cultivation was sold by auction as the channels were extended to it, and the sales in the first three years realized on the average over Rs. 80 an acre. The purchasers are, therefore, paying Rs. $3\frac{1}{4}$ higher assessment than their neighbours pay for similar land. It may well be asked why, if an irrigation scheme is a commercial enterprise, something approaching the commercial value of the water is not charged, or why, if the cultivator is to be regarded as a partner with the State, he is not called upon to pay half the expenses. In rare cases, the cost of preparing land may be a fair set-off against the expenditure by the State; but, in general, the profits of irrigation are very unequally divided. Take the case of the highly successful Godavari and Kistna projects. Making allowance for the cultivator's initial expenses, it may be said that the State takes half the profits. Of this half-share, 40 per cent. is spent in maintenance and interest, leaving 30 per cent. of the profits against the cultivator's 50. In the case of a project which just pays interest on capital the cultivators take 50 per cent. of the profit and the State gets *nothing*. Surely it would not be unjust to make the cultivator pay half the cost of the works, or half the expected ultimate cost when irrigation is fully developed. In such case the Government should allow him to recoup half his initial expenses by making the assessments low for a term of years. In the case of old projects this may be considered to have been done already. There would, of course, have to be a limit, as the charge must be kept well inside the commercial value of the water. It is not at all likely that it will be found possible to alter the existing method of calculating the assessments on the expiry of the current settlements, and the aim of the writer is rather to point out the unreasonableness of insisting on irrigation schemes paying a high rate of interest as a condition of sanction, when from motives of State policy they are prevented

from realizing their legitimate revenue. The argument is intended to supplement that put forward by the Irrigation Commission, and commented on in the writer's article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1904, in favour of taking account of the indirect revenue when a project is expected to pay less than the 5 per cent. on capital now required. The Commission recommended that projects which are expected to pay anything between 3 and 5 per cent. on capital should be considered on their merits. The writer thinks that there should be no hesitation in sanctioning any project as a productive work when it is fairly certain that it will pay 3 per cent. within a reasonable time.

General Fischer's description of the Madras roads, in which he says that main and cross roads can scarcely be said to exist at all for purposes of cheap transit, that the gradients generally are very bad and the rivers mostly unbridged, is certainly not a fair description of the roads at the present day. The Public Works Commission of 1852 found only 3,200 miles of anything which could be called roads, and these were for the most part unmetalled, unbridged, and frequently impassable. About this time the improvement of the roads was taken in hand and some good work done. After 1857 the work was continued by the present Government until the establishment of the district boards by whom it has been carried on vigorously to the present day, the Government making only a few hill roads which, for special reasons, the district boards could not undertake. Large numbers of roads have also been made in order to provide work in time of famine. As a result of fifty years' steady work the country is covered with a network of good roads and it would be difficult to name any road of any importance which is not bridged throughout, except at the crossings of some of the very large rivers. And these roads are nearly all metalled or gravelled, except in a few places where material happens to be very expensive. In the Cauvery delta, for instance, sand is generally used. Mixed with clay it forms a tolerable

surface in fair weather, but the roads are liable to become rather difficult in rains. As to gradients, the best English practice is followed; the gradients are nowhere so steep as is commonly found in the West of England. Of course, road transport must always be expensive; but, after all, charges of two or three pence per ton-mile are not very onerous for moderate distances.

The railways have been of incalculable benefit to the country. In no other country are passengers and (it is believed) goods carried so cheaply. If the goods rates are declared on good authority to be too high for the country, it really only means that a reduction of the rates would cause further development of traffic. The immense development which has already taken place proves that, for most classes of goods at least, the rates are not prohibitive. The general levelling of prices which railways have caused, and the ready response of distant markets to any local rise of prices, show that goods can be profitably sent long distances. In preventing or relieving famine the railways do invaluable service. One of the Famine Commissions proposed as an ideal that there should be a railway within twenty miles of every important village, and perhaps in time it will come to this. In many places light railways might with advantage be constructed where there is not enough traffic to justify the construction of heavy lines. Canals such as advocated by General Fischer could never serve traffic purposes so well as railways. Even in a favourable country a navigation canal would cost as much as a railway of the same traffic capacity, and if, like the railway, it had to make the charges cover maintenance and interest on capital, it is doubtful whether it could carry goods much more cheaply. In rocky or steep country the comparison would be all in favour of the railway, which has, moreover, the advantage that it could be easily duplicated if the traffic exceeded what the line was designed for.

Inland navigation is a subject which has attracted much attention of late, and is one on which very erroneous

opinions may be formed if regard be paid only to cost of transport on canalized rivers and ship canals. As far as Madras is concerned, this class of navigation need not be considered. The Godavari is the only river which even General Fischer says can be made navigable ; but he does not say for what kind or size of vessel. When he has specified clearly what he has in view, and how he thinks the object can be attained, it will be possible to discuss the matter. Former proposals have been reported on fully and condemned as impracticable.

In connection with the question of the relative advantages of ordinary inland navigation canals and railways it will be well to consider the experience of other countries. In the United States, the Erie Canal retains a large amount of traffic because it can take large vessels, but 2,400 miles of State canals had to be closed because they could not compete with the railways. In France, tolls were abolished in 1880 on all the State canals 8,000 miles in length, and large sums were spent in improving them. The result was a very large increase in traffic ; but where the canals and railways competed, as they did for a length of 2,000 miles, the railways took all the more valuable traffic. M. de Freycinet, in a report which he made as Minister of Public Works, stated the case in the following words : " Navigable waterways play an important part in the production of the wealth of a country. It has been found that navigable waterways and railways are not destined to supplant but to support one another. Each has its particular attributes. Railways take the least cumbrous traffic, that which requires speed and regularity, and bears most easily the cost of carriage. Waterways take heavy goods of low value, and their mere existence checks and moderates the rates on goods which are sent by railway." In England, where railway freights are so heavy, there is no great traffic on the canals, and those which belong to the railways are used chiefly for the carriage of such things as building materials and coal. The English canals are, of course, at a great

disadvantage on account of their small size, the Bridge-water Canal, for example, taking only barges of 30 to 60 tons. In Germany the taxes levied for the use of waterways are limited to what is necessary to cover the expense of ordinary maintenance and repair of the fixtures, and the Government has spent large sums in improving the navigation. The great advantage which Germany has is that most of her waterways are navigable rivers and her canals are of such large size that, as stated by General Fischer,* vessels averaging 200 tons can be used. This permits traffic to be carried on at very low rates, but it is not clear how, if the rates on the improved rivers are $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{1}{6}$ d., the canal rates are as low as $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ d. Is there not some mistake? Low as these rates are, the railways are not superseded as goods carriers, but, as in France, each instrument of traffic supplements the other. In comparing their relative cost, General Fischer seems to forget that as the State has found the money for making the waterways, interest on the expenditure ought to be taken into account in estimating the saving to the country by the cheaper means of traffic.

When he comes to deal with India, General Fischer allows his imagination to overcome his judgment and shows a lofty disregard of all the hard facts, financial, physical, and other, which practical men, bent on doing something, have to take account of. His assertions as to the possibility of making the Godavari navigable have been alluded to above. The opinion has also been expressed that nothing would be gained by constructing purely navigation canals in lieu of railways. There is also strong reason to believe that the people would prefer railways if they had a choice. A striking instance of this is the absolute failure of the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal as a navigation work. In 1898 there were only twenty-three boats on the canal, and seventeen of these belonged to Government, although there are absolutely no charges for the use of the canal. Traffic must

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1905, p. 28.

have sprung up if there had been any demand for means of transport. The people seem satisfied with roads and railways, although the railway-station is thirty miles from Kurnool. And this canal is the line of navigation which, it is presumed, General Fischer proposes to incorporate with another line along the proposed Tungabudra Canal, and with other lines in the Nellore district. He predicts the failure of the Tungabudra project unless this is done. For about 100 miles the Tungabudra Canal will run close to a railway; the fall from the reservoir to the sea will be about 1,600 feet, of which, at most, 300 feet will be required for canal gradients, leaving 1,300 feet to be overcome by locks; taking 8 feet as the economic lift for a lock, 160 would be required, of which there are already 48 in the last 120 miles of the Kurnool Canal. Surely traders would prefer to pay something more for the rapid and convenient railway than for canal transport in such a country.

It appears to be the almost universal opinion of irrigation engineers that only in very exceptional cases is it advisable to combine navigation and irrigation. For navigation to be fully efficient, it is necessary to have still water, or, at least, a very slow current, canals always full, and depth and width sufficient for boats of considerable size. For irrigation, it is right to make the canals with as high a gradient and velocity as the bed and banks will stand without erosion; the depth throughout a reach should be uniform, in order to prevent deposit; and the discharge and depth should vary according to the demand for irrigation. It has been attempted in the Godavari and Kistna works to satisfy these contrary requirements, and it was quite right to do this, as the case of these deltas was exceptional. There were no railways or good roads, or any road material obtainable nearer than the head of the deltas, and if navigation had not been provided for and adopted, the development of the irrigation and the prosperity of the people would have been far less than they are at present.

The navigation has been of immense benefit, but it has always been carried on under difficulties. The canals have to be closed for about two months a year, but a considerable time before the closure the water-supply decreases to such an extent that there is not sufficient water at the heads of the reaches to float the boats. In the Godavari navigation can frequently be carried on only for eight to nine months, and in the Kistna for seven to eight. How can boats working under such conditions compete with a well-equipped railway? Their true function is to supplement and feed the railway. On lines parallel to the railway they can only keep the less valuable traffic, or that which is consigned for such short distances that transfer of the cargo is inadvisable.

It is necessary to correct one more of General Fischer's errors. In the April number of the *Review** he quotes an irresponsible statement—that when the East Coast Railway was opened the charges on the boats using the Godavari canals were *enormously* enhanced with a view to drive traffic to the railway, and he adds that great injury appeared to have been done to the irrigation, as the area had decreased over 29,000 acres between 1901-1902 and 1902-1903. From the figures given it is obvious that the fluctuating second crop cultivation was included. Three months later† he makes the more definite statement that "in India we have actually increased the tolls on the Godavari canals by about 400 per cent., in order to get the traffic on to the railways, and thereby have thrown some 30,000 acres of land out of irrigation."

The fact is, that during the four years succeeding the revision of the canal charges, which took place in 1898, the area of land brought under irrigation increased more rapidly than in any similar period in the previous thirty years. As the writer was responsible for the proposal to increase the canal charges, and his report has been brought to public

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, p. 235.

† *Ibid.*, July, 1905, p. 41.

notice by being quoted in Lady Hope's "Life of Sir Arthur Cotton," it may be permitted to explain what happened. When the railway was opened, the manager complained that navigation was unduly favoured, and, as the railway could not pay interest and working expenses if the charges for goods were less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ pies, or $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ton-mile, he asked that such tolls should be imposed on the competing canals as would prevent the boats working for much less than this. The ordinary charges for boat transport had been about 3 to 6 pies ($\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), and it was estimated that the license and wharfage fees came to about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ pie for boats in regular employment. As the request to impose tolls was not complied with the railway management reduced their charge for goods to $2\frac{3}{4}$ pies, or less than $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ton per mile. The boats, however much they might reduce their rates, could not compete with this, and the more valuable goods, one-half the whole, went at once to the railway. The traffic was not driven to the railway, but attracted by low rates. This was some two years before the navigation rules were revised. The revision was undertaken not alone because of the complaints from the railway, but chiefly because the Government of India had pointed out that navigation was being worked at a loss, and had repeatedly desired that the revenue should be made to balance the expenditure.

In the report referred to it was strongly recommended that the revenue should be limited to the amount required for maintenance. It was further pointed out that "there are good reasons for believing that serious and harassing interference with the trade of the canals would injure the growth not merely of the canal, but of the railway traffic. The railway would get a large share of existing traffic instead of a somewhat smaller proportion of the vast traffic of the future which the railway and canals, working together for the benefit of trade, are capable of creating. The canal traffic should be nourished, not destroyed. It is to the interest of the whole country to have a numerous and

efficient fleet ever ready to transport grain from the great food-growing deltas to convenient points for distribution by rail." In regard to the increase of rates, it is said, "this is a tariff for revenue to satisfy the objection of the Government of India that navigation is being worked at a loss. . . . The rates entered are such as it is thought traffic will bear without sensible injury. The rates for annual licenses are increased 25 to 33 per cent., and for six-weeks licenses 20 to 150 per cent., the reason for the great variation in the latter case being that in the 1883 tariff a uniform rate of 8 annas was imposed in lieu of two tolls, irrespective of the class of vessels. It is decidedly a bad time to increase rates at all, but the increase cannot be avoided if the receipts and charges are to be made to balance." Nearly all the boats work on annual licenses, and if the estimate that these amount to a charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pie per ton-mile is correct, the increase of 30 per cent. comes to about $\frac{1}{64}$ d. per ton-mile.

This is the small foundation on which General Fischer's astonishing statement is founded. The license rates *are* too high, and it is to be hoped they will be reduced when circumstances permit, or abolished altogether if possible; but it is absurd to say they drive to the railway goods which could best be carried by the canals. Their effect is rather to hinder the development of traffic on canals and railway alike. The navigation is in need of improvement, both as regards the boats and the method of hauling them. The canals are unsuited for the ordinary steam-tug, but perhaps the newly-invented motor-boat, or other vessel of small size and high power, could be used with advantage. Or, perhaps, in course of time, electrical traction may be employed, as is done successfully on the Charleroi Canal in Belgium. As long as there is enough water to float the boats there is enough passing over the weirs to generate power for hauling them.

EARLY MARRIAGES IN INDIA.

BY SIRDAR ARJAN SINGH, OF KAPURTHALA.

EVERYWHERE in Europe, and in most of the countries of this world, people do not marry till they are fully grown up, until they are mentally and physically developed, and are able to support a family ; but in India the case is different. They are married very young, very often in childhood, sometimes in infancy, and not rarely the promise of marriage is made before their birth. While in Europe a choice is given for the selection of their spouses, in India they are always married by their parents and guardians.

The custom of early marriages did not exist in pre-Vedic and post-Vedic periods ; rather, a courtship of a very modern type is allowed in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda, and the consent of parents and guardians was only sought after the young people had themselves come to an understanding.

In Hindu literature marriages are described as taking place after the display of feats of arms and competitions, something like those prevalent during the early days of English chivalry.

Even the Hindu marriage rites themselves prove that early marriages did not exist in primitive times. The rites consist of stipulations made between the husband and wife themselves. The husband promises to treat his wife with due consideration, to be a true husband, to protect her from evils, and to be a saviour in time of need. The wife promises to be obedient and a good helpmate, and to follow him through the various vicissitudes of this world. What could be the value of these stipulations if the couple were not of sufficient age to understand, and thoroughly grasp the real sense and future responsibilities falling upon them on account of these promises ?

Some people are of opinion that early marriages were introduced by the writing of Manu, and certain of his verses are thus interpreted :

“One should give a girl in marriage to a suitor of high family, who is handsome and of like caste, even though she is under the age of puberty.”

“At thirty years of age a man may marry a beloved girl of twelve years, and a man of thrice eight (twenty-four) years a girl of eight years.”

Dr. Burnell says that, according to the sacred books of the Hindus, twelve years seem to be the highest limit of age for a girl to marry; if unmarried at that age, the girl is disgraced, and her father has sinned.

Dr. Bhattacharya's interpretations are that a girl should be given in marriage before maturity. If not, the giver and taker both fall into hell.

While Professor Max Müller is of opinion that *Sruti* and *Smriti* do not allow early marriages, and the said Professor, in his “Hibbert Lectures,” delivered in 1878, writes that the teachings of the *shastras* prohibit a youth from marrying before nineteen or twenty years of age. Mr. Malahari, the Indian social reformer, says the marriageable age given in the *shastras* is from fifteen to twenty years. And Lala Baij Nath places this age at twenty and twenty-five.

In fact, so numerous are the Sanskrit books, and so varied and sometimes contradictory is their subject-matter and that of the commentaries upon them, that one can hold any opinion one likes without the least difficulty, bringing some one or other of the books to support him.

The following quotation from the last Indian Census Report states clearly the discrepancy of opinion on this matter :

“According to Baudhana, a girl who is unmarried when she reaches maturity is degraded to the rank of a *sudra* (servant caste), and her father is held to have committed a grave sin in having neglected to get her married. This rule is common to all the law books, and many of them go further still and fix a definite age for marriage of girls. The later the treatise, the earlier is the age which it prescribes.

According to Manu, a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Later writers fix the higher limit of age in such cases at ten years or eight years, and reduce the lower limit to seven, six, or even four years."

Whatever be the true interpretations of Sanskrit books to-day, the real fact which helped in the birth and development of this disastrous custom may be traced elsewhere.

On turning to the pages of Indian history, we come across the chapter which commences with the fall of Indian greatness, when the sun of her glory set, the light changed into darkness, and the absurdities germinated to ripen into customs, many of which still cling to us with undiminished force. Probably it was somewhere in those iron days of India that the idea of early marriages took practical shape, when the *Parida* System (veiling) and early marriages alone could secure the young women from outrages and maltreatment by tyrants and oppressors, whether invaders from Central Asia, or powerful but unjust people of their own country; and it was probably then that Sanskrit books, to the advantage, no doubt, of Hindu honour and morality for the time being, were made to mean to allow—nay, rather compel—early marriages.

So much is this custom in vogue in India at the present moment that there is no caste, no creed, no religion, the people of which do not marry more or less early; hence the following high figures in last Indian Census :

Under five years :				Male.	Female.
Population	...	...	...	18,735,774	19,268,997
Married, including widowed	...	...	...	127,486	262,990
Five to ten years :					
Population	...	...	...	20,831,085	19,895,462
Married, including widowed	...	...	...	796,014	2,125,540
Ten to fifteen years :					
Population	...	...	...	18,880,658	15,566,718
Married, including widowed	...	...	...	2,652,001	6,860,630
Fifteen to twenty years :					
Population	...	...	...	12,942,322	12,017,833
Married, including widowed	...	...	...	4,532,852	9,865,585

In connection with the given figures, it may be well to compare the marriage statistics of the English Census and the Indian Census, which show that, while those of the former begin from fifteen years of age, the number of marriages in the latter already acquires the highest number of digits.

From the above figures it is evident that about 400,000 children in every five years are married when they are under five years of age; nay, a certain portion of this number are married in the first year of their life, when they can hardly distinguish between a man and a beast. They are not only married—nature, in its course, sometimes pushes them still further, and brings them to widowhood. Fancy the term widower or widow applied to a baby of a few months! One cannot help condemning the custom and pitying the widowed infant girl whose whole future life is actually to be that of a Hindu widow, a state of misery quite inconceivable to a European mind, yet enforced by Indian custom.

Early as these marriages are performed, they do not always take place without some little innocent or amusing incidents connected with the child bridegroom and bride.

According to "Women of India," published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, a Bengalee newspaper says: "A little boy, on his marriage day, not seeing his mother near, began to cry, and the bride followed his example through sympathy. A person present had a cane, which he showed as if he was going to strike them, which made them stop, but in the bridal chamber the poor boy made himself hoarse crying, 'Where is mamma?'"

Another story is told of a child who, after sitting still for a long time performing religious ceremonies, asked his father to let him go out, and was refused. The child was of a logical turn of mind. He cried, and said, "Why is my sister allowed to play, while I am made to sit so long? Let my sister come and sit in my place, while I go and play."

These little stories show how little the poor children understood the nature and importance of the ceremonies they were engaged in.

To return to our subject, nearly all the present-day writers are unanimously of opinion that early marriages are attended by ruinous evils, without a single good, except Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who, in his criticism on Mr. Malabari's proposals to check this detrimental custom, says :

" It must be remembered, if it (infant marriage) leads in one way to immorality and suffering, in another way it prevents it. Unchastity and offences connected with women are conspicuously more frequent in the west of the Punjab, where infant marriage is the exception, than in the east, where it is the rule." And most probably Sir Denzil is right, but so great is the evil that the good is easily overlooked.

To describe the evils, it will be more convenient to divide this part of the subject into two divisions.

1. The performance of marriage ceremony at an early age.

2. Early commencement of married life.

Before we can thoroughly understand the evils arising from the first heading, we must have a little knowledge of some other Indian ceremonies and customs.

There are three principal ceremonies in connection with marriage : (1) The betrothal ; (2) the nuptials ; (3) the muklava, which may be translated as honeymoon.

The betrothal is simply an agreement of marriage at some future time, and, strictly speaking, does not bind the parties ; marriage can easily be cancelled after betrothal, without placing the parties under any obligation or materially affecting either of the young people. But, once the marriage ceremony has taken place, nothing in the world can separate the couple, as there is no divorce in Hindu law. Whether they enter into real married life or not, their social position is that of husband and wife hereafter. The third ceremony is the muklava, which does not generally take place directly

after marriage : one, three, five, or seven years usually elapse before this ceremony, which means the commencement of married life, is solemnized.

From the above marriage customs, it is obvious that the marriage ceremony does not mean entering married life ; rather a period of time, extending to seven years or more, must elapse before the couple know each other as husband and wife. In the meantime, the destructive hand of Nature, governed by some unknown laws, destroys many a soul, besides leaving many others enfeebled, invalided, and permanently affected by various diseases. All these infirmities and evil habits acquired by one during this period are patiently borne by the other, while life is embittered and a family seems a heavy burden.

If, in consequence of the death of one of the parties, the survivor is a widower, another marriage is compulsory, and therefore much expense must be again incurred, so well known to every reader or hearer of the Hindu marriage splendour, and a fact which is said to have greatly affected the national economical condition. If a widow, there is no remedy. Hindu custom does not allow widow marriage, though legal restrictions have been abolished by the Indian Government Act XV. of 1856. The poor girl must live a widow and die the death of a martyr of life-long widowhood. The whole of her life consists of fasting, penances, and attending religious and charitable functions, while her hardships are unimaginable, only known to an Indian widow.

Our feelings of pity should come to a climax when we know that at the time of the last Indian Census there were in India 19,487 widows under five years of age, 115,285 under the age of ten, and 391,147 under the age of fifteen ; not widows nominally, but actual widows, who (as it is believed) sinned in their last birth, and, as a punishment, cannot have a husband until their next birth.

All these widows and all their sufferings are the result of early marriages. A writer on Indian widows says : " No

doubt a large proportion of Indian widows is on account of early marriages."

Now we come to the second head, the early muklava, the solemnization of which means the commencement of married life. Early muklava is an evil of a rather physiological character, and therefore of greater importance. This evil has much to do with the morality, physique, education, and economics—in short, the general well-being of India.

Early as they marry in India, very often they also commence the married life early, and live together as husband and wife soon after, if not before, they attain maturity. Undoubtedly India is a hot country, children grow up quickly, the structure and faculties develop sooner than they do in cold countries; still, as a rule, they enter the family life much earlier than they ought to. It is a grave mistake to suppose, as people generally do, that puberty implies fitness for marriage.

The Hon. Dr. M. L. Sircar, M.D., with the help of an instance, explains it thus: "The teeth are no doubt intended for the mastication of solid food, but it would be a grievous error to think that the child, the moment he begins to cut the teeth, will be able to live on solid food."

Therefore this question is physiologically objectionable. It hinders growth and vigour; it causes mental degradation and physical deterioration; it is a hurtful drain on the constitution of husband and wife; it is said to produce diseases in all concerned. Moreover, it hinders education, produces large unsupportable families. at an early age, the children are badly brought up, and it is said to produce more female than male offspring.

Every unbiassed thinker, after having thought over the matter for a while, and seen the deadly evil that results from such a state of things, might reasonably ask why the people of India do not put a stop to this custom at once. Even he may go further, and say, "Why, in the twentieth century, when India has so much to do with Western

civilization, has not the custom of early marriages been already rooted out?" But he must remember that custom implies some widespread habit, and in the present case about three hundred million people follow this custom; that, once a custom is fixed, it makes enough room for itself, and ultimately it becomes difficult to eradicate. Just as a man, however bad-natured he be, still finds supporters and friends, true or untrue, in like manner there are a lot of things which go hand in hand with this pernicious custom, and which support it most cordially.

Now, let us try to find out what support this custom of early marriages has got.

The Indian people are strictly endogamists and hypergamists. They always marry in their own caste, and the husband is generally of the higher caste. Both these customs limit the area of choice, and therefore compel parents to secure appropriate bridegrooms or brides as soon as possible, quite regardless of the evil effects of infant marriages.

Polygamy also, to some extent, fosters this pernicious custom. It is true that polygamy is not largely practised in India, where it is rather an enjoyment of luxury, and confined to rich, but imprudent, people. In other sections of Indian society polygamy is generally the result of an unfruitful marriage, when a childless husband marries a second wife in order to have a male child to perform those Hindu rites which can be performed by male offspring alone. In such cases, also, the bride is usually of an age when she has no discretion.

Again, an astrologer's opinion is supposed to be quite a necessary thing in the performance of every religious ceremony, and, unfortunately, there are certain planets which, in their certain positions, forbid the performance of marriage in certain period of time. Therefore either earlier or later they should be performed, and generally the former course is followed. Astrology also forbids the nuptial connection between people whose horoscopes do not agree

in certain ways known to astrological mathematicians ; hence comes the difficulty which narrows the field of choice, and people naturally hasten to pick up the partners for their children.

Shraddha is another belief, which has also to answer for early marriages, and about which Rev. T. E. Slater writes thus : " The second religious basis of child marriage is the doctrine of Shraddha, or the ceremonies that follow the funeral rites. Orthodox Hindus believe that if they do not leave sons behind them who will offer food for their souls after death, they cannot reach heaven ; if they can secure this, they may rest satisfied. But intelligent men do not believe that balls of rice and flour can have any effect on departed spirits ; that any ceremonies or sacred places can accelerate the progress of disembodied relatives to heaven."

The last and most important factor and the primary basis of early marriages are the religious precepts given by the Brahman, whose watchword is : " The father, mother, and elder brother of a girl go to hell should they see her attain her puberty in their family " ; and sometimes modifying the tone, the Brahman declares : " A father who keeps a grown-up girl unmarried is guilty of infanticide."

And as to the belief in these precepts on the part of the people, Lala Baij Nath describes the situation thus : " It may be asked, How did these absurdities come to be believed in by a people who boast of such a glorious past, such a rich literature, and such subtle philosophy ?" To which he answers : " The Hindu is eminently religious ; his religion is a living force with him, and always keeps him company — eating, drinking, sleeping or waking, he is bound up in his religion. A people so eminently religious it is difficult to find. The Hindu's religious teacher knows this, and taking advantage of it, gives any precept he wishes to enforce the sanction of religion, and appeals to his disciples' ideas of reward and punishment hereafter, with the result that the latter believes without questioning or troubling himself about the precept being ever so contrary

to common-sense. The Brahmin is nothing if he is not mysterious, and the national mind, having been crushed and enslaved under a thousand and one repressive influences, lost all power to question the validity of his precepts, till English education and Western culture came in to its aid."

The above facts, which are at the bottom of this destructive custom of early marriages, and the religious beliefs of Indian people, clearly show that there is no hope of its abolition in the near future, unless with the help of the Government.

The Baroda and Mysore Governments have already passed Acts against early marriages in their territories, making the person who takes part in any marriage under a certain age liable to prosecution, and, as a result, marriages under certain age, which, so far as my knowledge goes, is at least ten or twelve in the case of a girl, and twelve or fourteen in the case of a boy, have been altogether stopped, and therefore there is a flourishing future before the people of these two big States of India, so far as early marriages are concerned. As regards such legislation in British India, many proposals have been set forth.

In 1884 Mr. Malabari, a well-known public-spirited gentleman of Bombay, appealed in forcible language to the Government of India to devise means to put restrictions upon the practice of early marriages and enforced widowhood, and made the following proposals concerning early marriages :

1. No married student should be admitted to a university examination.
2. Preference should be given to unmarried candidates in Government employment.
3. Books against early marriages should be introduced into public schools.
4. The State should rule that parents or male guardians who bring about the marriage of their sons at the age of eight or ten with a girl of twelve or more should be held criminally responsible.

5. University graduates and others should form themselves into an association and take a pledge not to marry under a certain age, and that no educated man shall marry a girl too much under his age.

Mr. Malabari depicted the evils incident to said customs, and called upon the Government to mitigate them.

The Government, on finding some truth in these evils, took the matter into serious consideration, and called upon the local governments and administrations to think over and give their opinions on this subject, which the Government considered was of very great importance to the social well-being of Indian people. The local governments asked for the opinions of well-known officials and non-officials ; but, as Mr. Malabari's proposals were rather of a stringent character, nobody agreed with him in wishing to force on their enactment, though the serious evils and injurious effects of this custom on the body and mind of the nation were on all sides admitted. Some persons submitted the proposals of their own of a more practical and milder character.

When the papers from all the local governments and administrations with their opinions reached the Government of India the subject was discussed at some length, and finally dropped.

The following is an extract from the views of Government on this matter :

“In dealing with such subjects as those raised by Mr. Malabari's notes, the British Government in India has usually been guided by certain general principles. For instance, when caste or custom enjoins a practice which involves a breach of the ordinary criminal law, the State will force the law. When caste or custom lays down a rule which is of its nature enforcible in the civil courts, but is clearly opposed to morality or public policy, the State will decline to enforce it. When caste or custom lays down a rule which deals with such matters as are usually left to the option of citizens, and which do not need the aid of civil

or criminal courts for their enforcement, State interference is not considered either desirable or expedient.

“ In the application of such general principles to particular cases there is doubtless room for differences of opinion ; but there is one common-sense test which may often be applied with advantage in considering whether the State should or should not interfere in its legislative or executive capacity with social or religious questions of the kind now under notice. The test is, ‘ Can the State give effect to its commands by the ordinary machinery at its disposal ? ’ If not, it is desirable that the State should abstain from making a rule which it cannot enforce without a departure from its usual practice or procedure.

“ If this test be applied in the present case, the reasons will be apparent why His Excellency in Council considers that interference by the State is undesirable, and that the reforms advocated by Mr. Malabari, which affect the social customs of many races, with probably as many points of difference as of agreement, must be left to the improving influences of time, and to the gradual operation of the mental and moral development of the people by the spread of education.”

Mr. Whiteley Stokes, the late member of Viceroy's Council, some years ago advocated Government legislation against early marriages in the following words : “ We have already, by the Indian Act XV. of 1856, removed all obstacles to re-marriages ; but the number of widows who availed themselves of this Act is infinitesimally small. The only practical course is to limit the number of young widows. This can be done by abolishing the system of infant marriages, in accordance with which boys are often wedded at the age of nine or ten, and girl-wives married at four or five, becoming widows before their boy-husbands grow up. As a Hindu marriage is not a contract, our courts are compelled to recognise such unions. We must therefore legislate in the Governor-General's Council, and the operative part

of the necessary Bill might be in the following form :
(1) Every marriage solemnized between Hindus after this Act comes into force shall be void unless, at the date of the marriage, the husband has completed his age of sixteen years, and the wife has completed her age of twelve years.
(2) Every party to a marriage made contrary to the provisions of this Act, and every person abetting, within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, any such marriage, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or fine, or to both."

Many other proposals have now and then been made, but the Government has always stuck to its principle of non-interference in such matters, except that under the viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, when the Government came across a very serious criminal case under Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code, and found that the provisions of the said section were weak enough not to be applied to the accused, who had actually committed a serious crime. The authorities, by Act X. of 1891, amended the Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code, raising the age of a girl from ten to twelve years, at which she can be forced by her husband to enter the family life. So far so good. But what about so many poor widows who, on account of early marriages, are made to lead miserable lives? What morality will allow such a thing? When and what kind of Government shall they look to to save them?

Allowing that the Government interference is not desirable, has not the Government got other means to eradicate, or, at least, to mitigate, the custom of early marriages, and thus save the female children or, at least, a proportion of them, from improper widowhood?

Let the Government pass an Act, the operative part of which may be somewhat in the following form :

1. This Act shall apply : (a) To those persons only who belong to such caste, sub-caste, religion, or community, which, after holding public meetings, pass a resolution to

come under the protection of this Act ; (b) to those districts only in which such meetings have been held for the above said purpose.

2. Under this Act, no marriage shall have the legal force, unless at the date of marriage the husband has completed his twelfth year and the wife her tenth year.

Let the Government also exert its influence on different castes and communities in every district to hold meetings and come to a definite conclusion.

By such an action on the part of the Government, we may be sure that almost every caste, every religion, and every community in the whole of India, by the influence of the Government and under the leadership of educated people, will, with great pleasure, place itself under this Act.

The Government will do immense good to the well-being of the whole country, save 115,285 girls from child widowhood every ten years, and shall win the hearts of the people.

Everybody in India is fully aware of the evils, and the passing of such an Act would simply give a chance to fulfil their desires. Strictly speaking, such an Act will not force the people, rather give them a choice.

But if the Government cannot enact such a mild measure, the custom of early marriages is not likely to diminish until the education spreads enough to suppress it.

SAKHALIN OR KARAFTO.

BY L. V. DALTON, F.R.G.S.

IN view of the notoriety acquired by the island of Sakhalin, owing to the prominent part it has played in the recently concluded peace negotiations between Japan and Russia, it may be that the following items of information as to its history, scenery, and inhabitants, for the most part collected during a visit of the writer to the island some two years ago, will not be devoid of interest to the readers of this journal.

Not a year ago the majority of English people either had not heard of Sakhalin (or Saghalien), or, at all events, were absolutely ignorant of its position on the globe, so that, even now, a note on that head may not be useless. The island lies off the east coast of Siberia (the Amurland), between latitudes $45^{\circ} 54'$ and $54^{\circ} 24'$ N., and is separated from the mainland by the Gulf and Straits of Tartary, the latter being very narrow at about latitude 52° and full of sandbanks, somewhat clearer now than formerly, as shown by the fact that towards the close of the eighteenth century a small vessel of 10 feet draught failed to pass through them; while southwards the Straits of La Pérouse separate it from Yezo.

Its history is not extensive, but perhaps may be said to date from 1613, when the island was discovered by the Japanese, after which little more was heard of it till in 1643 a Dutch expedition anchored in Aniva Bay, at the south end of the island, and in 1645 a Russian traveller in Siberia reported rumours of an island off the mouth of the Amur. From that time onwards there are few or no records of visits to the island, but in 1774 Stellers published a work on Kamtchatka, in which is a map showing "Sagalin Insel," extending from latitude 54° N. to 49° N., opposite the Amur mouth, and in 1787 La Pérouse discovered that it extended to latitude 48° or further; in 1848, however, a

Russian writer described it as a peninsula, but in the following year Captain Nevelski established the existence of a navigable channel between Sakhalin and the mainland, though his discovery was not made public till 1855. Prior to this date the southern half of the island had been occupied by the Japanese under the name of Karafto, the northern half being under China and called *Saghalien onla anga hata* (cliffs, or rocks, at the mouth of the black river); the first word, meaning "black," has since, with unintentional appropriateness for the convicts, been adopted as the name of the island. In 1855 a treaty was made between Japan and Russia, recognising the possession of the northern half by the European power; a year or so later military posts were established on the island, and an attempt was made to utilize convict labour in the Dui coal-mines; in 1869, 800 convicts were sent there, and, finding the experiment successful, the Government decided to make it a convict settlement. By the Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1875 the southern half was ceded to Russia in exchange for the Kuriles, since when more and more convicts have been sent to the island, and from 1883 onwards *all* women convicts. Its history since the beginning of the war is too well known from the accounts in the daily papers to need repetition here.

Any work dealing with Sakhalin published previous to 1903, when Mr. Hawes, in his "Uttermost East," very fully and accurately described the island, would almost invariably set down the climate as damp and foggy, with only a few days of sunshine in the year, and so forth. No greater libel was ever issued, for, on the contrary, not only does the visitor to the island in summer experience some of the finest weather he could wish for, but the official meteorological records show the same for past years. In August and September the days are often very hot, though at night the temperature falls to nearly freezing-point; but it is not till October that the first snow appears on the hilltops and the winter begins with its dry, healthy

cold, like that of Canada, lasting till the following April or May.

The island is about 600 miles long and 16 to 100 miles wide, giving an area approximately equal to that of Greece. A mountainous ridge runs along the island for the whole of its length, flanked by low sandstone hills to the east and west, but of greater extent on the east. There are two principal rivers, both reaching the sea on the east: the Tim, flowing northwards into Nyi Bay to the Okhotsk Sea, and the Poronai, flowing southwards into Patience Gulf, towards the Pacific. The scenery of the two coasts is dissimilar in some respects; thus on the western, the warmer side, the forest stretches down to the sea, but on the eastern, as one approaches the Okhotsk Sea, whence come cold, piercing winds, the *taiga* (Siberian virgin forest) gives place to hills covered with white reindeer-moss and but few trees, or to broad stretches of tundra near the river mouths. Both hills and valleys in the interior are, for the most part, clad with dense pine-forest, three-quarters of the island being so covered. The flora shows a strange admixture of polar and subtropical species, the latter being more especially in evidence in the south-west of the island, where the vegetation and scenery resemble that of Northern Japan. The forests to the north are composed chiefly of larch, pine, birch, and other north temperate or polar species, with wild raspberry, bog-myrtle, and other undergrowth. On the coasts, on the broad stretches of Siberian tundra, occur various small polar plants. To the south are maple, oak, ash, bamboo, cork-tree, and other subtropical trees or shrubs. The fauna shows a similar variety—the bear, fox, a few wolves, reindeer, etc., occurring in company with the small striped squirrel of Northern India; and in the rivers, or on the coasts, seal, salmon, and other more southern fish abound, while the “spouts” of Greenland whales are no uncommon sight on the coast washed by the Okhotsk Sea. Amongst the birds it has been estimated that an equal percentage of species, from 10 to 20 per cent.,

are respectively polar and subtropical, birds proper to the Arctic regions being often seen at the same time as those common in Southern Japan and other semitropical regions.

This brief summary will serve to show that of Sakhalin it may with truth be said that "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile," for, while the natural scenery is beautiful, the white population consists, with a few exceptions, of, on the one hand, convicts, and, on the other, officials and soldiers, who, too frequently, are little better or even worse than their prisoners. The total number of inhabitants is about 36,000, of whom 4,000 only are natives. The Russians are, for the most part, confined to two circles, one round Alexandrovsk, on the west coast opposite De Castries Bay, and the other round Khorsakovsk, on Aniva Bay, in the extreme south of the island. A few settlements are scattered up and down outside these areas, but the principal prisons are at Alexandrovsk and Khorsakovsk, with a large subprison at Rikovsk inland, in the Timovsk district, east of Alexandrovsk. The last-named, which is practically the capital of the island (though, having no municipal authority, it is hardly to be called a town, and is, in point of fact, known officially as *Post Alexandrovski*), is situated on the west coast in latitude 51° N., and stands on the river terrace of the Alexander River, which the departing or arriving traveller has to cross on his way between the town and the jetty in Jonquièrre Bay, whence a launch plies to and from any steamer anchored in the vicinity. It consists of a cluster of log-built houses and cabins covering an area of approximately 80 acres, with a prison, the Governor's offices (the present Governor holds power direct from the Czar), a club, three churches (Greek, Roman Catholic, and Islam), a museum, bank, and post-office. Outside the last-named building is a notice, "St. Petersburg, 10,186 versts" (1 verst = '662 miles), a somewhat terrifying distance for a dog-sleigh, by which means the first part of the journey to Nikolaevsk is performed in midwinter, the island being then inaccessible to ships.

To the club, patronized by the "society" of Alexandrovsk, is attached a theatre in which performances are occasionally given, either by the convicts themselves or by touring companies. The museum contains, besides many specimens illustrating the natural history of the island, a collection of native curios and costumes, with models of houses, etc., and many implements and models made or used by the convicts. The other settlements range from flourishing villages, such as Rikovsk and Derbinsk, on the Tim, to a few huts in clearings in the *taiga*, with sometimes not half a dozen inhabitants.

The Russian convicts, on reaching the island, are placed in one or other of the "chained" prisons at Alexandrovsk or Khorsakovsk, where they are kept in fetters and idleness for a term varying in length with the whole sentence from eight years for a life sentence and downwards. On the expiration of this they pass on to the "testing" prison, in which they live, and work during the day at road-making or in the coal-mines. Here, again, the time spent varies with the length of the sentence, and on the expiration of the term they go out and earn their living in the town, having only to report themselves and sleep in the prison; this period exhausted, they go out and live as exile peasants, owning their plots of land and their cottages, until the time comes at last when they may return to the mainland, seldom, however, to Europe, and comparatively few go even to Siberia. The convict, sometimes innocent or condemned for a trivial offence, who has spent several years on Sakhalin, forced to associate with brigands or cut-throats, has little hope or ambition left when his sentence is expired, and prefers to remain as a peasant on the island.

The native population is thus composed: Gilyaks, over 2,000; Ainus, 1,300; Orotchons, 750; and 200 Tungus. But the figures given are, of course, only approximate. The first-named are, in part, at least, a Mongol race, possessing the characteristic features of the Manchus, pigtailed, high cheek-bones, etc.; they live on the banks

of the rivers and on the coast, living almost entirely upon fish (salmon abound in all the streams). Their only religion appears to be a manner of spirit worship, while their language resembles that of the natives of the Alaskan coast and the Aleutians. Many interesting stories might be told of their customs, etc., but space will only permit a brief mention at present. The Ainus are too well known from the many descriptions of their brethren in Yezo and elsewhere. The Orotchons, a Mongol tribe, short-haired, and somewhat resembling the Japanese in appearance, live also on fish, but their villages are chiefly on the coast, and they are much more cleanly in their habits than the Gilyaks. In religion they are Christians (Greek Orthodox). The Tungus are the offshoots of the Manchu race, and in many ways are superior to the Orotchons, but vastly inferior to their relations in the palace at Peking.

But scanty though the population is for the size of the country, Sakhalin has no lack of resources, both vegetable, animal, and mineral; its forests furnish valuable and beautiful timber, well exemplified by the collection in the Alexandrovsk Museum. An extensive trade has been, and is, carried on by Chinese, Japanese, and Russian merchants in trepang, or sea cabbage, of the lagoons on the east coast. The Orotchons and Tungus do a fairly large trade in the skins of the bear, fox, reindeer, seal, and other smaller animals, while the streams abound in salmon, thousands of which die annually owing to the careless and filthy habits of the Gilyaks—a waste easily prevented by proper management, which might also turn the rivers of Sakhalin to valuable account on this score. In the mineral kingdom, the coals of the Dui-Alexandrovsk mines have been worked for many years, and gold and other metals occur at many points, though an obstacle to the development of these deposits is the fact that in the forests the soil is frozen at 4 feet deep all the year round; petroleum also occurs on the east coast, but little or no exploitation has so far been carried on.

Enough has been said to show that the convict island of Russia, however it may appear to the unfortunate prisoners, is not the bare, desolate island it may have seemed to many from earlier descriptions and general ideas of Siberian convict life, but a land which, apart from its strategical value due to its position at the Amur mouth, may well be desired by the Japanese for its resources, while its alignment with Yezo and Nippon seems to make it a natural part of the Island Empire. In any case, the annexation of the southern half by Japan will materially benefit the country, seeing that it means an end of the use of that part as a convict settlement ; and, under present conditions, as the Russian " Guide to the Great Siberian Railway " expresses it, " The inhabitants, being deprived of their freedom, care but little for the future prosperity of the island " ; so that, while the presence of the convicts tends to discourage any outside attempt at development of Sakhalin's resources, they themselves have no interest in advancing any steps towards improvement in this respect.

THE DUALISM OF ISAIAH XLV. 7: WAS IT ZOROASTRIAN?

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

ISAIAH XLV. 3: "I am Yahweh, the Lord, that call thee, Cyrus, by thy name, even the God of Israel. For Jakob My servant's sake, and for Israel My chosen, I have called thee by thy name; I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known Me. (5) I am Yahweh, and there is none else; beside Me there is no God: I will gird thee, though thou hast not known Me: (6) That they may know from the Rising of the Sun, and from the West, that there is none beside Me. I am Yahweh (the Lord), and there is none else; I form the Light and create Darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am Yahweh (the Lord), that doeth all these things." What shall we say to these passages, and especially to the last?—"I form the Light and create Darkness; I make peace and create evil; I am Yahweh, that doeth all these things." I propose to ask what is the theological meaning of it. Or has it any special intelligible meaning at all? Is it anything beyond a mere flat assertion that "the Lord made all things, good and evil"? It would indeed sound strange enough to us that the "Scriptures" should present any such a proposition here as an abstract discussion, even one concerning the Origin of Evil, and we should view such a supposed discovery with a suspicion almost sardonic. And if the passage, with its bearings, were at all of the ordinary type, we should not hesitate for a moment to discard the possibility of any reference to such profound interior distinctions. Yet the whole matter, when viewed in connection with one great characteristic of a certain religion, only presumably the religion of the Inscriptions, becomes peculiar to the last degree. What, then, at least, let us ask, may it *possibly* have meant? or we may at once make bold to say, "What *did* it probably mean?"

THE DUALISM OF ISAIAH XLV.

As I have said above, it has long been thought by some expositors that the words meant exactly what they seem to mean. That is to say, the opinion has long been held that they assert the claim that Yahweh was empowered to control evil in its entire mass, and for the reason that He "created" it; whereas the words imply that the God of Cyrus was bereft of this function. Note the extraordinary iterations of exclusive authority, and even of exclusive existence, made in the name of the Jewish Deity—"I am Yahweh, the Lord, and there is none else; beside Me there is no God," etc. But what was the occasion for such a definitive antagonism just here? Was there not some Theological Doctrine in the near presence of Yahweh at the moment which threatened and challenged His Omnipotence as to a certain particular? and did this Doctrine necessarily concern the Possession of Omnipotence in regard to "making peace or creating evil"? In a word, did not the terms in the connection necessarily include a reference to a Dualism? But where is such an idea to be found in the entire horizon of the situation? Where, then, could it have come from if it be present in these texts of Isaiah xlv.?

THE DOCTRINE IS DIFFICULT TO BE TRACED IN ANY OTHER CONTEMPORANEOUS DOCUMENTS, SEMITIC OR ARYAN.

We may, indeed, search both the Inscriptions and the Scriptures throughout, and yet get no further answer. But another witness arises once more upon the scene to explain the doubtful language of the Prophet. The curious words indeed express an exceptional Doctrine of Dualism; not, indeed, such a Dualism as exists between nature and a transcendent "God" with Plato and his set,* but a simpler and a downright "Two-god" view.

The two foci of ideas: good and evil elements, were sifted, and multiplicities avoided. Such was the scheme

* Properly first suggested by Anaxagoras.

precisely. It focussed all the evil influences or personal forces in the Universe on the one side, and all the good ones on the other, instead of frittering the great thought of "universal conflict" away by leaving its elements an unsifted tangle of never-ending wranglings among a multitude of gods and godlets. And it emphatically objected to seeing "all things" so hopelessly involved* in confusion and antagonism as they are, while yet those thus believing in such a confusion should be at liberty to hold at this same time to the doctrine that those same confused and mutually antagonistic elements were the product of One universally Supreme and unchangeably "good" Creator. This Dualistic principle would hear nothing whatsoever of such a thing. It coolly announced that there were *two* co-eternal Forces in the Universe which were wholly antagonistical the one to the other, and it implied a sharp denial that there was any One Supreme Being who was half-evil and half-good. The good Deity not only *did* not, but He *could* not, create "evil," which was the work of a separate Original. There were, therefore, two separated and mutually independent Forces contending together in the commingled mass of existing things, the one wholly "good," and the other wholly "evil"; and they were also *personal*: *there were two First Spirits*. And this hypothesis became notoriously recognised in history later, and it is very familiar in its results to us all as critics.†

If this be indeed the secret of Isaiah's texts, it is a contribution to the science of Comparative Philosophy which is startling enough to repay us at once for our investigations. But did it, indeed, come from the Avesta, or from its Aryan sources? and if so, by what means was it communicated? The rejoinder should at once be made: "Have we not a better certified source for it?"

* The Gumezeshn, or "mixing," was abhorrent to Zoroastrian instincts even in the later literature.

† It was reproduced notoriously in Gnosticism, or in some sects of it, and also by the Manichæans. Compare first of all the Christian Satan.

But our opposition should immediately intervene: Was not Assyrian Dualism the true source of Isaiah's expressions in spite of the overwhelming force of the facts in the connection which point irresistibly to Cyrus?

Assyriologists most properly put forward the chaotic Dualism which appears upon the Inscriptions which they have so laboriously studied, and—to some extent, at least—have so ably succeeded in explaining. But with all earnest sympathy with their arduous work and with its brilliant results, both they and I would class that Dualism of Assyria with the great mass of such-like doctrine scattered everywhere.

It is most certainly a significant point, if, indeed, it be thoroughly made out, that the Babylonians could never arrive at one single original principle.* And to my mind the two principles, "water" and "chaos," are most engaging. But they (Apsu and Tyāmāt) become at the next step the symbol of "sexual union," and the "conflict" proper only begins with the advent of the later gods, their product. The first two of the "three classes of deities each consist of a pair, while the third is the well-known Triad of the old Babylonian theology, Anu, Bel, and Ea. . . ." On a certain tablet ten pairs of gods, are enumerated. "To each one an associate is given in accord with the established doctrine of Duality (!) that characterizes the more advanced of the ancient Semitic cults in general."

This, indeed, possesses the greatest interest and value in itself considered, but what has it conceivably to do with our present question? That "pairing" does not at all belong to either a philosophical or a mythical principle of the character proposed. Valuable as I again cheerfully admit such a Dualism as this to be, we can find it everywhere. There is not a cult which has ever been known which did not possess similar traces of this familiar phenomenon. All forms of faith group good and evil gods on opposing sides. If we had nothing else but this, we should, indeed, have

* See Jastrow, p. 412.

to be content with it; but here we are seeking something definite, pronounced, and plain, a great historical intellectual circumstance.

IF ASSYRIAN DUALISM IS THEN OUT OF ALL QUESTION, WHAT SHALL WE SAY OF ACHÆMENIAN DUALISM?

As for this form of Dualism, it can only be said to have existed as a presumption and as a postulate. Darius names, indeed, a devilish personified abstraction, the drauga; and he reiterates in thunder-tones his detestation of his (?) work, using it as the substance of a verb "denominative" (aduru-jiya); but where is there anything approaching to a positive proof in the Inscriptions that his Auramazda did not "create evil," or could not have created it if he had so willed, or that there existed any other uncreated source of it?

To find such an idea we must turn again to a still sublimer, if yet more formidable, theory, but still to one which, as we hope we have proved, is closely related to the Inscriptions, and which is almost built-up upon the sought-for concept both in the structure of its foundations and in the completion of its fuller frame.

AS AGAINST BOTH ASSYRIAN DUALISM AND BEHISTŪN,
COMPARE ONCE MORE THE AVESTA.

It is again the Lore most immediately in point, and it is the only surviving system anywhere which has any original bearing at all upon the subject in any serious shape or form—that is to say, it is the only Lore of the needed antiquity and of a distinctly religious cast* which throws light upon the expressions in our texts. Its God is the Auramazda of the Inscriptions, though in an older and verbally separated form; and its Demon is, on the other hand, the evil God,

* Not only did Heraclitus deal in a Dualism (within a Monism) later, but the very Platonic scheme is such (see above), the transcendent God being essentially divided from existing substance; unless, however, we personify both this "being" and non-existent God on the one side, and "inert" matter on the other, the Dualism of the Academy is not Zoroastrian. We have in the Avesta a wholly good God on the one side, and a wholly evil one on the other (see Y. 45, 2).

who, as Isaiah feared, might wrest from Yahweh the sad prerogative referred to.*

Isaiah's allusion owes its real origin to those singular fragments which, under the name of Gāthas, are so valuable a heritage to the intellectual religious history of man, or to their fully cognate sources within this Lore, and within it alone.

THERE WAS AN AHURA, AND THERE WAS AN ANGRA MAINYU.

The last was the "evil" or "torturing spirit." In the later forms of Zoroastrianism, and even in the later but still genuine Avesta, the ideas become overgrown with the weeds of Myth, but in the older and original Avesta they are hard and clear. These ancient pieces, if reason does not belie itself, are of earlier date than the Inscriptions, and they are of such a character as to introduce us at once to great thoughts. In them we have an actually definitive statement of the concept.

THE INTERIOR OF THE MATTER.

That severe and truly awful question, which, though it may not always be put into words, must yet be ever present, lying at the foundations of all cogitation, where capable men engage in speculative reflection,† not only existed as a problem among those who first heard the Gāthas chanted, but it was obviously to them the fundamental thought, and it led them to a conclusion at once astounding and enlightening, though it is probable that at that early age thoughts were still fixed rather upon the deficiency of Power on the part of Godhead, as shown in the chaotic condition of the Universe rather than upon deficiency in character.

THE INTERIOR OF THE MATTER YET MORE CLOSELY CONSIDERED: THE ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTIONS.

For ages groups or hosts of unseen evil beings had been believed in and reported, but nowhere—so far, at least, as my

* That of being in any original sense "the author of evil."

† The origin of evil.

information extends—had any such definite statements with reference to the terrific facts exposed been made before the date of the pieces named above, with their now long-lost companions.

There were Gods in plenty who were “goodish,” but who sometimes erred immoderately, and there were some evil Gods who were at intervals capable of better things; but where was the God ever good,* and with this, where is the description of One pre-eminent Being ever evil so much as bruited† at the dates involved, these supposed Deities being also “twin” concepts?

The God of the Avesta “created the heavens and the earth, man, and civilization for him”; and beside Him there was no Deity, great or little, in that Lore who could compare with Him as to this function; but whatever else He made, His creative energy paused at one dire juncture, which was, unhappily, the second great circumstance in the existing Universe. He had absolutely nothing at all to do with the source of either the lesser or the supreme agonies which we suffer or inflict; that is to say, so far as the Documents report the existence of any such supposed fact.

HE DID NOT CREATE EVIL.

This great attempt to save the “dignity,” and perhaps the “honour,” also of our God for us modified the first formula which attributed the source of the Universe to Him, and this with an antithesis which, when we soberly appreciate it, becomes immense.

A FELLOW-CREATOR.

The Maker of heaven and earth, of man and his culture, was not *alone* in a supreme activity during the great originating actions.

* Here, of course, I say nothing about the modern view of a Supreme Deity, which is, however, of course, as we all acknowledge, not intellectually co-ordinated; we here especially look down upon “poor human reason.”

† The doctrine of Mani does not intervene here, as it was extremely late.

Blasphemous as the tone of it may sound to some of us in the West and to the orthodox everywhere (if, indeed, it does not seem to some of us to be ridiculous), it is still none the less maintained as if self-evident. "There were indeed *Two First Spirits*, a better, they two and an evil, as to thought, as to word, as to deed." "And when these Two Spirits came together they made life and non-life, and how the world at last shall be ordered, for the saints (in the end) the Best Mind, but for the faithless the worse mental state. . . ."* And the better One had no share in either originating or permitting the more painful of these two alternatives.

WAS THE DOCTRINE MERELY ACADEMIC ?

But was not this a mere jugglery of thought worked out by dreamy doctrinaires, and vaguely held by a few vain hearers under exceptional circumstances and for short periods of time ? *There is every reason to believe that it was held most seriously by hundreds of thousands at least, if not by millions,† throughout a large part of the great Persian Empire, and for successive generations.* And in every one of these epochs highly-gifted men came doubtless to the fore in those early centuries, and grasped the whole intellectual situation, feeling themselves deeply stirred by the character of the great idea.‡ Popularly, the external features of the theory degenerated with the passing-on of time, as, of course, they were necessitated to do till they finally became the familiar hypothesis of a God and a Devil with the latter thoroughly subordinated, but this process itself must have been only gradual. The case which the Babylonian Isaiah refers to was, however, not originally that. "I make light and create darkness ; I make peace and create evil" was levelled at no "Satan," however promoted ; a Rival God was thought of.

* See Y. 30, 3, 4, as if the "Best Mind" were heaven, and the "Worst Mind" hell. Cf. "Gāthas," pp. 435-440.

† Not that the bulk of the masses had any interior understanding of it.

‡ Just as the disciples of Mani were later moved by similar considerations.

And must we not note also the strange foreshadowing of modern pessimism? Who could have dreamed that our present prevailing (?) Philosophical systems should have been first stated in their principle by the pious sage of Iran? Yet if "sublated" evil is the complement of good, and a co-eternal and inexorable condition, what is this, barring the personifications, but the Zoroastrian system of an eternal [co-existing evil element as the necessary complement to all that is favourable, and its indispensable condition—nay, an indispensable condition to existence. See Hegel everywhere, who, indeed, in all historic probability, echoed the idea as it finds its root in the Avesta, through Jakob Boehme and the Gnostics.

A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.*

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

A LARGE steamship is very like a huge, living animal—a leviathan afloat, whether lying at rest in the harbour or gently forcing her way through the trackless and smooth waste of waters bounding the horizon on which she makes a path for herself, gliding pleasantly along with little to oppose or impede her progress as she rushes onward to her destination, but entirely different when the ocean shows his strength and the wind rouses his latent passions into action; then she seems to fight and wrestle with her opponent, groaning and creaking under the stress of the conflict, and apparently pleased and happy when the contest is over and she has been the conqueror in the duel. Such occasions arise unexpectedly and in the open sea during a voyage, and there are also particular localities where the ocean seems to have a spite at man venturing without leave in some parts of her dominion, and making him feel what a puny creature he is in this elemental strife. During a slight hurricane it was pleasant to go to the prow of the vessel and see her sharp nose clearing a way for herself calmly and persistently like Tam O'Shanter :

“The storm without, might rair † and rustle,
Tam did na mind the storm a whistle.”

Time has quite altered since the Mediterranean was the *mare magnum* (the great sea) of the world, when nothing but sailing vessels were on its bosom, when storms arose, and the shouting of the sailors and the creaking of the cordage gave evidence of their danger, and when Old Neptune with his trident had command over it and sent Æolus and his comrades back to their hollow caves, and so allayed the storm and thus saved the lives of Pius Æneas and his devoted crews. Neptune is now quite dead, though at times he makes a brief appearance when the vessels

* Continued from our April issue, pp. 288-300. † Roar.

cross the Line. The Atlantic and the Pacific are now the chief water highways of commerce and civilization, and empires greater than the ancient dominions of the old world have such intercommunication with each other as in early ages was quite impossible. Columbus, Vasca de Gama, and Magellan, opened quite a new world to the inhabitants of the Eastern Hemisphere. Dampier was the first British navigator who landed in Australia, and about a hundred years later, Cook visited a great part of the Southern Continent, and also New Zealand. Captain Fitzroy in the *Beagle* explored the whole coast of Australia, etc., and brought to our knowledge the vast extent of the area of these islands during his voyage to the Southern Seas from 1837 to 1843. Since then a great change has taken place in them, and instead of being territories inhabited by roving barbarians whose chief employment was fighting and killing each other, we now find large cities and extensive fertile plains with an industrious population whose occupations and interests and improvements are

“ To scatter plenty o’er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation’s eyes.”

Fortunately, the two countries, with the neighbouring islands, are quite settled under a Parliament and laws of their own, and the inhabitants are as loyal to the Mother Country, or even more so, than the people at home, as they sent a contingent of troops to the South African War, and many a colonial soldier laid down his life—*et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos*—as Victor Hugo relates of the Highlander at Waterloo.

Mr. Donald McDonald of the *Melbourne Argus* has written a book on the war, and gave lectures upon it in New Zealand, and this is what he says of the home troops: “ I shall never while I live cease to admire the soldier, and, above all, the British officer, though perhaps the officer is much the same all the world over. He has no rifle, no cover; with his useless sword in hand, he strides bravely on, pointing the way, a conspicuous target

for every sharpshooter on the ridge above him. It is the correct thing to do. It is the caste of the officer as compared with the man, and it is magnificent" (from "How We Kept the Flag Flying").

The ancients held very crude notions of the world, its antiquity, its form, the changes that have taken place in it before and after man's first appearance on it, its chronology and other questions that have created a great deal of curiosity and discussion, evolving many hypotheses to determine when it was first created, and the changes that have taken place in it since it was first inhabited by man. St. Augustine, who lived in the fifth century, and who at that time was reckoned a very learned man, affirmed that the earth was a flat surface, and the sky as a dome was stretched over it like a mantle, and it must be interesting to our friends at the Antipodes to know that he asserted "that it is impossible that there should be inhabitants on the opposite side of the earth, since no such race is recorded by Scripture among the descendants of Adam." And there was also the unanswerable argument against the earth as a sphere, "that in the Day of Judgment men on the other side of the globe could not see the Lord descending through the air." Such was the general belief of the most learned men in the early ages of Christianity, and such views were held to be infallible by the early Church, and whoever opposed them were anathematized, and many suffered persecution. This state of things lasted for more than a thousand years, when Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, and other learned astronomers, entirely overturned the false system which was upheld by the Popes and ecclesiastical authorities of that age, and our Antipodean friends ought to have a feeling of gratitude towards the astronomers and sea captains who demolished this long-established doctrine, as every time they walk they entirely forget that they ought to fall off mother earth.

The discoveries of these mariners created quite a revolution in the old countries of the Eastern Hemisphere, and

vessels were equipped to seize hold of these territories of the New World, as it was called, and Spain and Portugal took possession of vast tracts of country and islands on the coasts. As Bishop Berkeley said, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," and England seized her share in taking possession of land so easily captured, the greater part of North America falling to her lot, and many islands adjoining the West Continent. Towns on the West and South of England rapidly increased in size and importance from the shipping sent out from these ports to meet the trade which quickly sprang up in the Western Continent and the islands adjoining. In 1377 a poll-tax was made of the towns of England, and this town (Colchester) stood twelfth in the order of populousness. Here is a list of ten towns, copied from the Rev. Edward L. Cutt's book, giving the population of ten of these chief towns compared with their present population :*

Towns.	Population in 1377.	Population in 1901.
London ...	35,000 ...	4,536,541 + 792,314† = 5,328,855
York ...	11,000 ...	77,914
Bristol ...	9,500 ...	339,042
Plymouth ...	7,000 ...	107,636
Coventry ...	7,000 ...	69,978
Norwich ...	6,000 ...	111,733
Lincoln ...	5,000‡ ...	48,784
Salisbury ...	5,000§ ...	20,089 + 8,268|| = 28,357
Lynn ...	4,700 ...	21,613
Colchester ...	4,500 ...	38,373¶
	<hr/> 94,700	<hr/> 5,379,971

The population in these towns is fifty-six times greater than in 1377, in spite of the great emigration from many of them during the past 200 years.

And here is a list of towns of which probably most were not known in 1377, or whose population was too small to

* Kelly's "Local Government Year-book," 1905.

† Middlesex.

‡ And a little over.

§ And a little under.

|| Amesbury.

¶ Should be 40,000; as the troops were in Africa during the taking of the Census.

be noted. These names are given alphabetically ; all above 100,000 marked 1, above 200,000, 2, and so on.

Birkenhead	... 1 W., S.P.	Manchester	... 6 M.
Birmingham	... 5 M.	Newcastle-on-Tyne	2 E., M., P.
Blackburn	... 1 M.	Norwich	... 1 M.
Bolton	... 1 M.	Nottingham	... 2 M.
Bradford	... 2 M.	Oldham	... 1 M.
Brighton	... 1 M., P.	Plymouth	... 1 S.P., S.
Bristol	... 3 W., S.P.	Portsmouth	... 1 S.P., S.
Croydon	... 1 M.	Preston	... 1 M.
Derby	... 1 M.	Salford	... 2 M.
Gateshead	... 1 E., M.	Sheffield	... 4 M.
Halifax	... 1 M.	Southampton	... 1 S., P.
Kingston-upon-Hull	2 E., P.	South Shields	... 1 E., S.P., M.
Leeds	... 4 M.	Sunderland	... 1 E., S.P.
Leicester	... 2 M.	West Ham	... 2 M.
Liverpool	... 7 W., S.P.	Cardiff	... 1 W., S.P., M.

W. Towns on the west coast.

E. Towns on the east coast.

S.P. Sea-ports.

M. Mercantile towns.

S. Towns on the south coast.

P. Ports.

This synoptical view of the chief towns of England at the present time will give an idea of the comparative populousness of the country in 1377, and the enormous increase which has taken place since then in spite of the emigration which has been continually going on from the opening up of the Western Hemisphere and the new colonies in the Southern Ocean. London stands by itself, and its record surpasses all others either in ancient or modern history, whether in size, populousness, prosperity, or advancement in those arts which elevate humanity, and, in spite of many obstacles, has striven to improve the civilization not only of its own population but of the whole Empire.

In 1492 Columbus discovered America, and from that time to Captain Cook's voyage to Australia in 1770—a period of nearly 300 years—a knowledge of the coasts of countries before unknown was made, and since then the internal state also of large territories have been opened up by numerous travellers, and new cities, new races of men, new animals, birds, fishes, trees, etc., have been discovered ; and many rivers, like the Nile, long a mystery as to their origin,

have had their sources made known. In 1819, the first steamship crossed the Atlantic, and from that time man's dominion over the fickle watery element may be recognised as established in the regularity, punctuality, and increased speed with which steamships now accomplish their journeys, and carry multitudes of emigrants to all parts of the globe.

In the coasting steamer in which I voyaged, we had on the Sundays excellent services from two Wesleyan ministers on their way to Melbourne, and on sailing to Invercargill the Rev. Mr. Serpyll, of Timaru, had service in the morning and evening, well adapted to our position at sea, and which was quite appreciated by the passengers on board; and at Timaru in New Zealand and Berry in Australia the churches were well attended, and the sermons quite on a par with those of the old country.

The pleasantest voyage I made throughout all my ocean peregrinations was in the fine colonial coasting vessel, the *Moeraki*, under the charge of Captain Gibb, whose steamer was a model of cleanliness and perfection in its management and discipline. Everything went like clockwork, and the vessel was clean as a new pin, and the excellent meals with nutritious food and attention of the waiters were everything that could be desired. Altogether it was a model of what a passenger vessel ought to be, and reminded me of the fine vessels on the Clyde, where there is the same perfect management, and everything done to make the voyage pleasant for the tourists. What I always wondered at was that such an able sea captain was not in command of one of the fine large ocean steamships that ply on the Atlantic between the Mother Country and the colonies, as his knowledge of the sea, his constant attention to the course of the vessel, and the welfare of his passengers, night and day, were never lost sight of.

The railways in the two colonies are not so well managed as in the Mother Country, and it would be a great improvement if some porters and attendants on the railways

here were induced to leave and take up their duties on the colonial lines.

The book of Nature is a large volume with many leaves, and these have not always a regular sequence, some being altogether torn out and others apparently quite redundant. It requires a keen eye and some knowledge of the various chapters to make the different pages correspond with each other, as the type may be at some places very small—so small, indeed, as to be scarcely visible—or, in other places, so large that it may be seen at a glance, and read easily at a considerable distance. Some also may be so broken up and mixed, the small with the large, that it may greatly perplex most readers to see any sense in the hieroglyphics, yet many adepts can read the characters at a glance, and unfold the mystery concealed in the mixture of broken and worn-out lines.

Geology has its alphabet written on the rocks in indelible characters, and geologists can read the history of the earth and its changes, from the remotest ages to the present time, from these rocky bones which support its structure. Ireland and Spain at one time were united, as England was with the Continent, and it has been surmised by some that the Continent at that time took in the Azores, whilst the Sargasso Sea, with its seaweed *Sargassum bacciferum*, remains as evidence of the outpost of this great continent, and the ends of the chain may be seen in Killarney and the rocky mountains of the Asturias. Critias, the grandfather of Plato, makes mention of such a continent, and Plato in his "Timæus" relates that his grandfather had the information from Solon himself. He (Critias) says: "Solon was my master: now Solon had travelled and resided in Egypt, whence he brought back philosophical and political information which he taught the Greeks. He learned science from the priests of Sair, a town in the Delta, where one of the priests, who was learned in the science of history, said to him, 'O Solon! Solon! you Greeks are as yet but children, and know not the history of Egypt. But

we preserve in our sacred books a written history of more than nine thousand years! You know only of one deluge, but it was preceded by many others. . . . Athens, which you believe to be new, is very ancient; and I will tell you how your Greece preserved to us Egyptians our liberty by resisting the enormous forces which come from the shores of the sea of Atlantis. This sea at that time surrounded an island not far from the pillars of Hercules, and larger than Asia and Libya put together. Between it and the Continent were some smaller islands. This gigantic country was called Atlantis. It was densely peopled and very prosperous, governed by powerful kings, who seized the whole of Libya as far as Egypt, and of Europe as far as the country of the Tyrrhenians; they reduced all the nations on this side of the pillars of Hercules to slavery. The ancient Greeks then rose up and defeated them, and delivered Egypt from slavery. But a still greater misfortune awaited the Atlantis, for at that time, when there were earthquakes and inundations the island was swallowed up. The inhabitants of the island, which was larger than Europe and Asia together, disappeared in a single night. This is why the sea is not navigable on account of the shoals formed by the submerged land.' "

Of this vast Atlantic continent, Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries are said to be fragments, and the flora and fauna of these islands would seem to indicate a continuous connection of dry land between Europe and America, for they partake largely of the characteristics of the old and new worlds. The ichthyology of the Canaries resembles more that of the east coast of America than that of the Mediterranean and African coasts. Many of the plants of the Canaries are also of an American type, while others are found in the Asturias and the West of Ireland, and others still are identical with the plants of Sicily and Syria. The fauna of Madeira and the Fortunate Isles is peculiar, and the type of the land-shells is quite as remarkable as that of the insects, and indicate that these

islands are mountain-tops of the submerged Atlantic. The *Sisyrhinchium auceps*, *Naias flexilis*, and *Eriocaulon septangulare*, which occur in Ireland, and also which last is still to be found in a few islands on the West of Scotland show the same affinity. Besides these evidences of a connection between places so remote from each other, in Spain the Eskuara or Basque language in the Pyrenees has its nearest affinity to the polysynthetic languages of Peru and Mexico, and the two have a striking similarity ; besides, other coincidences and practices similar to both appear to connect the two countries. For many of these statements I am indebted to a book written by the Rev. Hugh Macmillan, LL.D., F.R.S.E.

The London-pride (*Saxifraga umbrosa*) also claims affinity with its relatives in Ireland and the Spanish or Iberian flora, as it grows as modest and as pretty in these countries as here, where, though its nobility of birth goes further back than most pretentious flowers, it graces the cottager's and workman's little gardens, and remains steadfast in its likeness to its far-off ancestors ; and quite a large number of plants claim kindred with others on the mountain ranges on the Continent and in distant Atlantic islands.

The earthquake which destroyed Lisbon in 1755, and whose far-reaching disturbances affected 700,000 miles of the globe, was felt in the Alps, Sweden, in the Antilles, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Marlinigur ; in the great Canadian lakes, in Thuringia, and in Northern Germany, and the shores of the Baltic ; in Ireland and on Loch Lomond in Scotland. In Cadiz the sea rose 64 feet, and it is computed that the area of its movement was four times greater than the whole of Europe. Thirty thousand people were killed, and yet the shock lasted only ten minutes at nine o'clock in the morning, when the people were in the churches at the Feast of All Saints. The small earthquake at Colchester took place about the same hour on April 22, 1884, when I was at breakfast, and the wall of the room bent inward like a bow, and, fortunately, in a few

moments became quite erect and assumed its usual upright position without any crack or seam on its surface ; upstairs many articles lost their equilibrium and fell to the ground.

Ptolemy, the Egyptian astronomer, possessed a Babylonian record of eclipses going back 747 years, and Alexander the Great sent to Aristotle a statement or account in manuscript of eclipses that went back 1,903 years, and there can be no doubt that Egypt and Assyria were more advanced in the knowledge of astronomy and mathematics and other sciences before the brightest era of Greek literature. Thus it may be that this so often called mythical occurrence of the disappearance of Atlantis may have some element of truth in the frightful calamity that overtook it before the advent of Greek history, and the Egyptians and Assyrians may have taken cognizance of the disappearance of the Atlantis continent before the Greeks knew anything about it. It is very likely that the Egyptians, who were greatly famed for their knowledge of geography, astronomy, and mathematics, might have in their library of 700,000 volumes some account of the changes of the earth's surface, and it is unfortunate that this priceless monument of knowledge, collected at great expense and written by the most enlightened people of that age, and collected from all parts of the ancient world, should have been ruthlessly destroyed by the barbarians who conquered Egypt during and after the Roman ascendancy.

It has also been written in large geological characters that this country has gone through many changes, being at some times joined to the Continent and at others disjoined. Ramsay, in Lecture V. of his book on the geology of Great Britain, says that at Cromer, in the forest-bed, there were found the bones of the *Rhinoceros Etruscus*, *Elephas meridionalis*, and the great mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*). These animals formed a group of Pachydermata that inhabited the North of Europe, America, and Asia, and could have only been there by England being joined to the Continent. Besides these were also the *Rhinoceros*

tichorinus, hippopotami, horses, the great deer or Irish elk (*Cervus megaceros*), the reindeer, the wild ass, a large bear (*Ursus spelæus*), a tiger, the leopard, the lynx, the wild cat (now existing), the *Hyæna spelæa*, wolves, foxes, otters, beavers, etc.

The time had now come when it was necessary to retire from New Zealand, after having visited the chief cities in it as well as those in Australia and Tasmania. When Boswell and Johnson were quitting one of the isles of the Hebrides, Johnson hinted that Boswell might make an allusion to their finally leaving that region, where the lexicographer had spent, as he declared, a very happy holiday. Boswell at once repeated a line from Virgil, in which Æneas expresses his regret at having left Dido's country : "Invitus, Regina, tuo de litore cessi" (Unwilling, O Queen, I departed from thy coast). My feelings exactly harmonized with the Trojan hero, and my memory is stored with the kindness and urbanity of many of its inhabitants, with whom I had the honour of making an acquaintance, and I look back with nothing but unalloyed pleasure at the time spent in the Southern Hemisphere with the colonists. I had the good fortune to meet with two gentlemen of my own profession at Timaru, who had come from the Mother Country and settled there—Dr. Hogg and Dr. Dryden—and on many evenings we discussed matters relating to our profession, as all do in like circumstances, the diseases in the colony being the same as those in the Mother Country ; and their knowledge and *camaraderie* gave me many pleasant hours.

It was raining when Timaru was left behind, and there was actually snow—about 2 inches deep—on the station when we reached Christchurch, which was uncommon, though it was winter. On arriving at Lyttelton, the screw steamer *Möana* was waiting our arrival to take us to Auckland, making stoppages at several seaports on our way, the chief being Wellington, where we remained several hours. It is a fine city, with broad streets and excellent

business houses of all sorts. We touched at a few towns on the seaboard going north, and if too stormy to land had communication by a small steamer, reaching Auckland after a very pleasant passage, though sometimes a little rough, the Pacific Ocean not always deserving its name.

Auckland, the old capital of the colony, a greatly-populated and beautifully-situated city of the North Island, lies on the east coast, with a good harbour. Here I remained a few days with my nephew, and crossed the isthmus to the Manuka Harbour, the distance between the east and west coasts being about seven miles. There is very little traffic here, and it is used as a watering-place during the season. Mount Eden, at some distance from Auckland Harbour, catches the eye of everyone entering the city, and is of volcanic origin, as the large round mouth of the extinct crater can testify, and being about 900 feet high a splendid view can be obtained of the surrounding country, and few prospects could be finer than the varied expanse of scenery—*islands, mountains, and the encompassing sea surrounding the whole.*

Looking back, my memory brings to me the lovely country I was leaving, with its industrious population, its large pastures, and abundance of sheep and cattle. When I was near Arundel the fields lay expanded over a large plain, and Milton's lines crossed my memory :

“Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by south-west, behold
Where on the *Ægean* shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil,” etc.*

—where six horses, harnessed together, were ploughing the soil with three ploughshares to get the work done quickly, with no past history to look back upon, the future being the sole object-lesson to make the earth yield her increase, and the sheep to provide food for man. Quite different from the Old Country, when Dr. Johnson visited the Western Isles of Scotland, and his thoughts looked back

“Paradise Regained,” Book iv., p. 236.

some centuries on the scene he viewed, and he says: "We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian region, where savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such rigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved on any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." There is no past history of any worth regarding New Zealand and the Southern Hemisphere, but if we turn to Greece we shall find a high state of culture, and find one man very much resembling Dr. Johnson in his intellectual and didactic powers. When Socrates was condemned to death, his serenity in the crisis that awaited him affected him but very lightly. He says to his friends: "O, gentlemen of Athens, either comply with Anytus (his enemy) or not; either acquit me, or not, for I shall never act otherwise than I have done, though I was sure several times to die. My accusers may cause me to be put to death, but cannot hurt me. I am not concerned for myself, but you, lest by their false and malicious suggestions you should be induced to pass sentence of condemnation against an innocent person, your faithful adviser and benefactor, and sin against the gift of God in raising me up to exhort and press you to true virtue." Turn to Johnson's death-bed, and what a contrast! "When Johnson was at St. Andrews, the professors invited him to a sumptuous entertainment. Johnson ate his dinner in silence, and all seemed awed by the presence of the mighty stranger. At length, in the

hope of banishing the awkwardness of this ill-timed solemnity, one of the professors exclaimed: 'Dr. Johnson, I hope you have made a good dinner.' 'Sir,' replied Johnson, 'I did not come into Scotland to be entertained with good dinners, but to see savage men and savage manners, and I have not been disappointed.' This, surely, was the speech of a far greater barbarian than any whom he was addressing" (from "Chalmeria," by John Joseph Gurney).

They ought to have changed places; and yet Johnson was a very good man, though his behaviour was far from pleasant. He was endowed with great intellectual gifts, and a ready and tenacious memory, yet the morbid state of his body, oppressed in all likelihood with tuberculosis in his brain, rendered him captious and irritable without any sufficient cause, and his chief bodily organs were found to be extensively diseased after his death: and even now he stands the great literary Colossus of his time. Mr. Leslie Stephens, in "English Men of Letters," has written a short and interesting biography of him.

We entered the United States twin-screw steamer *Sierra*, of 6,200 tons, and sailed from Auckland on August 12 of last year, reaching Pago Pago on August 16, Honolulu on the 23rd, and San Francisco on Monday the 29th, taking seventeen days on the passage. It was a fine, strongly-built vessel, but very badly managed: the lavatory on entering the first few days gave forth a most insalubrious smell; the sleeping-berth with which I was furnished had a usual temperature of about 90°; cockroaches infested it, and a large rat also made its appearance during one night. The decks were sluiced with water late in the morning, and a pipe leading from the upper roof ran three days without being repaired, and made quite a mess for the passengers. The menials often took possession of the seats of the passengers, and sat or rolled in them in their dirty clothes. A few of the menials of the vessel were decent fellows, but a large number had no idea of what

civility or good behaviour was. I had never seen such an inattentive class of servants on ship-board. The captain was generally invisible, and the only time I got a glimpse of him was to observe him peeping out at one of the cabin-doors. Nevertheless, we all got safely to San Francisco.

I stayed at San Francisco about three days. It is a pleasant town, has a fine public park, with greenhouses in which are some most beautiful flowers. Humming-birds are to be seen posing above the flowers and inserting their probosces and sucking the nectar from the receptacle. I went across the Sierra Mountains by train, and arrived in New York in four and a half days, journeying all the time. The United States is a magnificent country, with fertile land and fine crops, but it seems to me a decaying nation with much intellectual vigour, but with most small moral principle. Money is the god, and everything apparently can be done for money. I met a few good men, as good as can be found anywhere, and it was a pleasant interlude to have a chat with such ; but the dollar was the pre-eminent goal, to which the great majority seemed to fix their eyes. New York is a fine city, with a capacious harbour of fourteen square miles, where vessels of all sizes can enter all the year round. It was Sunday morning when I entered it from the station after the long journey of 3,286 miles from San Francisco, and it did not seem at all like Sunday, as boys were playing at football in the street nearest the harbour, whilst others were engaged in games of whist.

When Cyrus had conquered Cræsus, and after peace was settled, Cræsus suggested to him that by the multitudes of presents that he made he would be a beggar, when it was in his power to lay up at home mighty treasures of gold for the use of one. It is said that Cyrus then asked him thus : " What sums do you think I should now have in possession if I had been hoarding up gold, as you bid me, ever since I have been in power ?" And that Cræsus, in reply, named some mighty sum ; and that Cyrus to this said : " Well, Cræsus, do you send with Hystaspes here

some person that you have most confidence in, and do you, Hystaspes (said he) go about to my friends, and tell them that I am in want of money for a certain affair (and in reality I am in want of it), and bid them furnish me with as much as they are each of them able to do ; and that, writing it down and signing it, they deliver the letter to Cræsus's officer to bring me." Then writing down what he had said, and signing it, he gave it to Hystaspes to carry it to his friends, but added in the letter to them all that they should receive Hystaspes as his friend. After they had gone round and Cræsus's officer brought the letters, Hystaspes says : " O Cyrus, my King ! you must now make use of me as a rich man, for here do I attend you, abounding in presents that have been made me upon the account of your letter." Cyrus, upon this, said : " This, then, is one treasure to me, Cræsus ; but look over the others, and reckon up what riches there are ready for me in case I want for my own use." Cræsus, upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum that he told Cyrus he might now have had in his treasury if he hoarded. When it appeared to be thus, Cyrus is reported to have said : " You see, Cræsus, that I have my treasures too ; but you bid me hoard them up, to be envied and hated for them ; you bid me place hired guards upon them, and in those to put my trust. But I make my friends rich, and reckon them to be treasures to me, and guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to us, and such as are more to be trusted than if I set up a guard of hirelings. Besides, there is another thing that I will tell you, what the gods have wrought into the souls of men, and by it have made them all equally indigent—this, Cræsus, I am not able to get the better of. For I am, as others are, insatiably greedy of riches. But I reckon I differ from most others in this, that they have acquired more than is sufficient for them ; some of those treasures they bury underground, and some they let decay and spoil, and others they give themselves a great deal of trouble about in

telling, in measuring, in weighing, airing, and watching them; and though they have all these things at home, they neither eat more than they are able to bear, for they would burst; nor do they put on more clothes than they can bear, for they would suffocate, but all their superfluous treasures they have only for business and trouble. Wherever I serve the gods, and am even desirous of more, and when I have acquired it, out of what I find to be more than suffices me, I satisfy the wants of my friends, and by enriching men with it, and by doing them kindness, I gain their goodwill and their friendship, and obtain security and glory—things that do not corrupt and spoil, and do not distress one by over-abounding. But glory, the more there is of it the greater and more noble it is, and the lighter to bear; and those that bear it, it often makes the lighter and easier. And that you may be sensible of this, Cræsus (said he), they that possess the most and have most in their custody, I do not reckon the happiest men, for then would guards upon the walls be the happiest of all men, for they have the custody of all that there is in all cities; but the person that can acquire the most with justice and use the most with honour, him do I reckon the happiest man, and this I reckon to be riches." And as he expressed these things, so his historian says, he apparently practised them.

Ioläus, also, in the "*Heraclidæ*" of Euripides, speaks even more strongly against the love of money, when in the first sentence of the play he says: "This has long since been my established opinion: the just man is born for his neighbours; but he who has a mind bent upon gain is both useless to the city and disagreeable to deal with, but best for himself."

Mr. Lincoln Steffins has written a book on the same subject, entitled "*The Shame of the Cities*," in which he declares that he has made a systematic inquiry into the state of municipal politics in the large American cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Min-

neapolis. His reports disclose an almost incredible picture of corruption and terrorism, and one of the greatest of his indictments is that which charges the great business interests with complicity in these disgraceful proceedings.

Mr. Henry Frederick Amiel states in his book, "The Journal Intime," translated by Mr. H. Ward in 1888 : "For the Americans life means devouring, incessant activity. They must win gold, predominance, power ; they must crush rivals, subdue nature. They have their heart set on the means, and never for an instant think on the end. They confound being with individual being, and the expansion of life with happiness. This means that they do not live by the soul, that they ignore the immutable and eternal bustle at the circumference of their existence because they cannot penetrate to the centre. They are restless, eager, positive, because they are superficial. To what end all this stir, noise, greed, struggle ? It is all a mere being stunned and deafened" ("Essays on Criticism," by Matthew Arnold, Second Series).

Even Anacreon, who lived 2,445 years ago, speaks of the disastrous effects of the inordinate thirst for gold. He says :

"What avails ingenious worth,
Sprightly wit, or noble birth ?
All these virtues useless prove :
Gold alone engages love.
May he be completely curst
Who the sleeping mischief first
Wak'd to life and, vile before,
Stamp'd with worth the sordid ore.
Gold creates in brethren strife ;
Gold destroys the parent's life ;
Gold produces civil jars,
Murders, massacres, and wars ;
But the worst effect of gold,
Love, alas ! is bought and sold."

Translated by FRANCIS FAWKE, M.A.

Plato and Cicero, probably the two greatest writers on ethics in what we usually call the heathen world, called the four predominant axioms to guide mankind in their conduct

through the bewildering maze of life the Cardinal Virtues—viz., Justice, which Cicero defines as giving to everyone his due ; Prudence, the ability to choose between good and evil ; Fortitude is displayed in overcoming toils and dangers ; and Temperance in putting aside sensual enjoyments ; and there can be no doubt that the best men in the age in which they lived acted up to this high ideal. Prudence was reckoned the first of all the virtues, the Greeks calling it wisdom, and it is mentioned four times in the Bible—three in the Old Testament and once in the New Testament—and a different word is used for it each time in the Septuagint. The word fortitude is not once mentioned in the English Bible, though there are synonyms equivalent to its meaning and value, and temperance is mentioned three times, and only in the New Testament—the same word each time in Greek. Justice is, no doubt, the greatest virtue of the four, as it is not personal as the others are, being an entirely social power, and in many places in the Bible is translated righteousness, and is reckoned the greatest attribute of the Deity, but in America is regarded as of least value. It is, however, the golden chain that links all mankind together in social unity and well-being, if faithfully carried out.

It appears as if making money in the United States were very like horse-racing in England, as a ring is made and a report is sent abroad that a certain horse is sure to win, and bets are at once placed on it. But the favourite has been tampered with, and turns out a frightful failure. Thus trusts, syndicates, etc., are made in secret ; a ring is made, and a few men buy up the chief, best business houses connected with a certain trade, and a low price is for a time put on the article bought, lower than its proper value, and the little men who are in this particular branch of business are ruined and brought to the ground. Then the price is raised, and fortunes are made. The Government ought to lay a very heavy tax on such businesses as are joined in this particular traffic, as it leads to getting

money without any great expense in labour, and often large numbers of operatives are cast adrift helpless and homeless.

We had a very pleasant passage across the Atlantic in the steady, easy-going vessel of the Cunard Company line, the *Carpathia*, and had nine days on the sea, getting telegrams from different ships as we sailed homewards, the distance between the two ports being about 3,000 miles. We met several vessels on our way ; they were generally at some distance from us, quite different from the isolation felt on going to the South, where it was a very rare occurrence to meet any vessels. The first place we reached homewards was Queenstown, where we called late at night, and here some passengers landed, and next day the coast of the Old Country was seen, and we steamed, amidst a crowd of vessels, to Liverpool, passing New Brighton and Birkenhead on our way up the river. We quickly got to land, had our luggage examined, and went off in the train to London, which we reached about ten o'clock at night, the distance between the two cities being 201 miles, taking about four and a half hours.

The whole journey by water from London to Wellington, New Zealand, going south, comprised 13,345 miles, visiting Plymouth, Teneriffe, Capetown, Hobart, Wellington. Going north by the Pacific, we started from Auckland ; reached Pago Pago, but the weather was too stormy to enter the harbour ; Honolulu, where we remained about a day ; and reached San Francisco in nineteen days ; took the train to New York, and boarded the *Carpathia*, reaching Liverpool, from whence we departed at once to London on our arrival at the Liverpool dock, the whole journey by water and land comprising 12,167 miles, the difference between the two routes giving 1,178 miles less on the return journey. To travel in different vessels is like visiting different countries, from the variety of the human element they contain and the characteristic behaviour they exhibit, not only of the passengers, but especially of the crew, from

the captain to the most humble menial on board, and I must give the palm to the Yankee crew for the apparently high ideal they have of their duties, and the calm indifference or attempted lofty air with which these are performed. The most pleasant part of the journey from Auckland was in seeing the old Mother Country again, and getting into the train at Liverpool and rapidly rushing southward, viewing the small fields spread out like small square pocket-handkerchiefs, with trim, neat hedges. In one little field of this sort I saw three ploughmen busily at work, each with two horses and a plough—six horses and three ploughs engaged in working a four- or five-acre field!

In looking back and calling to mind the different places visited, New Zealand appears to view the best country to settle in for those who are willing to work and turn their hand to any employment ready for them to take up. The people there are in enterprise and energy and social feelings very like the population of the Old Land—only in many respects better, as they keep themselves cleaner in their work, and don't drink spirits to the same extent—and they have a country that can respond and give back for their work done a much greater reward, so that they can soon buy and live in a house of their own. Wages are much higher, and large tracts of land are waiting for the immigrant. In the country districts of Australia it is much the same—very like the country places in the Old Land—with farms dotted over the landscape, but with, in many places, a large number of fine, handsome big trees standing dead, without leaves, like an arboreal cemetery, preparing the ground for pasturing sheep and oxen, the bark being cut round about 4 or 5 feet from the ground, and so killing them. Some of them lying prone, and one especially large one I saw, about 100 feet long, hollow inside, but filled up with red sand, with which the ants had filled it, the ants living near in a column 4 or 5 feet high, about 2 feet broad, representing a large, well-defined cone.

The New Zealand people are worthy of the new land in

which they dwell, and are all proud of it: quite different from the United States, that magnificent land being far superior to its inhabitants.

I stayed in Dunedin one night, and was charmed with the view of this romantic city from the house-top of my cousin's abode. It was raining whilst I was there, and it was in this respect somewhat like its namesake. It has fine streets, and a small isthmus at the seashore, which might be cut through and give greater facilities for the entrance of ships. I took the train north to Timaru the next morning after my arrival, and, buying a newspaper, read its chief contents on my way north, and was quite charmed with a very long account of the financial statement for the year, with many other items connected with matters affecting the working of the administrative branch of the Legislature, and other matters connected with the welfare of the community, as to health and the necessary expenditure to meet the claims which improvements in many parts of this comparatively new country call for. It was an excellent manifesto, drawn up with considerable care and a just appreciation of the work that had been done for the colony, and the work and expenditure for the coming year which the progress of the colony required. It was a clear, open, well-argued and arranged statement, and it was quite a pleasure to read it in the railway carriage, and its truthfulness and openness reminded me of Juvenal's just man—"Qui libera possit verba animi proferre, et vitam, impendere vero"—a man who can declare the free sentiments of his mind and lay down his life for the truth; and such a leader Mr. Seddon has shown himself to be in the management of the affairs of the colony.

In an interesting book written by the Rev. J. C. Wood, entitled "Man and Beast," full of anecdotes about the lower creation, he says on p. 417: "It is a fact that, whenever man and beast are brought into contact, those which possess natures capable of elevation and development cleave to him, court him, and thrive by his presence

whereas those which are incapable of improvement perish before his presence.

"It is the same with the human race. When civilized man comes in contact with a barbarian, the latter rapidly tends towards civilization, throws off his barbarian customs, adopts those of the superior being, learns by degrees his arts and sciences, and so gradually merges into civilization. With the savage the case is different. He cannot learn anything good from the higher race. He may, and does, gain means by which to develop more completely his evil tendencies, but is utterly incapable of improvement. He can neither replenish the earth nor subdue it, and so he perishes before those who do, at all events, endeavour to carry out that which is the great mission of man. Wherever civilized man sets his foot, the savage dies out.

"Why this is we cannot say, but it is a fact long familiar to anthropologists. The Tasmanians have all gone. . . . But the strange thing is, that the race has died out for want of new birth, not because it was extirpated by slaughter. For years before that final extinction of the Tasmanian, no children were born.

"A similar phenomenon, though slower in its operation, is now to be seen in New Zealand. The native race, splendid specimens of the savage as they are, become yearly fewer and fewer in the presence of the European, the births falling far short of the deaths. Even in the vegetable world the same idea is carried out, and the grand tree-ferns, as large as our oaks, are perishing before the advance of the English clover. The lower creature, if it cannot be elevated by the presence of the higher, dies out; and the same rule holds good with man, with beast, and with plant. As a rule the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands have decreased more than a half since civilized man settled in these islands, and various diseases, unknown before they were discovered, have produced great mortality amongst them, as measles, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, leprosy, and other contagious maladies."

A TRIP ROUND SUNNY CEYLON.

BY ALFRED EDMUND MURRELL.

A LONG spell in the hot, moist-laden air of Colombo, or amid the somewhat lonesome confines of a tea estate, serve as strong incentives to yearn for cool breezes and less shackled surroundings. We long to shake off the tedium of uneventful days, to forsake the dust and the red-brown roads, to be absolved from tindus and menacing kanganyies, and to gaze on other scenes than the wide, but unrelieved, range of uniform bushes with their dusky streams of basket-laden toilers.

We could not hie away to England with its wealth of charm, or to the bracing moors of the land beyond the border. Apart from the difficulty of obtaining the necessary leave, such hopes and prospects have few birthdays. Perforce we looked nearer afield, and, without much misgiving, decided on a trip round the sea-girt isle in one of the comfortable steamers of the island service.

Colombo Harbour, crowded with lines of ships and alive with commotion, presents an animated scene as we ascend the gangway of the steamer one Wednesday afternoon. The genial captain greets us on the poop and assuringly confirms our expectations of fine weather and smooth water. A casual glance around discerns a small group of fellow-voyagers, who, on after acquaintance, prove to be planters from the hills. This gives added zest, and we ken a pleasant table, gay gossip, and the delights of the green cloth.

The captain and pilot mount the bridge, moorings are loosened, the anchor heaved, "slow ahead" signalled to below, the propeller buzzes, and we glide out of the harbour through stately walls of masted steel. After rounding the magnificent breakwater, we are soon abreast of Colombo, trending the deep trough of the sunlit waters. Seen from

the sea, Colombo affords a splendid view. The city stands out *en masse* in bold, striking prominence, a wide, extensive area profusely dotted with long, broken patches of white and red. At scattered intervals the public buildings arrest the gaze. The eye easily picks out the spacious quarters of the military, the huge red structure of Galle Face Hotel, the Colombo Club rising from the green slopes of Galle Face, and the newly-built church nestling away in the hollow. Here and there a golden gleaming spire shoots upwards into the blue expanse. Away south stretches the palm-strewn shore with its fringe of deep green and glittering yellow strands. Beyond are glimpses of seaside bungalows peeping out against the wooded background, with their inviting gardens, that in the distance appear to creep away to the very edge of the waters. The white, gleaming, hill-perched hotel at Mount Lavinia, standing boldly out to sea, borders the wide, extensive view.

Presently Colombo fades from view, and we veer over to the starboard quarter and catch a parting glimpse of the fleeting glories of the setting sun. Away in the west the heavens are filled with sky splendours, an incomparable vista of gorgeous hues. The horizon is a sea of colour, a lustrous brilliancy for ever assuming meteoric designs and exquisite combinations. The waters scintillate with splashes of crimson, all around is robed in flaming gold.

At seven the bell rings for dinner. The punkah-rigged saloon below leaves nought to be desired, but, to enhance comfort, all meals are served on the poop, save on occasion when rough weather forbids. On assembling we find that, in addition to the captain and officers, our party numbers six. A happy number, too limited to allow of undesired grouping, and just large enough to banish all fear of monotony. Perchance the fact that for the nonce our fortunes are one serves to round the corners. We are on pleasure bent, and the moments wing merrily with gay gossip and interesting chatter of other men and distant cities. Anon, with a parting glance at the silvery loveliness

beyond, we hie away below to breeze-swept bunks and refreshing sleep. The golden light of the early sun streaming into the cabin awakens us the next morning. Down below teems with orderly confusion—the usual ship-board bustle that follows in the wake of every passenger greeting the morn at the same time, and desiring *en bloc* manifold sundry attentions. However, the “boys” are active, and things soon quieten down, save that one of the passengers who has under weigh his own particular sable friend is showering on the latter a benediction in vigorous Tamil—a powerful stream of terse, well-punctuated, staccato sentences delivered with wondrous precision, but somehow we cannot recall the like in either “Inge Va” or the Rev. Garter’s lyrics. Ascending the companion, we find the steamer is slowly gliding through the picturesque slopes of Galle Harbour to the anchorage beyond. Behind lies the glittering blue expanse, studded here and there with rude craft lazily making their way through the water.

Galle Harbour abounds with natural beauty. The thickly-wooded banks, green mounds, and luxuriant vegetation, with the calm belt below, give the picture as of a beautiful inland sea hidden away among the hills. The roadstead can now claim but little of its former greatness. Before us are one or two ocean nomads, a white painted pleasure yacht, looking gay and trim in the sunlight, and a small group of native vessels with furled sails.

The ship’s boat soon lands us at the jetty. An ivy-mantled old archway, erected by the Dutch, marks the entrance into the rambling streets. The town wears a drowsy air—all is hushed and quiet, and moves leisurely as if the morrow would serve to-day. The by-lanes seem deserted; the roads are shorn of commotion save for here and there a few passing groups of the populace and scattered lines of toiling bullock-carts. Yet withal the place attracts. There is a world of charm in its decayed buildings and lingering remnants of former prestige, the

wealth of deep-green foliage, peeping hollows, and picturesque nooks and corners. On climbing the ramparts a splendid view of the town and harbour unfolds, a magnificent panorama of far-stretching woodland and glittering waters. Except in the immediate vicinity of the fort only a few buildings are visible, but away to the east, perched on a hill, a Roman Catholic cathedral stands out in striking prominence—a huge massive pile.

Nothing could be more pleasant than our first breakfast aboard on the calm, serene waters of this beautiful land-locked harbour, with its gaily wooded banks and the sea beyond flashing with golden light. But for the absence of movement, the scene for all the world is like the festive deck of a pleasure yacht riding at anchor in the crowded waters of the Solent in the early morn of a lovely summer's day.

On the afternoon of the fourth day we enter Trincomalee harbour. On passing through the narrow entrance channel a scene of unusual beauty breaks upon the view. As far as the eye can reach lies a glorious panorama of luxuriant tropical scenery, a vast amphitheatre of waving palms and dense woodland, topped by clusters of tree-crested hills. Here and there, scattered along the shore, the red-tiled roofs of picturesque bungalows peep out from among the green, and graceful flower gardens ablaze with colour creep away to the margin of the waters. Away to the west on the rising slopes of the hills the sylvan splendour is studded with large white patches, the quarters of the military. Downwards lies the blue serenity of far-stretching limpid water winding away into rambling bays; over its glassy surface groups of fishing craft idly float, their brown sails drooping and half filled.

The steamer anchors for the night. Presently the full-orbed moon rises from out of the sea beyond, lighting up the hills and the far expanse of still waters. All around reigns a scene of supreme beauty, a superb silvery illumined loveliness that few things could surpass. The eager glance

wanders over the outspread brilliance, delighted to pursue the infinite variety of lusted splendour—the sequestered valleys with their white houses, the picturesque bays, the soaring, radiantly clad heights. Not a sound is heard save the shrill clarion notes ringing out from the ramparts, or the occasional ripple of a passing boat; over all rests the profound repose which the sea and the desert alone can give.

Early the next morning we set out on a somewhat long drive to the famous hot springs, situate about seven miles from the town. For some distance the route lies along a patch that skirts the shores of one of the numerous bays and then strikes inland, where the road dips and undulates and winds about and about. The scenery around is wild and luxuriant. On either side lies the broad, dense jungle, a magnificent panorama of rising forest and waving woodland, stretching away for miles to where the land and sky appear to meet, and holding rich promise to the huntsman.

The springs lie embowered in a charming, secluded nook on the fringe of the forest. Overhead, the sky is completely screened from view by the profuse foliage of luxuriant trees. In stray places shafts of dazzling light stream down into the deep shadows, lighting up portions of the scene in alluring contrast, and flashing with gold the rippling tracery of tiny brooklets that rumble away over the rock-strewn ground. At the end of a narrow winding path, overhung with blossom-strewn creepers, rises the masonry of the springs, the entrance to which is marked by a porch. Each of the springs, six in all, is enclosed in a brick framework. On all sides the moss-clad masonry towers aloft, meeting above the greenness of the woods. An old man is in attendance, and invites us to test the waters. Without much ado a “chatty” is successfully lowered into each of the springs, and the water is found to vary considerably, from moderately hot to boiling-point. During our playful research into things scientific, the old

attendant unfolds an amazing account, more deeply tinged with credulous awe than actual fact, of the origin of the springs. Inwardly we chase a passing thought of things medieval.

On the return journey we are strongly allured to hie away into the neighbouring jungle with gun and rifle. Whilst bowling along the main-road, our attention is suddenly arrested by a noise in the thicket, and in a trice a beautiful spotted deer leaps through the hedge, darts across our path, and, with a wild plunge, disappears into the jungle beyond. We get a mere fugitive glimpse, but sufficient to reveal a magnificent specimen with a fine head of horns.

Towards sundown the same day the whole of our party join in a ramble to the heights of the hills that shelter the forts Ostenberg and Frederick. Leaving behind the gentle slopes that border the lower portion of the town, we emerge into an extended plain. Immediately before us lies the rampart of the densely-wooded hills, a forest of towering timber. A rough bridle-path is found, and, in single file, we commence the ascent. The ground is very steep and broken, and strewn with stones, making the climb toilsome, but happily the abundant foliage shuts out the glare of the orange ball. Here and there we come upon a grassy knoll, where a brief halt is made. As we ascend the vegetation becomes sparser, and at times we get a glimpse of the encircling grandeur that lies at our feet. On reaching the top a glorious view meets our gaze. All around lies a sylvan expanse of singular attraction; at every glance a magnificent prospect unfolds its varying beauty. As far as the eye can reach stretches an amphitheatre of unusual splendour—an enchanting vista of radiantly clad hills, sequestered valleys, picturesque bays, and flashing waters. Beyond, in the near distance, gleams the open sea. Away to the interior the land rises to higher altitudes, a wider, far-extending range of soaring grandeur, ablaze with the glare of the sun, standing out in

striking prominence, and lending alluring contrast to the shadowed depths of the gorges below.

Point Pedro is reached at daybreak the next morning, where we anchor for a few hours, and then sail for Jaffna. On passing through the channel that divides Keyts and Vilani, we enter the shallow waters that lie between the mainland and the group of adjacent islands. The approach of the steamer has been eagerly watched from the port, and as soon as the vessel is sighted, a crowd of boats and sail-rigged craft dart out from the shores. The sea around teems with movement. Slowly across the sunlit waters move the wide-scattered lines, an odd array of splashing oars and unwieldy hulks with half-filled canvas. As the slow-paced procession draws nearer, one boat is seen forging rapidly ahead, a queer but trim craft, strongly manned by a numerous crew in smart attire, and aided by a huge sail. Beneath a canopied awning, covering the stern, reposes a gorgeously apparelled official, the port doctor. In a few minutes the boat is alongside, and that important functionary steps aboard, an imposing figure, resplendent in flowing robes crowned by a magnificent turban of flaming red and shining gold.

Meanwhile, the steamer's launch has been lowered, and awaits with steam up, ready to convey us ashore. The landing-stage presents an extraordinary scene of animated bustle and confusion. Before us surges an immense throng, noisy and excited, swaying to and fro with the irregular rhythm of seething activity diversely directed. Save for a few pushing, jostling coolies, more unclad than clad, all are gaily dressed in typical garb. Veiled in the brilliant, streaming sunlight, the vividly shifting crowd is as a sea of flaming colour splashed with silver, the snowy raiment of the white-apparelled. Here and there gorgeous turbans shed added lustre, like the glistening spires of a city crowning the lowlier heights. After a brief parley with some of the turbaned gentry, we make our way through the densely packed throng into the town. The sun blazes down, all

around is bathed in white streaming radiance. The roads are filled with long lines of traffic, and streams of the bejewelled linen-gowned populace. The business quarters are a hive of industry. Intense, heightened movement pervades the whole locality, the place is alive with incessant din and commotion, everywhere are signs of pushing enterprise.

Having but a brief time at our disposal, our ramblings are perforce limited to passing glimpses of Queen's House, the ramparts, an old dismantled Dutch church, and the market. The latter, fulfilling the urgent needs of a teeming populace, occupies a spacious area in a prominent quarter of the town. Wandering through this emporium of Nature's generous gifts, we find much to interest and amuse, although 'tis but a prosy echo of similar spots away West, where, for the nonce, the country invades the town and scatters gay alluring. The hum of commerce resounds in every corner. The sight is dazzled with an endless array of eatable wares, a veritable horde of plenty overflowing the place in every direction. The glance rests on long lines of abundantly filled baskets and little hillocks of welcome vegetables and luscious fruit, stretching out in long zigzag lines—a glowing picture of daring colour and sombre brown shadows. Here we catch a gleam of oranges, there the lordly pineapple waves aloft its crown of green leaves; piles of mangoes tempt the jaded palate. Behind the baskets squat the vendors, a numerous horde, young and old, male and female, busily plying their calling. In endless streams the crowd pours in and out; above all, rises a clamorous uproar, the confused medley of a thousand wagging tongues.

At sundown we regain the launch, and are soon speeding back to the ship across the wide, shallow waters. Aslant the smooth surface floats the silvery light of the rising moon, lighting up the roadstead, crowded with long lines of laden craft, slowly journeying with their living and dead burdens. On all sides resounds the murmur of babbling

tongues and the dull, broken rhythm of splashing oars ; here and there arises the wild, barbaric chant of toiling, dusky-limbed boatmen.

On arrival aboard there are obvious signs of a large increase to the passenger list. On the bridge and main-decks swarm a dense throng, clustered together in close array, like a desert tribe bivouacked.

The next morning, the steamer is lying at anchor at the entrance to the Paumben Channel. Presently, the pilot's boat comes alongside, and two quaintly garbed individuals, wearing scarlet blouses and red jersey caps, step aboard, and anon the vessel slowly glides through the shallow, buoy-marked channel. On arrival at the other side of the pass, the steamer anchors, and we are detained for some time pending the arrival of the ship's papers from the shore. Whilst lying at anchor in these almost land-locked waters the heat is oppressive, the air hot and sultry, and one yearns for the open, breeze-swept sea. But little relieves the tedium, save the casual passing of drowsily creeping boats, and some flights of brown hawks eddying round the ship in the hope of a stray feed.

Ere long we leave behind the torrid air of the sea lagoon, and once again the steamer is trending the wide, open waters of the Indian Ocean. All around shines the smooth, sunlit sea, stretching away for miles to the distant fringe of the sky. The air is warm, yet fresh and crisp from the salt waves. Overhead floats the canopied blue, lusted and brilliant ; southward gleams the low-lying coast of the sea-girt isle, with its border of nodding green and yellow sands. The sober splendour, the radiance and spell of the chastened beauty that floats around, allure and charm. What more pleasant than to lie back and bask in the glorious sunshine ! What scene more meet for day-dreams and joyous idle moments ! The hours wing by. Occasionally a passing steamer glides slowly past in the distance, or a sail hovers over the smooth surface of the sea like a patch of blinding white.

At daybreak the next morning Colombo is in sight. Beyond the border of trees stretching along the coast rise the long, broken lines of buildings of the northern portion of the town. We are now rapidly nearing the city, and seem to catch the distant hum of its awakened movement and stir. Here and there a tall shaft belches forth a column of dense black smoke, at times the shrill whistle of an onrushing locomotive breaks upon the stillness of the air. A gleam of parting water, and then the breakwater shoots out with its glass-crowned light-tower flashing in the sunlight. The waters around swarm with fishing-boats hying back to the shore with the fruits of the night's toil. Near at hand a dredger from the harbour is crawling out to sea, an uncouth mass of ponderous iron, a blur on the vision, like a ruthless rent in some fair masterpiece.

Our little world aboard teems with bustling activity. Officers and crew are at stations, ready to drop anchor, grapple moorings, open hatches, and lower gangways. Along the crowded decks the packed horde of the linen-gowned stand in close array, impatient and excited, eager to get ashore and renew their trafficking. Below, the saloon resembles the entrance-hall of some highway caravansary. The "boys" are rushing in all directions, the inmates of the poop are toiling at trunk-packing, inevitable but unwelcome. At one end of the long, narrow table presides the steward amid a pile of bills and bullion, the mute reckoning of our merriment. Presently the pilot steps aboard, and the steamer slowly glides to her moorings in Colombo harbour. "Let go!" comes the command from the bridge, the windlass snorts, the cables rattle, and, with a deep thud, the anchor drops over the bows into the still waters below.

KASHGAR.

BY E. H. PARKER.

ONE point after another in Central Asia becomes the centre upon which pivot the successive rivalries of Great Britain and Russia, and now that the Wakhan, Hunza, and Tibetan questions have been more or less settled, public interest inevitably turns towards Kashgar. Such foresight as British statesmen possess in High Asian affairs is generally considered to be the monopoly of our Indian administrators, and probably there is more than a grain of truth in this view. Unless China can manage to stiffen her backbone and strengthen her hold upon little Bucharìa, there can be little doubt that within the next generation the question of Kashgar must become acute.

After the reconquest of Kashgaria from the son of Yakub Beg in 1877, the Chinese set about reorganizing what they call their "New Territory," and in 1884 Kashgar (still so pronounced by the Chinese) received the official designation of "Su-léh borough": only last winter it was decided to promote the city and territory from a borough of the second order, or direct-governing *chou*, to the status of *fu*, or borough of the first order; and it may now be of interest to run rapidly through the history of the place during the past 2,000 years, so that we may understand its vicissitudes, and gain some idea of its importance as a political key at the doors of High Asia.

The first true History of China, undertaken after the discovery of Aryan civilization in the Far West, and published about 90 B.C., makes no mention of Kashgar at all. The earliest Chinese diplomatic travellers found the Indo-Scythian or Kushan Empire in process of formation at the expense of the Bactrian Greeks. It is highly probable that Kashgar was then already part of the Indo-Scythian dominions. Word was brought back of Khoten, and of

its rivers running north into the Tarim, but there was no indication of the more westerly branches of that river, draining the region of Kashgar.

The second great Chinese history, the dynastic records of the Han family (B.C. 200-B.C. 5), goes over part of the same ground as the first, but carries the subject down to the beginning of the Christian era. The Indo-Scythians, originally from the Chinese frontiers, were driven by the Hiung-nu about 200 B.C. past Ili to the Jaxartes, whence they gradually worked their way south over the Oxus. They not only displaced the remains of Greek rule, but also drove southward an ancient indigenous race of rulers called the Saka, who to this day give the name Sacasthene or Seistan to the eastern parts of Persia. The Chinese, who had captured Kashgar and Khoten from the Hiung-nu in 76 B.C., had now established their influence right up to the western frontiers of the Empire as it exists to-day, including Kugiar, Tashkurgan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Yangi-hissar, etc. They have not much to tell us about these newly discovered oases; but one remark at least is of importance, and that is all were, or had been, either populations of the Saka race, or States ruled by the Saka race—it has been suggested the “Indian nomads” of Pliny. Kashgar was then called Su-lêh, and is described as being 180 (English) miles north of Yarkand, possessing a population of 18,647 souls in 1,500 houses, including 2,000 fighting troops. It had a bazaar, and the roads west led to Kokand and Samarcand. (I use the modern names of places unless there be specific reason for introducing the less-known ancient ones.)

For about a generation before and after the commencement of our era, China suffered from revolution, but the second, or “restored,” Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) soon recovered China's prestige in the Far West. During the second half of the first and the first half of the second century after Christ, it was often a question whether Indo-Scythian or Chinese influence should prevail in the Tarim

Valley. But there was a third claimant for influence in the shape of the now much-weakened Hiung-nu (Early Turks), who had, as already explained, three centuries earlier driven the Indo-Scythians to the Far West. We have the names of successive Kashgarian kings; we find that Su-lêh possesses 21,000 households and 30,000 good soldiers; the Chinese pro-consul resides for long periods in the city, and makes use of the local troops wherewith to fight his enemies. In the year 120 of our era, Indo-Scythian influence was, notwithstanding, so strong in Kashgar that their King (who must have been Huvishka, A.D. 70-132) was able to set his own candidate upon the Kashgarian throne. Yarkand was, for some time, a mere shuttlecock tossed about between the two States of Khoten and Kashgar, whose power, each in turn, influenced political events, but both under the nominal suzerainty of China. After the year 170 Chinese influence fell off, and the Little Bucharía States were left to fight out their own quarrels. About the influence of the Indo-Scythians in Kashgar and Khoten there can be no manner of doubt, for our own agent in Kashgar, Mr. Macartney, has discovered both coins and antiquities with *kharoshthi* inscriptions in the Little Bucharía region; and Chinese seventh-century writers mention this Indo-Scythian script under the name *k'a-lu* or *k'a-lu-sh-ts'hi*. M. Drouin identifies the bazaar of Kashgar with the "merchants' rendezvous" or *hormeterion*, of Ptolemy, who also speaks of a place called *Casia*. According to Chinese accounts, Kucha and Kashgar between them had absorbed all the minor principalities of Little Bucharía about the middle of the second century, and from that time practically nothing was heard in China of this region for at least three centuries.

During these three centuries North China, which alone had relations with High Asia, was a helpless prey to Tartar military adventurers; and when at last the powerful Mongoloid dynasty of Wei succeeded in establishing a permanent empire in the northern half, the first few Emperors

of that house felt disinclined to involve China any more in Far Western complications. Kashgar had always been a strongly Buddhist State; and, indeed, it was through the Indo-Scythian Kings Kadphises II. and Kanishka that Buddhism had first been introduced into China (B.C. 2 to A.D. 62). Accordingly, after four tentative missions, the King of Kashgar at last, in the year 462, succeeded in interesting the fifth Emperor in a marvellous vestment stated to have been worn by Buddha himself: it seems evident that its incombustible qualities were owing to the fact of its having been woven from asbestos strips. Nothing more was heard of Kashgar for forty years, but meanwhile the whole of the High Asian States lying between the Indus, the Caspian, and the Pamirs sent innumerable trading missions in response to the overtures which North China had at last decided to make. The success of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien (400-430) had evidently done much to rouse curiosity and to induce the despatch of official envoys from China upon missions of inquiry. Between 502 and 518 some half-dozen envoys arrived from Kashgar, usually in company with Eptal or Persian Missions. The Indo-Scythians, Kushans, or White Huns, were now found to have practically abandoned the ancient name of "Yüeh-chi" given to them by the Chinese (who, however, had always well known that they called themselves "Kushan") in favour of the eponymous name of Eptal, and for many years a desperate struggle for supremacy took place between these Eptals and the Sassanide dynasty of Persia. But the change of name in no degree affected the subordinate position of Kashgar. It is to be noticed, however, that the latter place now begins to be called Sha-lêh, which fact, for philological reasons unnecessary to follow out here, enables us to assume that the original native sound must have been either *Solek* or *Sorak*.

A century later the Hiung-nu, who had in B.C. 200 driven the Yüeh-chi to the Jaxartes, now, under the new name

"Turk," drove the Eptals out of Transoxiana, and all the Pamir and Little Bucharía States at once paid tribute to the Western branch of the Turks, whose Khagan in 567-568 had extensive relations with both Persia and Byzantium. Regular supplies or tribute from Kashgar were forwarded annually to the Turkish headquarters in the Yulduz Valley. The city of Kashgar is described as being nearly two miles "in extent," by which "area" is probably meant, and the State of which it was the centre contained twelve other large cities, besides thrice the number of minor towns. The number of capable soldiers goes back to 2,000, from which we may assume that the suzerain Turks did not approve of large subject armies. "The territory produces much rice, millet, hemp, wheat, copper, iron, spelter, opiment, embroidery, and floss-silk. . . . Their King wears a golden lion crown." These lion crowns, and also lion thrones, of Turkestan are frequently mentioned from this date (say A.D. 600), and for many centuries lions were sent as tribute to China from the Samarcand or Turkestan States. A curious story is told of the royal family of Kashgar possessing six fingers to the hand, and excluding from succession to the throne any members unprovided with the full complement of six. This "yarn," conceivably true of a single family, has been absurdly extended by more than one dynastic history to the whole population. The King's title was *amikö* or *amochi* (written in two ways by rival historians). The family name of the royal house was (in Chinese dress) *P'ei* or *P'ui*.

A complete change seems to come over the country now. We are told that the ancient name of Su-lêh might be used alternatively with the new one of Kasha, and that the King resided in a city called Khashi. The Persian Firdusi mentions Kashgar (by that name) having certain dealings with the Turks and China in Anushirvan's reign (531-579), and the Chinese histories mention missions from Khosrau (*i.e.*, Anushirvan). It is mentioned by the Chinese that newly-born children have their heads squeezed in order to

make them narrow. (This is rather an important statement, for in her recent work on Russian Turkestan, Annette B. Meakin mentions the existence of such a custom amongst the modern Sarts.) Stress is no longer laid upon Buddhist proclivities; on the contrary, a new religion, which might, from the vague way in which it is named, be either of Persian or Turkish origin, is stated to be in vogue, as well as a new form of writing, equally uncertain, but possibly some form of Syriac. Notwithstanding that the King's wife, or at least one of his wives, had been given to him by the Turkish Khagan, China must have maintained some slight hold upon the country, for between 635 and 650, after the power of the Northern Turks had been broken by China (who had now, consequently, no longer any political motive for conciliating the Western Turks), several missions were sent from Kashgar to China; and China, after demanding the cession from the Western Turks of Little Bucharía, even prepared to reconquer it by force. Meantime another formidable rival, the Tibetans, put in a claim for the country, and, in fact, actually held possession of it between the years 670 and 692. After that Kashgar at intervals sent friendly missions to China, and seems, for several centuries, to have enjoyed comparative independence. During the long contest which took place between the Arab invaders and the West Turks, during the eighth century, for possession of the Oxus region, there is no mention of Arab influence in Kashgar, although Kuteibë Ibn Muslim is stated by Sven Hedin to have carried his arms as far as Khoten; and, as is well known, Buddhism was largely displaced by Mohammedanism about this time in Turkestan. On the other hand, when, in 730, Turkish aid against the Arabs was sought by Samarcand and Bokhara, Kashgar, as a Turkish-ruled State, took up arms against the Arabs.

For many centuries Kashgar disappears entirely from Chinese ken, and up to the time of Kublai Khan the place is scarcely even again mentioned, except in computing the

distances in various directions from Khoten, which latter place never entirely lost touch with China. If we wish for information covering this blank interval, we must turn to the Mohammedan authors, who state (according to Deguignes) that the Bogra Khan dynasty of Ouigour Turks forced Islam upon Kashgar at the beginning of the eleventh century; that the Seljuk Turks held all the country *between* Syria and Kashgar; and that the King of Kashgar went to Uzgend to do homage to the Seljuk Malek Shah (1072-1092). As the Chinese histories mention Malek Shah's empire several times, we may say therefore that we have indirect confirmation of the Mohammedan authors from Chinese sources. Other Mohammedan authors cited by Bretschneider say that the Kara-Khitai, who fled from China early in the twelfth century, conquered both Kashgar and Khoten.

When Genghis Khan swept over Asia, he took the northern roads, leaving Kashgaria quite unnoticed. But in 1218 a general of his named Djebé drove away the Naiman power from Kashgar and Khoten; the Naiman Tartars had only a few years before defeated the Kara-Khitans. Both Mohammedan and Chinese authors are at one here, but nothing more tangible is said of Kashgar or *K'osh-har*. Its first serious mention is in 1263, during Kublai's war with Aric-buca, his brother. In Chinese character the word appears as *K'osh-hal* (or *Kash-khar*). In 1274 thirteen stages were established between Khoten and Yarkand; conciliatory measures were taken with the population of Yarkand and *Hosh-har*, and in 1288 an officer was appointed to superintend the artisan colonists of Khoten and *K'osh-har*. Of course, there can be no doubt what place is meant, even if we had not Marco Polo's contemporary "Yarcán" and "Cascar" to assist us. However, during Mongol times Kashgar made no Chinese history worth recording.

In 1408 and 1410 the native Chinese dynasty of Ming, which had in 1398 ejected the Mongols from China,

despatched several missions to Shah Rukh and other Turkestan rulers, including the King of *Hash-har*, who sent return missions in 1413. (Shah Rukh's grandfather, Tamerlane, had extensive relations with China, and is supposed to have conquered Kashgar in 1390.) In 1463 a Chinese envoy was sent, but it is recorded that Kashgar was too distant to send in return frequent tribute envoys all the way to Peking. It is described as being a small State, and no other details are given. In or about 1603 Bernard Goes visited a place "belonging to Cascar" called Tanghetar, but of course Chinese history says nothing of this, and I do not know how far Goes' statement has been corroborated.

The ruling Manchu dynasty seems to have first heard of Kashgar in 1696, when, along with Yarkand, Samarcand, and Bokhara, it is mentioned under the name of *Has-har* amongst the conquests of Galdan the Eleuth, of whose empire we have been well informed by Bell of Antermony.* The Chinese lost no time in ascertaining the history of Kashgar; they say: "Arabia is the home of Islam, and Mohammed subjected all the States of Turkestan to Islam, completely sweeping Buddhism away. West of the Pamirs he is revered as a prophet, or as they say in Islam, *beighember*. Twenty-sixth in descent from him was one Mahmoud, who, towards the close of the late Ming dynasty (1644), crossed the Ts'ung-ling mountains with his brothers and removed to Kashgar. He was the first Mussulman chief in Kashgaria, and was progenitor of Borhan Eddin and his brother. The old rulers of Kashgar were descendants of Genghis Khan's younger brother. When Mahmoud appeared from the West, the local populations forsook the old rulers, and the rising Eleuth power removed them to the Kuldja region, where the Kirghiz and the other Mussulmans were placed under their rule. In 1696 one Abdul Seyid took refuge in China, after China had defeated Galdan, and the Emperor sent him back to rule over Yarkand. He was the grandfather of Borhan Eddin, whose father was named

* Who knows where Antermony is or was?

Mahomet." The allusions to Borhan Eddin prove that the above sketch was not published before 1757, when the Emperor K'ien-lung, after annihilating the Eleuth empire, decided to conquer Kashgaria. This was because the Mussulman prince Borhan Eddin had objected to transfer to China the slavish services upon which the suzerain Eleuths had always insisted. After an obstinate and bloody war, the Chinese at last succeeded in obtaining the assistance of Badakshan, whose ruler, Sultan Shah, treacherously betrayed his fellow Mussulmans into Chinese hands. From this date Kashgaria and all its cities have formed part of the Chinese Empire, under the supervision of Manchu Residents. But Borhan Eddin's son Samsak for many years after these events eluded Chinese vigilance in Badakshan and Kokand. In 1820 he even made an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Kashgar. In 1826 Samsak's son, Jehangir, really did, aided by the Andijans and the Taran or Taranchi Mussulmans, capture both Yarkand and Kashgar. The Kanjut rulers of Hunza lent valuable assistance to China in this affair, and have ever since paid tribute of gold-dust as vassals of China—they did so even during this year (1904). Jehangir had to escape to Darwaz ; but, foolishly exposing himself near Artush, he was captured in the Kara-Tekké Hills, north-west of Kashgar, where the commemorative Chinese stone still stands. The wretched man was carried in triumph to Peking, where he was cruelly hacked to pieces.

The Andijan traders who had equipped a force for Jehangir never forgot their resulting claims upon Kashgar. Kokand even pretended to a right as suzerain to levy a tax upon all foreign trade with the Chinese cities. In 1847 Jehangir's nephew had Kashgar and Yarkand in his power for a short period. The same thing happened in 1857. Meanwhile Russia took advantage of the Kokand troubles then prevailing to claim from China commercial rights in Kashgar, and in 1862 Jehangir's heir, Buzurg Khan, backed up by the Kirghiz, was invited by the inhabitants

of Kashgar to become their ruler. The Chinese were expelled. Buzurg Khan's General, Yakub Beg (1864), was himself an Andijani, and was, of course, patronized by the Andijan trading element. How he founded a powerful State in Kashgar is a matter of contemporary history. To protect themselves from the rising Mussulman power, the Russians in 1871 occupied Kuldja, and endeavoured to induce their protected Khan Khudayar of Kokand to assert suzerain rights over the Atalik Ghazi as a "subject" Andijan of Kokand extraction. But Yakub's diplomacy was too subtle even for the wily Russians; he forced them to take the first step in negotiations which culminated in the Kaulbars Treaty of 1872, and in the mission of 1873 to St. Petersburg. Meanwhile Great Britain despatched the Forsyth Mission to Yakub in order to secure also a modest place in the sun of his favour; but the Atalik Ghazi, basking in the smiles of "my brother the Emperor of Russia," was rather disposed to stiffen his back; he had now, moreover, assumed the high-sounding title of Amir, so as to be in our eyes at least the equal of the ruler of Afghanistan. All these fine day-dreams of a Mussulman Empire, however, were summarily knocked on the head by the sudden death of the Amir, the incompetent rule of his feeble son, and the unexpected reconquest of Kashgar by Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1877. Russia was, in 1880, even forced to surrender the greater part of Ili and Kuldja. For some years past we have had a resident officer at Kashgar, but his influence does not seem to go beyond the observation stage. The Orenburg-Tashkend Railway, just completed by Russia, is evidently pointed towards Kashgar as an ultimate objective, and it therefore behoves Lord Curzon, whose clear insight and foresight allows little to escape him, to take time by the forelock with a view to forestalling any Russian aggression in this quarter.

“INDIA IN THE VICTORIAN AGE.”*

By J. B. PENNINGTON.

THIS last⁷ book of Mr. Dutt's is a perfect mine of information; and, even though one may not agree with all his deductions, no one who cares to write or talk reasonably about India can afford to neglect it. It is of course on the same pessimistic lines as the late Mr. Digby's compilation; but with what a difference in treatment! Thoroughly well put together, it is a book that almost anyone, with even an elementary knowledge of India, could read with interest from beginning to end, because the author has a complete first-hand knowledge of his subject.

It would be impossible within the limits of a short article to give anything like a complete account of the book. I can only call attention to a few of the more striking passages in it, and to a *very* few points on which I still venture to differ.

One general remark I will make to begin with, and that is, that one cannot read such an indictment of England by one of her own most capable Indian officials without a feeling of humiliation. All that is wanted in the government of India by England (as the author says) is a generous and sympathetic justice. When will the enterprising gentlemen who so lightly assume the duty of legislating for, and of actually governing, this very complex and heterogeneous Empire, realize that it is their duty to endeavour to understand Indian problems, however repulsive they may appear; and, having understood them, to see that the grievances of India are carefully considered and treated with justice? How can the members for Lancashire especially bear to be denounced as wanting in common honesty when dealing with a dependent nation which lies bleeding at their mercy?

* “India in the Victorian Age,” by Romesh Dutt. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1904.

Even if they cannot realize the fact that the more prosperous India is the better customer she would be, surely their instincts of fair play, not to say chivalry, should prevent them from robbing her. The quite recent story of the imposition of an excise duty on a class of Indian cotton goods which did not compete at all with any Lancashire goods and yet affected seriously the rival mills of India, is a disgrace to Lancashire as well as to the English Government. It is quite certain that if India had as many votes as even the single county of Lancashire, that scandalous duty would never have been imposed. When shall we get to govern us "men of truth, *hating unjust gain*"?

It is impossible in reviewing a book like this to avoid "the perennial land question,"* and I am bound to say that, though I agree with Mr. Dutt in the main, and am entirely with him as to the absolute necessity for something like fixity of tenure and protection against enhancement, I do *not* see entirely eye to eye with him on this much discussed question. In comparing what is paid by the "actual cultivator" in Bengal and the ryot of Madras, he is not sufficiently careful to point out to an ill-informed English audience that in Madras the assessment *includes the rental*, the Government being the actual landlord. Whether he is right in saying that the *average* rental in Bengal amounts to no more than 11 per cent. of the gross produce, whereas in *some* parts of Bombay and Madras it amounts to 20 per cent. or more, I don't know, and I doubt if anyone knows for certain; but I have heard of fifty acres of land under tobacco in Behar which pay Rs. 100 *an acre as rent*, and certainly since the abolition of "garden"† rates there has been no assessment in Madras approaching to such a rate. Averages, as I have frequently had to point out, are very misleading, and if one man has to pay 50 per cent. of his gross produce as rent, it is no consolation to him to know that *on the*

* Considering its supreme importance, I do not see why it need be avoided.

† Bhágáyat.

average only 11 per cent. is paid. Moreover, if the average rental of *all* Bengal is taken, it should be compared with the average proportion of the produce exacted by the Madras Government over the whole Presidency, and not in selected areas. One hundred rupees an acre is evidently much more than even 20 per cent. of the gross produce of any land.

Mr. Dutt says that the best Administrators, such as Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence, "knew that land in India belongs to the nation and not to a landed class." I also believe that it belongs *to the nation* to a certain extent, and *not to the agriculturists only*, because it is the acknowledged common law of India that the "nation" (by whatever Government represented) is entitled to *a share of the gross produce of all land*, which Sir Henry Cotton says was originally about 10 per cent., though Manu himself fixes it at one-sixth, or even "one-fourth in case of need." On the other hand, the ryot has always been entitled to perpetual occupancy, with power to alienate, *provided* that he pays "the nation" its share of the produce, commuted or otherwise as the case may be. Sir Henry Cotton says the State is not the (exclusive ?) owner of the soil, and of course he is right ; but at any rate the State has a certain definite property in the soil which may amount to one-fourth of the gross produce, according to Manu, and has often amounted to three-fourths ; and the ryot also has an absolute property in the soil, but only in what is left him by the State.* No one has succeeded in making the Indian land question more intelligible than Sir Thomas Munro when he said "the ryot" (*not the zemindâr*) "is the true proprietor ; for whatever the State does not take belongs to him"; and it depends entirely on the moderation of the State whether he is a well-to-do proprietor or a pauper-peasant, as so many are. Hence the necessity for extreme moderation in assessment so persistently insisted on by Mr. Dutt, and the

* Moreover, the State has, at any rate, a reversionary property in *all* land in case of non-payment of revenue.

suppression of extra cesses. The English Government has always strongly objected to the levy by zemindars, etc., of all sorts of miscellaneous extra charges commonly known as "abwabs," but has itself been guilty of the same offence in imposing extra cesses to the extent of 10 per cent. (or more) of the assessment. As Mr. Dutt says, there ought to be some limit to these vexatious extra charges on agriculture.

Since writing the above, my attention has been directed to a very full and interesting discussion in the early days of the East India Association, when a paper by Miss Florence Nightingale was read (on June 1, 1883, and published in vol. xv. of their Proceedings), and it is curious to see how the then champions of the Zemindars of Bengal contrived to ignore the real points at issue in the debate over the "charter of the Bengal cultivators," and how unwilling they were to allow that the "actual cultivator" had any rights at all except to the mercy of his landlord. They were keen enough in insisting on the *rights* of the Zemindar : they said little about his duties and obligations as clearly laid down in the Regulations of 1793, or about the almost innumerable illegal cesses levied on the ryots by nearly every Zemindar in the country. Mr. (now Sir Roper) Lethbridge actually contended (see p. 216 of the vol. cited) that the Zemindars who were transformed into landlords of the English type by Lord Cornwallis were only "farmers of the Revenue" before that time, *because* they were "the men in possession"; and goes on to say that they were "undoubtedly, and *in the fullest sense*, the *proprietors of the land*." Now, if we look to the contemporary records most conveniently quoted by Miss Nightingale, what do we find? We find Lord Cornwallis himself saying that "the property in the soil was *never before* formally declared to be vested in the landowners" (properly speaking, *landholders*, for "Zemindar" does not necessarily mean *landowner*), "nor were they allowed to transfer such rights as they did possess or raise money on the credit of their

tenures without the previous sanction of Government." What sort of proprietary right was this, when ten-elevenths of the produce was considered to be the share of the State and one-eleventh the share of the so-called landlord? As Sir George Campbell pointed out, such landlords were nothing more than mere "managers" on behalf of Government.

But even Mr. Lethbridge was good enough to admit that "however honestly or properly the Zemindars came by their rights under the Permanent Settlement, those rights ought to be curtailed or even confiscated if it can be shown that they have been abused." This is a very ingenious way of putting the question by ignoring all the basic facts of the case. It was not a question of curtailing the Zemindars' rights, but of asserting those of the ryots, which Mr. Lethbridge entirely ignored. As Miss Nightingale very pertinently asked, "Can the *restoration* of the rights of the ryots, whether original or acquired under the Permanent Settlement, be deemed confiscation, as it is often called," by the advocates of the Zemindars, like Messrs. Lethbridge, Da Costa, and Arathoon? There is no answer forthcoming to this question. Mr. Lethbridge speaks of the proprietary rights of the ryots as if they were a modern invention, and compares them with "the three F's and all the rest of it." But the ryots were known to have extensive rights even in those early days, and power was "carefully reserved in the regulations by which the Permanent Settlement was carried out for the Government to interfere for the preservation of the ancient rights of the cultivators." As so often observed, "the ryot is the true proprietor, for whatever does not belong to the Government belongs to him." The real truth is that Lord Cornwallis exceeded his powers in creating landlords of the English type: all he had power to do was to make over to private individuals (whether real "landlords" or not) the revenue due to Government. If there had been any properly qualified Courts in those days, and if the ryots so arbitrarily made tenants-at-will had been as sturdy in defence of their

rights as they are now, the result would have been the same as it was in the case of a faithful Subadar in the Madras Army, who, for his services in the Vellore Mutiny, was rewarded by a grant of land *in fee simple* (Inám), and whose descendant was ruined in my time by vainly attempting to assert his right to the absolute ownership of land which really belonged to sturdy Mirasidars, who (like those in Eastern Bengal) knew how to assert their rights. The Government, in its ignorance, had granted to his grandfather what it had no right to give, just as Lord Cornwallis did in Bengal; but the Courts in these days are better acquainted with the respective rights of Government and the ryot, and so the unfortunate beneficiary of the Government was ruined by litigation.

To read the speeches of Mr. Lethbridge and Mr. Arathoon, one would suppose that the original cultivator in India, or "ryot," as he is called, had not only *no* property in the soil at all, but that it would be positively dangerous for him to have any such property. No doubt many of the great Zemindars at the time of the Permanent Settlement were really *landholders*; but even so, they accepted their zemindaries thenceforth on the terms of their Sanad, the first provision of which was that they were to treat their ryots with good faith and moderation and *impose no fresh burdens upon them*. The Code of 1793 "recognised in the fullest manner the right of the ryots to hold at the established rates." Unfortunately it was not till more than sixty years after the Permanent Settlement that the Government found time to inquire into the ryots' property in the soil, and by that time those rights had been so seriously invaded that they were difficult to ascertain, and the remedy provided was most imperfect and inadequate.

Nobody doubts that Lord Cornwallis (most unfortunately) "made the Zemindars actual proprietors of the soil," as Mr. Arathoon says (p. 22); what the advocates of the helpless ryot say is that Government had *no power* to cancel the rights of the ryots in that wholesale and arbitrary fashion.

There is absolutely nothing in the speeches of either Mr. Lethbridge or Mr. Arathoon which touches the real point at issue, as clearly indicated by Sir George Campbell in his very temperate observations; and the fact is that the ryot (the producer) is the first person to be considered: the Zemindar's rights come second. Neither of these advocates refers to the case mentioned in a note on p. 189 of the same volume, where a Zemindar proposed to raise the rents 5 per cent. "in consequence of the recent providential fall of rain!"

In concluding this part of my remarks, I should like to make my acknowledgments to General Fischer for the very admirable paper which appears in the July number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on "The Benefits of Inland Navigation."* However I may question his knowledge of the Madras Revenue system, there is scarcely a word in this paper with which I do not cordially agree; and in corroboration of what I have said above, I should like to quote what he says about the impossibility of utilizing the water of the Godavery for irrigation in the Central Provinces on account of the vicious "Zemindári system of land tenure" which prevails there: a system, I may add, which was actually introduced in my time, in spite of all experience, by a Commissioner who ought to have known better.

Mr. Dutt's chapter on "Land Settlements in Madras" (p. 308) is misleading, and its arguments are entirely invalidated owing to his strange omission to refer to the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue embodied in the Blue Book, dated January 16, 1902, and the Order of the Madras Government thereon in which they say, I think most justly, that Mr. Nicholson's elaborate and most valuable report is "a full and complete answer to his criticisms."

How he could bring himself to repeat those criticisms in this volume without first demolishing Mr. Nicholson's case is more than I can understand, and the omission seriously

* See pp. 19-38.

detracts from the value of his book as far as Madras is concerned. If Sir Louis Mallet, whose minute (written so far back as 1875) Mr. Dutt quotes as conclusive, had had the advantage of reading Mr. Nicholson's report, he would have found a clue to the apparent "chaos" he laments. Mr. Dutt seems inexcusable for ignoring the real history of Madras Land Revenue Administration as given in this monumental paper.

Another subject on which Mr. Dutt and, I think, Sir Henry Cotton are scarcely fair to the Ryotwari system of land tenure is, in ascribing *entirely* to the Zemindari system the undoubted prosperity of Bengal, and its almost complete immunity from anything like real famine.

Judging from the results of Mr. Digby's no doubt painstaking inquiries as to the gross produce of Bengal, it is surely not unfair to say that we have no trustworthy information on the subject,* and, as far as I can see, not much as to the condition of the "actual cultivator." It will be remembered that Mr. Digby estimated the value of the gross produce on 55,000,000 acres in Bengal at the ridiculous total of £54,000,000, or, say, an average of less than Rs. 15 an acre for the most fertile province in India, whilst the "downtrodden" ryots of many villages in Tinnevely have been paying *Rs. 20 an acre* (or more), by way of revenue to Government for generations, and have also been fairly prosperous, because the produce is seldom, if ever, worth less than Rs. 80.

Now in giving an account of the land reforms inaugurated by Lord Canning, Mr. Dutt very properly gives the first place to Act X. of 1859, "The Charter of the Bengal Cultivators," which, he says (p. 263), "created a revolution in Bengal," and goes on to say, that "the population of Bengal are at the present time more resourceful and

* I notice that in the Final General Memorandum on the Sugar-cane Crop of 1904-1905 (Government of India Statistical Department, February 23, 1905), it is expressly pointed out that "the estimates for that Province are based on *very uncertain information*."

prosperous than elsewhere in India—*firstly*, owing to the limitation of the State demand from landlords in 1793; and *secondly*" (it should be "chiefly") "owing to the limitation placed on the landlord's demand from his tenants" (p. 264).

It is of course obvious that the gigantic sacrifice of revenue involved in the Permanent Settlement has created an immense number of enormously wealthy landlords, who are, I hope, fairly liberal nowadays, and, at any rate, generally spend their wealth in the country; but the history of Act X. of 1859 and the further Act of 1885 is sufficient to show that for sixty years at least the "tenants of those Zemindars" in Bengal were in a worse plight than even the Madras ryot; and even now the writer of the paper on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* (May 9, 1905) informs us that "in Bengal we have a state of affairs which leaves the 'actual cultivator' in a worse position than those of any other province." As I said before, it seems more difficult to get accurate information as to the condition of the people in Bengal than elsewhere, and this is what might have been expected.

I am not going to say much about the vexed question of tariffs and protective duties, partly because I am not at all sure that I quite understand it in all its bearings, and partly because we shall know more about it, when the promised Conference is held; but, as I have said already, there can be no doubt that, as Mr. Montgomery Martin said in 1840, the destruction of Indian manufactures was "not in the fair course of trade," but rather "by the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker" ("India in the Victorian Age," p. 112). At the same time I cannot help thinking that the ruin of the hand-loom weaver (as in England) was chiefly due to the introduction of machinery. This is proved, I think, by the history of the sugar trade in India, because, as Mr. Dutt says, "sugar not being produced in England, some healthy changes in the tariffs with regard to this article had been permitted," and in consequence there was an extraordinary development of trade in this com-

modity ; so much so that Mr. Bagshaw (an M.P. and one of the witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1848) quite expected that India in course of time would supply the whole of the English demand. Mr. Dutt points out that "this hope was never realized," and says that "sugar manufacture declined during the last half of the nineteenth century with almost every other manufacture ;" but he does not explain *why* it fell off. "It was not till 1830 that beet-sugar gained a firm footing, but from 1840 onwards it advanced with giant strides" ("Encyclopædia Britannica"). That chiefly, combined with antiquated and inefficient methods of treating the cane, and also, no doubt, the enormously increased demand for sugar in India itself, were the causes of the decline of the export to England which Mr. Dutt laments. No doubt by a clerical error he speaks of this decline as referring to the *manufacture* of sugar in India, which does not appear to have fallen off at all seriously,* notwithstanding the competition of bounty-fed beet. It even appears from the "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xxxiii., p. 52, that the average production of cane-sugar in India and our Eastern Dependencies, during the last seven years of the century, was almost one-half of the production of the whole world ; and it seems that even yet there is some export of sugar from India, though a much more considerable import, the 3,500,000 tons produced in India and our Asiatic Dependencies being apparently insufficient for the increased needs of a largely increased population. Calculated on a population of 300,000,000, the average production of recent years would amount to the very respectable figure of 26 pounds a head—a very good average even for Europe, and more than four times the consumption in Italy, where, however, sugar costs over 6d. a pound.†

* The latest account I have seen for the season 1904-1905 gives an estimated out-turn of 2,166,000 tons in British India alone, showing an increase of 16 per cent. as compared with the previous year.

† The above article was in type previous to the writer having seen the discussion on the "Madras Estates Land Bill."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

HELD at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, July 6, 1905, at 4 p.m. H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, K.C.S.I., in the chair. There were present among others: The Right Honourable Leonard Courtney, M.P., Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Edward L. O'Malley, Sir Cowasjee and Lady Jehangir, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Archdeacon Colley, Shaikh Abdul Qādir, B.A., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Major J. R. Dunlop Smith, Captain L. Barnes, Colonel Lock, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Rev. Dr. Bhabba, Mrs. Glass, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. and Mrs. Durant Beighton, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. and Mrs. Corbet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. W. Fox, Sirdar Arjan Singh, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. M. B. Kolasker, Mir Ayub Khan, Mirza Agha Zahir Ali, Mr. Ishwar Das Varshnu, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Lutfi Ali, Mr. H. F. Eaton, Mrs. Beddoes, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. P. Cavaé, Miss A. Smith, Miss Young, Mr. Dubé, Mr. Davé, Mr. Dhooma Mall, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. A. N. Dutt, Mr. H. A. Krohn, Miss Field, Mr. Abdul Hamid, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. Dhir, Miss Brooks, Mr. H. Mussenden, Mr. A. F. Firose, Mr. Haq Nawaz, Miss Jameson, Mr. F. B. Mehwalā, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with loud applause, said: I have been asked to take this chair to-day, which I do with great diffidence. My task as chairman is to introduce to you Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, whose name is probably so well known to all of you that it requires no words on my part to introduce him to you. I know you are all anxiously waiting with avidity and interest to hear the paper he is going to read before you, and therefore I will not detain you, but will only ask Sir David Barr to read his paper.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR DAVID BARR, K.C.S.I., then proceeded to read the following paper, entitled "Hyderabad: Past and Present."*

The CHAIRMAN having invited discussion upon the paper,

MR. MARTIN WOOD said that he thought the reading of the paper marked a very auspicious occasion. It had been well said that the Princes and Chiefs of India were the living title-deeds to our Empire in the Orient. On this occasion those Princes were represented by His Highness in the chair, and also by Sir David Barr representing the Nizam of Hyderabad. The present was also an auspicious period because he trusted that it might be taken that it marked the conclusion of an era very unsettled and very disturbed, during which there had been spoliations of the resources of the State of Hyderabad intermittently during the greater part of the last century. These spoliations had been both from within and without, but

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

those inroads on the State's revenues could scarcely have taken place without neglect or lack of oversight by the higher authorities failing to keep in hand various Residents, most of them Bengal civilians who had no previous knowledge of Political Service. That period had now passed, and they had received an assurance as to the future prospects of the State of Hyderabad. As to the paper itself, he thought that Sir David Barr was to be congratulated on having succeeded in dealing with such a large subject in such a small compass of time, also in such a picturesque manner, not the least in restoring to public notice that remarkable man, Major Kirkpatrick. Though Colonel Barr had quoted from *Blackwood*, yet he spoke with full knowledge of the history of the turbulent time, and it was very striking that the whole of our relations to the Hyderabad State and the Nizam hung upon the amicable arrangements which Kirkpatrick had set up with skill and foresight at the beginning of the last century. The description of the present city of Hyderabad was very striking, indeed charming, and it would be of great practical service that this paper had been read, and he trusted it would have its effect in the directions which Sir David Barr anticipated, more especially with reference to His Highness the Nizam carrying forward his own share in the Government and administration of his own country and State. (Applause.)

MR. PETRE asked to be allowed to pay a tribute, in which he was sure everybody who had served with Sir David Barr would concur, to the admirable selection which was made when Sir David Barr was appointed Resident. Everybody knowing him and his work felt that the best possible man had been selected to fill that very difficult post in Hyderabad. (Hear, hear.) Hyderabad had always been looked upon as the blue ribbon of the Political Service; it had also been the grave of a great many reputations—the making of some and the loss of many. His (the speaker's) knowledge of that State went back to the bad old days which had been touched upon slightly by Sir David Barr. In those days the position was that the whole management of the State was in the hands of men who were really secretaries, but who posed as Ministers. There was intrigue everywhere. It was not confined to any one class; everybody had a finger in the pie in those days, and it used to be one of the amusements of the first assistant when he had been to an interview with the Nizam, or the Minister had to run the gauntlet of cross-examination at the club, especially when he was quite sure he had nothing to tell. One point that always struck him as particularly remarkable in Hyderabad was the great religious toleration that was shown. He remembered instances where there was very good ground for complaint on the part of the State, but they were always treated with the utmost moderation. There was no outcry, whether the offender were a Hindu or a Christian. Nowadays, from Sir David Barr's description, Hyderabad seemed to be an ideal place of rest compared with what it was twenty years ago, and he hoped that it would continue to go on as it had done recently. (Applause.)

MR. J. D. REES, C.I.E., said that it was his good fortune to have been in Hyderabad when the present Nizam was installed upon the throne, or royal cushion, and he remembered a paper being published at that time by

Sir John Gorst in the *Nineteenth Century*, and the account there given of Hyderabad began by representing a farmer of that State standing in the road in the hot sun with a heavy stone on his head, and that there he had to stand till he had paid up the amount of assessment he owed, and that was represented as being the way of collecting arrears in Hyderabad. He had spent a good many years of his life in the neighbourhood of the State of Hyderabad, and he knew the ceded districts to which Sir David Barr had referred, and he suspected at the time that there was a little exaggeration, and that Sir John Gorst "had been fed," like other questioners, "with lies." But to-day they had it on the very high authority of Sir David Barr that not only was this method of collecting rents not usual in Hyderabad, but that the condition of affairs therein was not inferior to that of other States in India, as to which nobody could be a more competent authority than Sir David Barr, who had himself served with success in so many of them. It was therefore very gratifying to hear that the state of things in Hyderabad was so satisfactory.

Then when Sir David Barr gave them that very interesting account of the love-affairs of Major Achilles Kirkpatrick, he (Mr. Rees) could not help thinking, as there were brave men before Agamemnon, so there had been good Residents since Achilles; and as he had been a Resident in a Native State himself, it was exceedingly interesting to him to learn that at some period of the history of the British rule in India it was not altogether an unprecedented thing for a royal Princess to come and offer to marry the Resident. (Laughter.) He would explain [that his own experiences as a Resident had been in Travancore and Cochin, where the ladies had the privilege of choosing their husbands, but he could positively assert that they had entirely overlooked him in that respect, and he believed Residents and others were not in future likely to receive royal or other proposals. (Laughter.) It was extremely interesting on the occasion of their hearing a lecture from an ex-Resident of one of the largest Native States to have in the chair one of the only two other Princes who were of equal rank with the Nizam himself (applause), there being in all India but three Princes who were entitled to an hereditary salute of twenty-one guns, namely, His Highness the Nizam, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. It was particularly gratifying to him, holding the views he did, to hear what Sir David Barr said regarding the individuality of a Native State, and his statement that the independence of Hyderabad within treaty limits had been carefully preserved, and in no way impaired. It was particularly gratifying to have this from a Resident of such distinction and eminence as Sir David Barr, and it was evident from the statements in the paper that had been read that he was not one of those Residents who wished to impose on a Native State the exact pattern of the surrounding British districts. It gave him peculiar gratification to hear that from Sir David Barr, and when it was said that they had discovered in His Highness the Nizam the ablest administrator in his own dominions, he believed that to be by no means an uncommon occurrence. Certainly, in the Native States, in which he had resided, it was the case that the Prince in each case was

the ablest man in his State, and he believed that if they were to look to Baroda they would find another illustration of that position. (Applause.) In connection with Hyderabad, he wished to mention the extraordinary hospitality which so many Englishmen had enjoyed there, himself among the number, and what grateful recollections the Englishmen who had enjoyed the hospitality of Hyderabad would retain of the magnificent receptions they had received. Sir David Barr said at one point that no State in India was more "dependent upon the advice of the Resident," but he believed that Sir David meant that no State was more ready to accept such advice ; because from the other statements made in the paper he should imagine that the State of Hyderabad was not more dependent upon the advice of the Resident, but as ready as any other to take it when proffered. Sir David had referred to the prospects of the Hyderabad minerals and the development of the State in that direction, and he did sincerely hope that the State would give free and unrestricted concessions and terms to those who sought to develop it, and he thought experience had proved that even the operations undertaken in these States, which had been severely criticised in respect of the promotion money taken, had borne good fruit. Even in such cases it was better for Native States than if their mineral wealth had remained buried in the ground, and no efforts made to bring it into the light of day. (Applause.) At present commercial propositions in Hyderabad were favourably regarded in the city of London, and capital had, to the great benefit of the State, been provided in this country for its development.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, you have already heard a discussion of the paper carried on by three eminent gentlemen, and very little remains for me to say on the question. However, I will make only a few remarks on the subject of the paper which has just been read. It is a matter which must be delicately dealt with ; it is a matter on which the least mistake is likely to be misunderstood ; it is a matter with which a man must deal with great care and caution, because the subject-matter of Native States is understood by very few people, except those who have had to deal with them as officers in India. I believe people in England take an interest in Indian questions, but I am not prepared to say that many of them have that intimate or that consummate knowledge which will entitle them to pass a judgment which will not be objected to by those who know better. (Hear, hear.) The Indian States, taken as a whole, represent a very large proportion of India in its area as well as in its population, and therefore the importance of the whole question is obvious. In order to decide how far the States fulfil our expectations, it is most important for us to bear in mind what we expect from them. Having decided that question in our minds, we have to see how far they come up to that standard ; if they fail, whether they fail from their own shortcomings (mental or moral), or from defective education or political restrictions. To discuss each of these points in detail would take much time and perhaps weary the audience.

Indian States, as our friend has said in his paper, in the time of Major Kirkpatrick in Hyderabad, and generally it may be said of many other

States at the same period, were then going through a very critical period. The predominant power in India was breaking up just as the Roman Empire in Europe collapsed, and the disturbed conditions of those times were due to the collapse of this predominant power, and do not prove that the Indian people or the Indian States were not capable of managing their own States or their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) I think if the British Government, or perhaps the French, had not come on the scene, it would have been an interesting problem, which fortunately it is now useless to discuss, what would have become of these different States—whether many of them would have vanished, or whether some of them would have established a supremacy over others, or whether they would have formed a union of confederated States, something like the United States of America. Had the Indian people had the communication with the rest of the world, had they had the education and scientific training which modern science gives to soldiers and statesmen, I have no doubt that the natural capacity and ability of the people would have asserted themselves, and they would have been in no way less capable and fitted to manage their affairs than other parts of the world. (Applause.) But this hypothesis is not sufficient for Indians to pride themselves upon. It was through their own folly and their own mistakes that they lost the opportunity, and they are now placed in a condition in which they cannot take the benefit of it. Fortunately we are under a Government which gives them, though to a limited extent, some scope to show their qualities. We hope that, with improvement in training and education, that scope will be widened to enable them to occupy higher positions and higher stations than they at present do. What applies to Indians in general may apply with some qualifications to the Native States, and I hope the time will come when the Native States will show themselves more capable, and more appreciative of their duties, and more concerned with the interests and happiness of their people, than perhaps has been the case up till now. (Applause.) I believe there is no surer way of getting at and achieving that object than by educating the Princes thoroughly. (Hear, hear.) To make any reform or any progress permanent or beneficial to the people, it is not only a few of the Princes who must be educated, but education and a higher moral code must go to the lowest levels of the population, and so raise the average level of intelligence. If the Princes are to show themselves mindful of their duties and their sense of honour and dignity in their care of the States, there must be people who can and will come forward and persuade them to perform those duties and act up to a higher standard. I see here many of my Indian friends, who, I hope, with judgment, caution, and wisdom, will make the Princes feel that there is a body of public opinion in India which expects a high standard of duty from them, and that there are men who will sacrifice themselves, if necessary, in striving to make this public opinion effective. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt that when the Princes are more educated it will be to them a source of great gratification, as well as a source of pride and pleasure, to advance the interests of their people as much as possible.

Our friend Sir David Barr has referred to the Nizam asserting himself.

I will not go into the details of the work of an Indian Prince ; but I may tell you that there are occasions when even the best-intentioned ruler will find that his best labours bear but very little fruit, that his best reforms are not of a lasting nature, and therefore under those circumstances what do you expect ? You do not expect any sensible man to carry on the labours of Sisyphus ! Personally, I think it is a great pity that these Princes should fail you. It is sometimes put down to cowardice, but before we condemn the class we must consider and balance the circumstances under which they are to live ; and I myself personally feel, though I have tried my best and even to a certain extent sacrificed myself in doing my work, that there have been occasions and there are circumstances in which I should be inclined to sympathize with this class, which is not well educated, and which is not able to appreciate the circumstances and the position that it ought to occupy with regard to them. I am sure the Nizam, from his sense of duty, and for the welfare of the people that are under him, will sacrifice his own individual comfort and live up to the standard of duty, and try to promote the happiness of his people as well as he can, though we must remember under what adverse circumstances he has to work. (Applause.) Hyderabad, as Sir David Barr has said, is one of the most important States—in fact, the premier State. From the Nizam, as ruler of the premier State, we expect a high standard as an example to the other Native States, so that they may follow in his footsteps in making progress and in carrying on administration. We wish that example to be an administration to the best advantage of the people ; the control of revenue, so as to increase the resources of the State, and to encourage profitable investments on the part of the people ; the increase of railways and other means of communication.

Well, gentlemen, I know, as our friend has said, that His Highness has done this to a great extent, but we have to consider what these measures which I have just mentioned mean. Are these Princes or is His Highness allowed to receive the full benefit of such progressive measures, or is he to achieve them at a great sacrifice of administration, a sacrifice of jurisdiction, and a sacrifice of management ? To carry out these measures, I think you will see that we sometimes have to make serious sacrifices, and that we do it from a keen sense of duty and a keen sense of love and pleasure which we have in promoting the happiness of our people, and I will ask you whether under the circumstances other Princes would have sacrificed their own dignity—their *izzat*, as we call it in India—in pushing on, to the same extent, such reforms. I think people who are interested in good administration, whether in England or anywhere else, should also be prepared to support this proposition—that those who carry out the reforms should be allowed to reap the benefit of those reforms to the utmost.

Well, gentlemen, I have said enough, I think, on this question, and I will now conclude by thanking our friend Sir David Barr for the manner in which he has drawn up the paper. He has done it very cleverly, avoiding any controversial points, and I think he has shown in that paper that those political officers who show such skill and tact in dealing with the States and the native rulers have a quality which is of the highest importance in India,

where the standard of education varies, and where the officers also vary in character and temperament. I remember well Sir David Barr leaving India when he had such a splendid send-off from Hyderabad, and I hope that impressed on his mind the grateful feeling that the people of Hyderabad have towards him, and that it will always be an ever fresh memory to him. I only hope that the younger generation of officers will follow in the footsteps of such predecessors, and will encourage the native rulers and native races to rise to the occasion, and to make them fit to perform their duties to themselves with as little outside interference as possible. I think, as I have imposed the obligation upon other speakers not to take up time beyond a certain limit, that in giving a law to a person, it is most important that the person who legislates must act up to the law himself, and I will therefore now conclude my remarks by thanking you most heartily for the kind manner in which you have listened to my words.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I rise to perform a duty which will be grateful to us all, and that is to express, not only on behalf of this meeting, but on behalf of our Association, of which I see many members present, the high sense of the honour which has been paid to us by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda presiding on this occasion. (Hear, hear.) It was with the greatest gratification that I heard that he was able to accede to the request which I made to him, and to those who have heard His Highness's address to-day there is no necessity to praise his eloquence or his ability. It would be an impertinence to do so. I only trust that the wise and weighty words which he has honoured the Association by addressing to us to-day may be repeated by the press in a perfect and unmutilated manner, so that they may be read by a great number of people in England to-morrow, who will understand how high a standard of conduct and character is placed before the Princes and people of India by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. (Loud applause.)

MR. T. H. THORNTON, D.C.L., C.S.I.: I have much pleasure in seconding my friend Sir Lepel Griffin's motion. Having acted for two years as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, I know something of the affairs of Hyderabad and Baroda. I have heard with great pleasure Sir David Barr's testimony to the improved administration and resources of Hyderabad, and the great personal interest now taken by His Highness the Nizam himself in the affairs of the principality; and as to Baroda, we have all heard from the lips of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, who has honoured us with his presence this afternoon, a statement of his views on education and of his conception of the duties of an Indian Prince towards his subjects—views which reflect the greatest credit upon him, and give proof that the high education he eloquently advocates for chiefs and people has had, in his own case, at any rate, a most beneficial result.

We have since received the following letter from Sir Roland K. Wilson:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—Sir David Barr's paper on "Hyderabad, Past and Present," as read before the East India Association on July 6, which will doubtless appear in your next issue, is curiously silent respecting the labours of the recently constituted Legislative Council. It is not even mentioned in his list of the departments of State. Yet among the Acts passed during the four or five years of its existence there is at least one calculated to startle the English reader, and concerning which some expert explanation would have been useful. I refer to Act No. II. of 1310 Fasli (1900?), amending the Game Protection Act of the preceding year (IV. of 1309 F.).

The principal Act had scheduled tigers as "game"; but to the clause authorizing the Prime Minister to prohibit the pursuit of game during the breeding season (S. 3) there was appended a proviso that "nothing contained in this section shall apply to tigers, cheetas, and any other man-eating animals, or preclude proprietors and occupiers of lands from adopting such measures as may be necessary for the protection of crops or produce growing on their lands."

This proviso rendered the classing of tigers as game comparatively harmless, because the effect of the only sections still applicable to them (5, 6, and 7) was merely to prevent the organization of tiger-hunts without permission in the preserves of His Highness the Nizam, or of the Government, or of a Jagirdar. But the amending (?) Act substitutes the following materially different proviso: "Provided that nothing contained in this section shall apply to panthers, *man-eating tigers, or any other tiger habitually addicted to killing cattle in any particular place, or any other man-eating animals*, or preclude any person from adopting such measures as may be necessary for the protection of any man or cattle."

The result appears to be that the Hyderabad tiger, like the English dog, is legally entitled to "one bite" before any reflection can be cast on his character; but whereas the much-criticised common-law rule as to the dog only affects the civil liability of his master, the dog himself remaining equally under his master's protection and control before and after his first bite, the tiger who has not yet been proved to be a man-eater or cattle-worrier has full protection without control, and can multiply his kind in peace while biding his time for declaring war.

The last words of the section cannot be so interpreted as to nullify all that precedes, and cannot therefore be held to justify what one naturally imagines to be the sole effective method of protecting men and cattle, namely, the total extermination of their natural enemy.

Does this systematic preservation of tigers spring from deference towards some native superstition, or is it in any way connected with that "lavish hospitality to European visitors" on which so much stress was laid by one of the subsequent speakers? On either view, legislation of this type helps to explain a remark of the lecturer as to the sparseness of population in a large part of the Nizam's dominions.

ROLAND K. WILSON.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, July 31, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair, at which the following, amongst others, were present: Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. W. Coldstream, Dr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Colonel C. H. T. Marshall, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. Henry Lubeck, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Donald Reid, Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. Corbett, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, the Misses Delaney, Miss Campbell, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. T. R. Dhir, Mr. Dhooma Mall, Mr. Nathu Ram, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., Mr. Lajpat Rai, Mr. D. Masaldan, Dr. S. Ram, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. J. V. Desai, Mr. E. Hormuz, Mr. R. J. Vakil, Mr. W. Ashley Larkins, Miss A. Smith, Miss Sinha, Mr. A. Eggar, Mr. George Rumbold, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Miss S. Chapman Hand, Mr. Arthur Wood, I.C.S., Miss James, Mr. Mohindar, Miss V. M. Townsend, Mr. Kapur Singh.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, apologized for having called a meeting so late in the season, the reason, which he thought sufficient, being that Sirdar Arjan Singh, who was returning to India, desired to read a paper on "Early Marriage," and there was no alternative but to fix the meeting, as had been done, or refuse the paper altogether. This the Chairman did not wish; for, first, the lecture dealt with a subject second to none in importance to the people of India, and, secondly, it was so closely concerned with considerations of religion, caste, and custom, that he preferred it being treated by a native gentleman if he felt himself able to approach the subject in the delicate and liberal sense in which the writer had treated it. Another reason was because he had a personal and friendly interest in Sirdar Arjan Singh, and desired to introduce him to an English audience. Thirty years ago he (the Chairman) was in charge of the State of Kapurthala. The then Raja, father of the present chief, was incapable of performing his duties, and the whole administration was placed by the Government in English hands for the minority, and it was then that he became a warm friend of Sirdar Arjan Singh's grandfather, a relative of the then Rajah, and one of the foremost Ministers of the State. Sirdar Arjan Singh's father was also a friend of his, so that it was a great pleasure to him to introduce to the meeting this young man, who came of a high and honourable race, who was thus the third generation of his friends, and a devoted servant of the Kapurthala State. He had no doubt that in his turn he would do as good service to his State and to India as his grandfather and father before him. (Applause).

SIRDAR ARJAN SINGH then read the following paper, entitled "Early Marriages in India."*

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

MR. NATHU RAM said he could not help expressing his admiration for the masterly manner in which the lecturer had dealt with the subject, which was of great importance to Indians, and upon which the future salvation of India depends. Early marriage was one of the chief evils of India, out of which sprung a great many other evils, among which was the sacrifice of education. In India parents immediately after the birth of a child think it their bounden duty to marry him or her in preference to giving education, whereas the money spent on these early marriages, which are so detrimental to the future prosperity of the country, would have been better invested if spent in education. (Applause.) A further result of such marriages was that the husbands could not migrate or move to places where they could find the proper sort of work to do as they could in European countries, where they could seek and follow whatever kind of business they liked best. As regards Government interference, he thought it was high time the Government interfered. If the matter was to be left at the option of the people, it would require centuries before the position of the Indian woman would be uplifted and the custom of early marriages obliterated. It would be a pity to wait so long when the same thing could be done by Government in a shorter time. With regard to the restrictive legislation in Baroda and Mysore, when that legislation was passed three or four years ago, it was announced that the number of girls who were widows was enormously large while they were even under the age of one, which meant that the children were promised to be married before their birth.

MR. A. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S., said the evils of early marriages had been very clearly pointed out by the lecturer, and he did not think any educated man throughout the length and breadth of India would gainsay that early marriages were an unmixed evil. Perhaps the word "unmixed" ought to be modified. It had been already pointed out by the lecturer and by the chairman that there were points of view from which the custom might be looked at in a more tolerant mood than would be implied if the words "unmixed evil" were used. Every institution which had existed for any length of time had its historical causes, and could no doubt be justified and explained on grounds of utility at the time and in the circumstances in which it originated. No doubt infant marriages could be defended on such grounds, but there could be no two opinions that in the circumstances of the present day early marriages were an unmixed evil: they deteriorated the physique of the nation; they acted upon the poor children, whose time should be spent in acquiring knowledge and experience, by burdening them too early with the cares of life; and, further, they affected (which was the most serious evil of all) the future progeny.

Anyone who had given thought to the question of infant mortality in India must have been struck with the remarkable figures brought out in the tables. Speaking only of the United Provinces, which he happened to know best, about two years ago the increase of infant mortality was so great that the local Government discussed the question in a resolution. It was pointed out that there were many causes which operated in this

direction, though no sufficient emphasis was laid on the question of early marriages as the cause of this evil. Half of the children that were born were not physically fit to live, not only as regards the circumstances in which they were born, and as regards the fitness of the mothers to take care of them, and the fitness of the fathers to provide for the sanitary measures which should be taken, but as regards the initial amount of fitness for life that they possessed on account of immature parents. It was only to be expected that the children should also be immature, as the statistics, in fact, proved.

This being the case, how was it that the custom did not die a natural death? Surely there could be no difficulty in abolishing a thing which everybody seemed to be unanimous in thinking ought to be abolished. Unfortunately the question had got mixed up with the question of religion. Professor Max Müller was, I think, the first to point out that the question of early marriage, like the question of suttee, rested upon a misinterpretation of a certain text; but whether it was so or not, if he were a Hindoo, most firmly convinced of the inspiration of the Vedas and all the religious books that the Hindoo must rigidly hold in such honour (and although a Mahomedan, he held the Hindu Scriptures in very great reverence), he should reason in this way: "Let us look at the broad facts of ancient Hindu life and ancient Hindu history: what do we find? I suppose no Hindu ever questioned the fact that Sita was one of the most exemplary women, and that the state of society in which she lived would not be a bad one to introduce into modern India, but she selected her own husband. Think of what that means. Can a little baby of ten months old select her husband? No." It was not a case of Sita alone. Women in those days, by a national custom, were in the habit of selecting their husbands. When a girl was marriageable, if she was a princess, her father invited all the eligible bachelors of her position of life, who had various trials of skill, like those described in the heroic poems, and after that it was left to the girl to choose which of them she would have. The nomination, to a certain extent, lay with the parents, because the parents invited a certain number of eligible persons, to one of whom the parents would naturally like to give their consent, but the final selection of the particular individual rested entirely with the bride. That was the case in ancient times, and it was not an isolated instance, but one of the broad facts of the history of those times. Broad facts and concrete instances were far more important in the understanding of ancient ideas than particular texts, which might be vague and capable of being interpreted in one manner or another. Stress might rightly be laid on the fact that this custom of early marriage was a comparatively late innovation, and therefore as conservatives they ought to go back to the old and more rational method. (Applause.)

A great reason why the custom was not abolished at once was not want of education in a general sense, as had been mentioned, but want of female education in particular. Everyone who had received English education agreed that the custom was pernicious; everyone would like to see it

abolished ; but many friends of his who had studied at the Universities, when they went back to India were entirely unable to stem the tide of public opinion. Why was that ? It was because the ladies of the house did not agree with them, and they did not carry female opinion with them. After all, in all family matters in all countries the opinion of the ladies was of paramount importance. (Applause.) If it were not so family life would not be what it is. Those who believed the custom to be evil, and one which ought to be abolished, should enlist that opinion which alone could abolish it—viz., the opinion of wives, sisters, mothers, and female cousins. It was only then that the reform could be effected. (Hear, hear.) One of the steps for attaining that object was female education, which seemed to be one great remedy for thousands and thousands of the evils that at present existed in India. The opinions imbibed early from mothers and sisters were naturally the strongest opinions, and although he was one of those who believed that the Indian woman was inferior to no other woman in the world, yet she was handicapped greatly by her surroundings and her lack of education. The advancement of female education and the growth of a like feeling in these matters amongst their women should be looked forward to, rather than any of those remedies which had been mentioned.

In particular he entirely agreed with the remarks of the Chairman that the British Government, under the circumstances in which it is situated, could not undertake a reform like that ; but even if it felt that it ought to do so, he did not think the reform would be efficacious. A thing crammed down their throats by force of law would not have the same effect as if they, along with their women, felt convinced of the evil of the custom and let it die a natural death. (Applause.) As to the legislation of Baroda and Mysore, he thought there was a little misapprehension on the subject. Although not an authority on the matter, he had once had the privilege of talking to the Gaekwar about it, and was under the impression that the legislation aimed at was practically on the lines of the Age of Consent Act—*i.e.*, a man might marry his boy or girl at any age, but *muklava* would not be allowed until the statutory age was reached. And even there exceptions had been made. In certain cases persons might go before the magistrate and make certain declarations upon which a certain amount of tolerance to conscientious objections would be given. The legislation in those two States had been too recent to enable us to judge of the effect of it, and although he considered the legislation to have been entirely in the right direction, he did not think it would be fruitful of as much good as people expected who always believed in legislative machinery. It would be far better to have no legislation on the subject, but to work out their own ideas, and to feel that they had been the authors of their own salvation. (Applause.)

MR. LAJPAT RAI, of Lahore, said he yielded to none in his desire to see this pernicious custom of early marriage rooted out from India, but he must dissent as regards the remedies suggested by the lecturer. The remedy did not lie in legislative measures, but in the people dealing with

it themselves. He agreed with the last speaker that the true remedy was in the spread of education in general, and of female education in particular, and he could not let this opportunity pass of letting the meeting know what had been done in India itself to remedy the evil; because people here might be under the impression that in India they were all sitting idle, looking to the Government to help them in the matter, and doing nothing themselves. So far as regards infant marriages, there was a unanimity of opinion as to this pernicious custom not being sanctioned by the sacred works of the Hindoos. Of the reforming agencies at work in India, the first in the field was the Brahmo Samaj, which condemned this custom out and out. The same was true of the Arya Samaj, which went even further than the Brahmo Samaj, in so far that while the Brahmos recognised eighteen as the marriageable age for boys and sixteen for girls, the Arya Samajists declared that any marriage of a boy under twenty-five and a girl under sixteen was unauthorized by law, was against religion, and was to a certain extent immoral. A very large number pledged themselves to that. Considering the dense ignorance which prevailed in India, the reform could not be expected to proceed at the rapid rate which they would all desire, but there was no doubt the meeting would be pleased to know that the various caste organizations and orthodox Salehas, called the Sanatan Salehas, had also begun to see the evil of the practice. The authorities of the Central Hindoo College at Benares had declared the early marriage of Hindoo boys and girls as being against the ancient shastras, and an improper thing; in fact, the authorities of the college had ruled that no married boy would be admitted to their school. That example was being followed by other religious institutions and schools all over India. At the religious and social conferences, held at the end of the year, resolutions were being passed against the custom, and everything was being done to spread the propaganda of reform. The native Princes, too, had begun to realize the importance of the question. H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda and other Princes were taking the lead in the matter, and with the help of all these influences at work it seemed very likely that the reform would become an accomplished fact as education spread in India, and although extreme measures might, with great zeal and very sincerely, be advocated, they might not, after all, have to be resorted to. Then there seems to be some misconception about the position of women in India. According to the old Hindoo shastras, women always used to occupy a very high position. The Vedas laid down that no religious ceremony of importance could be performed by the head of a Hindoo household unless he had his wife at his side. Many texts could be quoted which went to show that the Hindoo women of old used to be thoroughly well educated, and could perform these duties satisfactorily. There were certain well-known verses in the Laws of Manu which distinctly laid down that if the family did not do honour to the women and provide them with all comforts, it would go to ruin very soon. Even now a Hindoo thought of nothing so much as he thought of protecting his women and keeping them from danger, and also of providing them with the best jewellery; in fact, most of a

Hindoo gentleman's income was spent in providing jewellery and nice clothes for his women. (Laughter.) The Hindú law has always been known to give full rights of property to women, while the English law knew no such thing till only lately. As such the position of a Hindú female was in no way inferior to that of an English woman, except that sufficient was not being done to educate the former. Therefore the picture was not so dark as it was painted, and he would ask his Indian friends to put their shoulders to the wheel, and go back to India and do their best by spreading education, and thereby bringing home to the people that the custom of early marriages was pernicious. They were putting the Government in a very false position by urging Government action, and he deprecated any such step very strongly.

SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR said he did not share the somewhat despondent tone adopted by the lecturer as to the chances of success of this reform unless the Government came to the help of the people in effecting it. He believed that the reform was already making headway in the country, and that there was a body of intelligent opinion growing in its favour. He agreed with Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali in thinking that the solution of the question rested finally in the hands of the people themselves. He took exception to that part of the lecturer's analysis of the causes of the custom which attributed the origin of this to the invasion from Central Asia and the high-handedness of the invaders. The theory which held the Central Asian invaders responsible for this, as well as for the partial introduction of the purdah among the Hindus, was now exploded, and a large number of authorities upon the subject tended to the view that the causes must be sought elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN observed that although several Englishmen had intimated a desire to speak upon the question, he thought the meeting would agree with him that it was really more useful to hear the views of Indian gentlemen than of Englishmen, however deeply interested they might be in the subject. Those gentlemen had therefore waived their right to speak in favour of their Indian friends.

The CHAIRMAN then said: I would first compliment the lecturer on having treated an exceedingly delicate subject with tact, and in a very moderate, liberal, and interesting manner. The subject is a very important one as regards both the social and physical welfare of the people of India. The Government has done a certain amount in the direction indicated by the lecturer, and it is very difficult for it to do more. To me it is news to hear that the Governments of Baroda and Mysore have passed Acts limiting the age at which marriage can be legally performed. Those ancient and honourable Hindoo States are able to do more in such a direction than the British Government can, or would desire to do. Our position with regard to all Indian customs and religions, or pseudo-religious observances, is to maintain absolute impartiality, and so long as any practice does not come into conflict with the criminal code, as was the case with suttee and infanticide, to allow perfect freedom to Hindoos and Mahomedans throughout India. Our lecturer has naturally dealt with the Hindoo side of the

question, but I think justice to the Mahomedan community demands that we should acknowledge the very beneficent and generous manner in which the married woman is treated under Mahomedan law, a position little understood by ignorant critics of Mahomedan society. With regard to Hindu early marriage, I speak with some authority, because I had for many years fought, hard—so far as was consistent with my position—to raise the age of consent, and to improve the position of the Hindoo wife, and especially the Hindoo widow. Mr. Malabari is a great friend of mine, and we (that is, those working at that time in India) did obtain an immense boon to the women of India by raising the age of consent (that is, the age at which a girl may live with her husband) from ten to twelve years. Everyone of sense must see that that change was a vast and unmixed benefit to the Hindu female population of India. But in granting this concession to the spirit of reform, the Government have gone as far as they can in legislative action, and I am almost tempted to think that the suggestion of the lecturer to only give marriage legal force after the husband has completed twelve years and the wife ten years would be almost a retrograde step. I would prefer to see adopted the Baroda code, or the suggestion of Mr. Whitely Stokes that sixteen and twelve respectively should be the minimum ages of legal marriage if it be possible for the English Government to take further action to prevent premature widowhood. In dealing with India with regard to these questions, we have to proceed very cautiously. You must remember that customs, especially when they are bound up, or supposed, traditionally, to be bound up with religion, are very delicate things to touch, and because a custom does not appear to us to be wholesome or wise, it does not follow that it may not now be, or have been at one time, admirably suited to the people amongst whom you find it. (Hear, hear.) Many people may argue that so long as the limit is not fixed too low, early marriage is a most excellent thing, and I am disposed to agree with them. When it was first forced upon India it was a time of stress, storm, and difficulty, and marriage no doubt saved the woman of India from many troubles which in time of war would have fallen upon them if they had not been protected by the shield of matrimony. We may not think that the customs of India with regard to women are altogether admirable, but you must understand that reform in social customs can only be effected by the gradual enlightenment of the people, and with their own consent and acceptance. Looking back to when I was a young man, what was the condition of women in England? They were in the very lowest state you can possibly conceive, so far as their rights in the marriage state were concerned. It was only in 1872 that a working woman was able to keep for herself her earnings; a drunken or tyrannical husband could take everything from her. It was only in 1882 that a woman obtained full control over her property. Before that time it was entirely in the possession and at the disposal of her husband, and she was little more than a slave. All this is now changed, and to-day England is the only country in the world in which a woman has acquired full rights of property, and stands in an equal, and, indeed, in a more favourable position, than men. The

position of women in this country is far above that which is allowed in the United States of America.

These advantages have only been won for women by the elevation of popular sentiment, and by a long series of contests. You cannot force things upon people that they will not have ; but I do strongly believe that the position of Indian women is day by day improving, and that the unfortunate position of the Indian widow, who is treated from the time she is a child to the day of her death as if she were under a curse, and as the drudge of the family, is a position which the great intelligence of the warm-hearted Indian people will not allow her always to occupy. Indian gentlemen who come to England will, I hope, carry back with them this expression of my firm hope and belief that their efforts will be directed to the defence of the most oppressed and miserable being among their people—the Indian widow. (Applause.)

With regard to early marriage under reasonable conditions, I will say no word against it. It is the custom of the people, and no doubt every intelligent Hindu gentleman will use every effort to remove those parts of it which require reform. As to Mahomedans, there is an idea in Europe that the great prophet of Islam left woman in a position of great ignominy ; but this is in no way the case. In Arabia in his time the woman was treated worse than a slave. Mahomed raised her status immensely, and left her rights in India, Arabia, Turkey, and throughout Islam infinitely more secure than that of English women before 1882. With regard to marriage, remember this, that about 80 millions of the inhabitants of India are Mahomedans, and among them no woman can be married without her consent, express or implied. She cannot be married before the age of puberty, or until she understands what she is doing. Her rights in marriage and divorce and widowhood are guarded by Mahomedan law, and nothing which the English Government has done for the protection of Indian women has at all offended the sentiment or susceptibilities of the Mahomedans of India. They have been in entire accord with us from the beginning.

The LECTURER thanked the members present for having listened so patiently to his paper.

Votes of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman were then carried, and the proceedings terminated.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, July 31, 1905. Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presided. Among those present were Mr. F. Lorain Petre, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Sirdar Arjan Singh, Mr. Nathu

Ram, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. Donald Reid, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. sec.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by SIRDAR ARJAN SINGH, the annual report and accounts were adopted.

Letters were read from Mr. Robert Sewell and Mr. J. B. Pennington, suggesting that the assets of the Association should in future appear in the accounts. This was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN stated that out of the £1,000 sent to him by the Maharaja Sindhia, to be employed at his discretion for the purposes of the Association, a small portion had been used to meet current expenses.

MR. MARTIN WOOD criticised the passage in the report concerning Chinese labour in the Transvaal.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by MR. MARTIN WOOD, the following three retiring members of Council were re-elected: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir M. M. Bhowmagree, K.C.I.E., M.P., and A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned that H.H. Raja-i-Rajan, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, had consented to become a Vice-President, and but for his absence from the country during July would have presided at a meeting.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed the re-election of Lord Reay as President for the ensuing year, and highly eulogized his services to the Association.

This was seconded by MR. COLDSTREAM, and carried with acclamation.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE Council of the East India Association beg to submit the report and accounts for the year 1904-1905.

The past year and that portion of the present which covers our summer session and ends on August 1, 1905, has been full of the deepest interest and importance to the whole world, and very specially to the British Empire in

the East, whose future, through all time, must be affected by the results of the war between Japan and Russia. It would ill become our Association, which includes amongst its members so many of the most distinguished of the Princes of India, and so many Statesmen who have successfully administered His Majesty's Government in the East, to attempt to minimize or deny the far-reaching effects which will be the result of the transfer of the balance of power in the Pacific. They are for the British Empire in India both an encouragement and a warning. An encouragement in that the British race, in conformity with the traditions which they have for many hundred years maintained and cherished, have applied to the Eastern dominions of His Majesty those principles of liberty, justice, equality before the law, and religious toleration which they assert at home, and which are the foundation of their prosperity. A warning to the rulers of India that they should in no measure relax their efforts to widen the bounds of liberty ; to extend the blessings of a reasonable and fruitful education ; to develop the industries of India ; to improve its agricultural methods ; to include a larger number of its educated and upper classes in the administration ; and to reduce, as far as may be practicable, the taxes which press most heavily upon the poor. If the British Government of India applies itself with whole-hearted energy to this Imperial task, we shall see each year the Indian peoples more contented and prosperous, and the roots of the British Empire in the East will strike deep—secure against rebellion within and hostility without—in the gratitude and affection of a loyal and free people.

The Council would desire to respectfully express its deep satisfaction at the decision of His Majesty that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shall visit India this year, and they have no doubt that this auspicious event will have the happiest results in stimulating the affection and loyalty of Princes and people to the Crown.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, a Vice-President of the Association, took the chair at one of our

latest meetings, and the Raja of Kapurthala (Raja-i-Rajagan) has become a Vice-President.

The papers read before the Association during the past year have been of variety and importance, and the Council has endeavoured to obtain lecturers who would deal with matters of practical rather than speculative interest, and assist, by discussion, the industrial development of India. In this direction the papers of Mr. J. D. Rees on the "Tea Trade," Mr. Durant Beighton on "Tobacco," Mr. Thorburn on "Protection in India," and Mr. D. Edwards-Radclyffe on "Ramie," may be noted. Two Indian gentlemen, Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Sirdar Arjan Singh, have lectured before the Association.

Questions in which we were concerned last year—the education of Tamil-speaking children on the tea estates of Ceylon and the treatment of Indians in the British Colonies of South Africa—have continued to receive our attention. The former has formed the subject of correspondence with the Colonial Office and the Governor of Ceylon, published in a recent Blue-Book, and the matter is receiving the local attention it required. The efforts of the Association with regard to the latter have been well supplemented by a member of our Council, Sir M. M. Bhowndegree, in the House of Commons; but progress is difficult, and the Association can only repeat their protest that a puerile opposition to the employment of Chinese in South Africa, of the conditions of which neither the labourers themselves nor their Government make any complaint, should engage the attention of the House of Commons while they ignore altogether the shameful, inequitable and degrading disabilities which Trade Unionism and Colonial prejudice impose on our honest, industrious, and loyal Indian fellow subjects when they emigrate to Cape Colony, the Transvaal, or Natal. This is one of the burning questions which must be satisfactorily and justly solved; and both the House and the Indian Government must realize that it is a grievance which they will be compelled, sooner or later, to redress.

It is hoped that one of the early papers in the winter session of the Association will again deal with this subject.

The resolution which was unanimously passed at the meeting held to discuss Mr. Thorburn's paper, "India under Protection," that India should be assigned a place proportional to her importance in the Empire, and her representatives should include independent and unofficial members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries, was sent to the Secretary of State for India and other prominent statesmen.

The following papers have been read before the Association during the past session :

Friday, June 24, 1904. J. B. Pennington, Esq., B.L. Cantab., "A Suggestion for the Abolition of the Salt Monopoly." Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson, LL.D., F.R.S., in the chair. The Council are glad to be able to state that the salt tax has recently again been reduced.

Wednesday, July 20, 1904. J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., "Tea Trade and Taxation." Sir Edward Sassoon, Bart., M.P., in the chair.

Tuesday, December 13, 1904. Sir William Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I. (late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab), "The Progress of the Punjab." Sir James Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Tuesday, December 20, 1904. T. Durant Beighton, Esq., I.C.S., "The Possibilities of the Indian Tobacco Industry." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

Monday, January 30, 1905. S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (late Financial Commissioner, Punjab), "The Place of India under Protection." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

Wednesday, March 29, 1905. D. Edwards-Radclyffe, Esq., "Ramie, the Textile of the Future: a Promising Industry for India." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D. in the chair.

Thursday, April 18, 1905. Sheikh Abdul Qadir B.A. (of the Lahore *Observer*), "The Future of the Hindustani Language and Literature." Ameer Ali, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., in the chair (late a Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal).

Thursday, June 8, 1905. Mr. F. H. Skrine, "Hydrophobia in the East." Sir Edward Strachey, Bart., M.P., in the chair.

Thursday, July 6, 1905. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I. (late Resident, Hyderabad), "Hyderabad, Past and Present." H.H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda in the chair.

Monday, July 31, 1905. Sirdar Arjan Singh, of Kapurthala, "Early Marriages in India." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The following members of Council retire by rotation. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.,
Sir M. M. Bhowmagree, K.C.I.E., M.P.,
A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A.

The following have been elected members of the Association :

J. W. Fox, Esq.,
Reasut Hossain, Esq.,
Sirdar Arjan Singh,
Shaikh Abdul Qadir,
Anandi Prasad Dubé, Esq.,
Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G.,

W. Colin Kirkpatrick, Esq.,
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I.
The Director of Agriculture and Industries,
Baroda State.

Two members have resigned their membership, Dr. David Duncan and Chawdry Dulip Singh Sharma.

Receipts for the year including balance at bankers and in hand, £482 2s. 3d. ; expenditure, £429 17s. 4d. ; and balance at bankers and in hand, £52 4s. 11d.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM OF MADRAS.

SIR,

In the July number of your *Review* (1905)* there is a letter from Mr. J. B. Pennington, in which he says he intends to refer "pretty freely" to an article of mine in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1903, on "Indian Revenue and Land Systems." As he has made his strictures publicly, I trust you will allow me to reply to them in the same manner, for to my mind his remarks are superficial.

I have shown on the highest modern authorities that there are but two possible methods by which the products of the earth can be enhanced *both* in quantity and value, and I stated that in none of the systems for collecting land revenue which have prevailed for centuries in India neither of these two methods had ever found any place, and in consequence no improvements had ever been made in agricultural industries by those ancient systems.

Mr. Pennington has not attempted to show that the modern authorities I had quoted were wrong in principle, but tells me to study the "Amani system," as described by Sir A. Seshia Shastri, "under which the crop is *actually divided*," ignoring altogether those two methods by which alone the products of the earth can be increased at all. If he will explain what the advantages of this latest system of collecting land revenue in India are to the Government or the ryot, one might think it worth while to consider the subject, and see if it possesses anything better than the two simple methods of Adam Smith, Hallam, J. S. Mill, and all modern authorities on economic science; but it is

* See pp. 178-182.

useless to tell us to study a work by a native of India who does not show that he is more enlightened than those great authorities of European reputation.

Mr. Pennington complains that I charge the revenue authorities with still following "the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people, and leaving their industries to starve," etc. In so doing I have done nothing more than what Mr. Rogers says in his letter in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1904, p. 194, "that he once heard a Madras civilian say to another : 'You know, So-and-so, I always thought those rates (in some particular district of which I have forgotten the name) *were too high, but the Brahmins would not let me reduce them.*'" As this same Brahminical influence prevails in every district of the Madras Presidency, under the authority of the head Sharistadar of the Board of Revenue, Madras, it is perfectly absurd to say the ryots have any security for improvements they make, and the right of appeal to the collector of the district, who cannot act in anywise *but as the Brahmins allow him to do.*

Mr. Pennington says that I must surely know the *general tendency* in Madras has been to *reduce assessments* very largely, etc., and in the P.S. of his letter he says that after reading Mr. Dutt's *most illuminating work*, "India in the Victorian Age," "I must confess that he seems to prove that the baneful practice of *over-assessment* has gone further of *late years* than I had imagined." By this admission he shows that I was not wrong in anywise in this matter, and if to this baneful practice, "against which the ryot has no appeal, as above shown, we add that he is also liable for all arrears of land revenue in consequence of bad seasons, etc., and has to support himself and his family by borrowing from the sowcars at usurious rates of interest, his lot is about as miserable as it well can be under the tender rule and influence of the Brahmin caste, for whose *religious prejudices* so much regard must be entertained under the British raj! And this is carrying out

Her late Majesty's proclamation to do "justice and judgment" to all her Indian subjects, without reference to creed, caste, or colour, by those Mr. Pennington calls "the better class of officials" in his estimation!

Mr. Pennington taxes me with making surprising mistakes, and says I quoted the Viceroy as saying that it is impossible to find water enough in the whole of India for more than 20 million acres of land, etc. The *exact* words I made use of are as follows: "When Lord Curzon declared, soon after assuming the reins of the Government of India, that by a *carefully-prepared estimate* which had been furnished to him, it was impossible to extend the area of irrigation by more *than 3 million* acres, he made a most serious mistake"; and I proceeded to show by the careful observations and data collected by Sir A. Binny, C.E., at the Nagpur waterworks that on an average there was water enough in the Godavery basin *alone*, if properly consumed, for the irrigation of 20 *million acres of land*. As the Irrigation Commission give the average annual rainfall in this basin at 20 per cent. higher than I had taken it to be, it is pretty plain I had made no misleading statements in regard to this matter, and if Mr. Pennington had studied the matter more fully, he would not have resorted to the common artifice of misrepresentation in order to confute me; but this is a very usual practice in India amongst Cutcherry Brahmins, and hence the House of Commons takes so little interest in Indian affairs, as they always declare you can get no reliable facts from that country, and the City of London has much the same idea about trading with India.

Mr. Pennington admits that by Joseph's law there would be *no arrears of revenue*, but he fails to notice that by this same law "the baneful practice of over-assessment," as he himself terms it, would also be entirely avoided. His objection is that the revenue officials could not find the exact yield of every field every year, and he advises me to study the Amani system, by which the crop *is actually*

divided, and *must be measured*, of course. How do the revenue officials perform this operation annually, and find no inconvenience in it?

Joseph's law would give the cultivator fixity of tenure, fair rents, and freedom of sale. By means of a Punchayet in each village, the share of the Government could be very easily ascertained, and the interference of pettifogging officials could be done away with entirely. By this system the ryot would feel it was to *his interest* to secure a fair share to the Government which provided him sure means of earning a livelihood, and prevented his being over-assessed at any time; and it would be for the *interest* of the Government to take measures to make the yield as large and as valuable as possible, as Adam Smith says. In none of the systems of collecting land revenue in India have any of these objects found any place whatever. As Mr. Pennington admits that "the baneful practice of over-assessment" prevails even more than *he* imagined in the collecting of land revenue in India, on what grounds does he advise me to study "the Amani system as described by Sir A. Seshia Shastri?" and does not show that this baneful practice does not exist in it. This baneful practice, it is well known, is common in all the systems of land revenue which have prevailed in India in all ages, and its fruits are to be seen in the gross ignorance and miserable poverty prevailing all over the country amongst the population. The certain criterion by which this can be ascertained is to look at the hovels in which the people have always lived; no pig-sties or dog-kennels would be allowed to remain in England in such a condition of squalor, filth, and beastliness in general.

If, whilst Mr. Pennington was in India, he had studied Sir A. Cotton's works in the Tanjore, Godavery, and Kistna districts, and learnt the principles on which these works were carried out, he would never have had cause to fear about the Government revenue—that chronic fear belongs to Cutcherry Brahminism, and those who allow

themselves to be infected by such dry-rot. These districts, *before* these works had been instituted for their benefit, could not pay 60 lacs of rupees a year revenue securely to the Government. By the most vigorous application of the endless screw, they *now* pay *with the utmost ease* over 300 *lacs* of rupees a year revenue, and are the most prosperous, contented, and progressive districts in all India, and but for the injudicious opposition of the revenue authorities could have paid the Government much more in revenue ; for the water-rates have always been made so as to *depreciate* as much as possible the value of the works. As, for instance, in the Godavery district the water-rate, after fifteen years' delay, was made only *Rs. 4 per acre* for the most abundant supply of water to lands of the greatest fertility, whilst in Bellary, on the Toongabadra channels, this rate was made *Rs. 9 per acre* for lands which could not yield a quarter of the produce of the Delta lands, and then the accounts are made up to show the Delta works do not pay more than some 9 per cent., or something of that kind.

I am quite aware that many attempts at road-making have been carried out in South India, but all the methods adopted are wrong in principle, and in consequence little or nothing has been done towards *reducing cost of transport*, and the outlay on them has been almost waste. A road without bridges is about as useful as the fifth wheel of a coach ; the gradients have never been properly regulated, and the metalling never properly put in. Even here, in this large cantonment of Bangalore, the roads are miserably bad, although there is abundance of the best material at hand to make the most excellent roads. Mr. Pennington should study "Gillespie on Roads," and Telford's "Specification for a Turnpike Road," if he wishes to learn how such works ought to be constructed to answer all useful purposes. As he fails to appreciate what Adam Smith meant in saying the crop-roads of any country are of the "utmost utility" to the country in general in the quotation

I gave from "The Wealth of Nations," it will answer no good purpose to write more on this subject.

As regards the progress of irrigation works in Madras, here is the *latest* specimen we possess, taken from *Indian Engineering* of July 1, 1905: "*The Nagavalli River Project*.—This scheme was originally ordered to be investigated in 1888, and was therefore *sixteen years incubating*. But that is not all. The sanctioned estimate is *under 8 lacs* of rupees, and the Madras Government proposed to complete the work in six years! The Inspector-General of Irrigation tritely observes that, 'Surely it ought to be possible to complete *a small scheme* like this in three years!' We agree." And this is the way irrigation has been attended to in Madras since Sir A. Cotton left India in 1859-1860. In his day the anikuts across *the two largest rivers* in South India—the Godavery and the Kistna—were completed in about three years, when the people in those districts were in the grossest ignorance, and did not know how to burn bricks or to cut stone properly, and now they require *six years* to deal with a common jungle stream!

It took about twenty months to prepare the revised estimates, amounting to *35 lacs of rupees*, for completing the Godavery works, with all the necessary information for the revenue returns, etc., and these were all sanctioned, with the cordial approbation and thanks of the Supreme Government, as being the most complete ever submitted to them. Thirty years ago work was being done in the Godavery district, with all available funds, at the rate of *10 and 11 lacs of rupees a year*; now they want *six years* to do work which is estimated to cost in *all 8 lacs of rupees*! I am afraid Mr. Pennington had little or no knowledge of the way Sir A. Cotton and his subordinates used to work and perform their duties to the State, but on this subject it is now useless to dilate. A man like Sir A. Cotton is as rare to find as a Wellington or a Nelson.

We had a doctor once who always declared the only safe

way to treat natives was to turn the Pharmacopœia upside down, and this appears to be Mr. Pennington's idea in reference to "The Wealth of Nations" and kindred works relating to production from the land.

Yours truly,

J. F. FISCHER,
General, R.E.

BANGALORE,

August 2, 1905.

JAPAN AND BRITAIN.

SIR,

Some time ago I saw in a colonial paper the reproduction of some remarks concerning my article in this *Review** upon the above subject. I at once set down a few words in reply, but have always kept them back, not knowing whom I had to answer. I now beg you to do me the favour to find a corner for them, as I have just been informed that the original criticism appeared in the *Review of Reviews* for November last.† Here is what I wrote :

I should like to explain that the daily press, not myself, was responsible for the premises to which exception has been taken. Thus it is the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent at St. Petersburg, repeatedly shown by the event to be unusually well informed, who made the "astounding assertion" complained of, that, towards the end of July, the Russian Grand Dukes were, with difficulty, prevailed upon to refrain from forcing on a war with Great Britain. The following are his words :

"The assurances given on Friday by the Foreign Office were not absolute, as was supposed, but were contingent upon the Imperial consent. . . . The Grand Dukes upheld the action of the cruisers, which was taken in obedience to express orders issued by the Grand Duke Alexander. . . . His view was that the *Malacca* should be conveyed to a Russian prize court in the usual way, and if the British battleships prevented her reaching her destination their

* October, 1904.

† See p. 493.

opposition should be construed as an overt act of war. . . . How strong the opposition was against what may be termed the legal element of Russian Government may be inferred from the length of time it took before a final resolution was come to. . . . It is questionable if the matter would have been settled so satisfactorily if the German steamers had not also suffered" (July 25).

It is not according to me, again, but according to the war correspondents on the spot, that at Nanshan Japan's "scientific fanatics"—I cannot even lay claim to have originated this expression—persevered in their task of making breaches in the wire entanglements until every man engaged in it had been placed *hors de combat*; in other words, they did not quail "under a fire that laid them low to the extent of 100 per cent."

As for Russia's reverses having done nothing to cool her ardour for the conquest of India, the *Telegraph* correspondent bears witness to the continuance of the designs to which I had called attention. "This threat of a campaign against India," he says, "is real and sincere. The war party, whose influence has increased, is ready to undertake it" (November 16). Lieutenant-General C. B. Pennington, whose distinguished career in the Indian Army lends weight to his opinion, has, even more recently, insisted upon the necessity of being prepared to defend the Indian frontier. Three weeks ago he spoke of "the wonderful way in which Russia had sent to the seat of war, over a single line of railway, between 300,000 and 400,000 men, besides keeping them going with supplies and maintaining their numbers"; and he concludes that, "if Russia could do that in Manchuria she could far more easily do it on the frontiers of India, where she had two lines of communication for her troops" (December 12). And Lord Roberts, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, says that "we are now, as regards India, in the same position as a continental nation, and may be called upon at any moment to put a very large army in the field."

The attack, it is clear, would be no child's play, and it is a matter of life and death to us that we should neglect no means of frustrating it. Such was my conclusion—not that we should wantonly draw the sword against the Russians.

January 3, 1905.

I have little to add to what I wrote six months ago. According to the *Morning Post* of June 3, "there are 200,000 Russian troops now collected on the Afghan frontier, at the head of the railways built expressly for the purpose of conveying them to their present positions." Here is another "astounding assertion," which points to its being more needful than ever that we should leave no stone unturned to hold our own, in case Russia thought of following up her Trafalgar by an Austerlitz at our expense. Fortunately, the danger has begun to be recognised in influential quarters, and adequate measures to cope with it are at last being spoken of.

R. G. CORBET.

June 8, 1905.

"BRITAIN'S DESTINY: GROWTH OR DECAY?"

SIR,

"Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?" by the late Cecil Balfour Phipson, edited by Mark B. F. Mayor (Cassell and Co., MCMV.)* is a very convenient abstract or outline of two very weighty volumes, entitled, the "Redemption of Labour" and the "Science of Civilization," which do not appear to have attracted the attention they deserved, probably because of their great originality and the abstruse character of their subjects. This work of Mr. Mayor's certainly makes it easier to deal with Major Phipson's theories, and I should like to draw attention to some of them which seem to me somewhat inconclusive.

* See our reference to this work in our "Reviews and Notices."

His attack on factory work for women is extremely powerful, and, in my opinion, very sound ; but when, at the end of the chapter (p. 69 of the volume quoted above), he turns aside to attack land *nationalists* (*nationalizers ?*) he is, I think, something less than just to a very reasonable body of men. He says, very properly, that "the social salvation of wage-earners as a class depends not upon their robbing food-producers of 'unearned increment' as land nationalists urge them to do, and landlords have already done, *since such robbery necessarily prevents the free multiplication of purchases . . .* ; but, on the contrary, in their assisting food-producers to retain 'unearned increment' by abolishing the landlords' veto on sub-letting, and so multiplying purchasers," etc.

But is it true that the better sort of land nationalizers, as represented by the Land Nationalisation Society, do urge the wage-earning classes to rob "food-producers of the unearned increment?" Do land nationalizers urge one class to rob another when they propose that the State should be the universal landlord on behalf of the community in general? They would still leave the occupier all that he is in strict justice entitled to, as Major Phipson himself shows in his preface to "*The Redemption of Labour*" (quoted on p. 5 *et seq.* of this volume), where he says that "the most important condition for the freedom of the wage-earner is that he should be *free to grow his own food* if the wages he can earn are insufficient to procure him the same comforts as a man " cultivating his own land would secure for himself ; and, further, that the payment of true rent for such land, even a rack-rent, does not touch or trench upon the natural value of the land—upon, that is, its capacity to sustain the life of the "cultivator at whatever level his own unaided skill and industry can raise him to. . . . It does not deprive him, therefore, of anything to which he has a natural right, of any product of his own labour ; but only withholds from him, if a rack-rent, *all*, or, if anything less than a rack-rent, *some* of such benefits

of civilization—*i.e.*, of other men's labours, as have accrued up to the time of the rent being first undertaken."

This argument seems to me to be a complete justification for the position taken up by the Land Nationalisation Society; but another important question remains, whether "such (so-called) 'robbery' (of the 'unearned increment') prevents the free multiplication of purchasers," and, as far as I can see, this question is not fully discussed in this volume, at any rate; nor is it shown how it happens that the transfer of the so-called "unearned increment" from the landlord to the State would "prevent the free multiplication of purchasers."

Not being quite clear how "the free multiplication of purchasers" is to be promoted by the change from the present system of "*landowning* by lords" to that of "*landholding* by tenants," I have some difficulty in discussing the question, and it occurs to me that some light may be thrown upon it by the condition of India, where we have had examples of both systems in actual operation for more than a century. Major Phipson's case is that if the landlord could be sure of a "fixed share of the produce of his land" *not* commuted into a variable measure of value like gold, he could then, with "fairness to himself, grant absolute fixity of tenure to his tenant as long as the rent was paid," and the tenant could sublet at a rack-rental, and so enjoy the full reward of his own labour. Now, this is very much what the Zemindars of Bengal have at last been compelled to do in dealing with their ryots; and the consequence, we are assured by many excellent authorities, is that the Bengal tenant is a far more prosperous and self-sustaining person than the ryot who holds direct from the State, as in Madras and Bombay, and who is *not* secure against periodical enhancement, though he also often succeeds in sub-letting his land at a rack-rental. It must be admitted, I think, that the purchasing power amongst the Bengálies is greater than amongst the holders of land on the ryotwári tenure, and it is difficult to avoid the

conclusion that *one* factor in the difference is the fixity of tenure and greater security against arbitrary enhancement which they have enjoyed, at any rate since 1885.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Major Phipson's work, however, and, I imagine, also the most original, is his denunciation of the British currency as contained in Appendix V., and to it I shall devote the rest of my remarks and such criticism as occurs to me.

Theoretically, of course, the British currency is of gold only; but Major Phipson gives many good reasons for his contention that, in point of fact, the gold in circulation being utterly inadequate as currency, our currency now is far more largely made up of cheques on private banks. "Not more than one-tenth" (of the currency) "consists of 'legal' pounds composed of a metal *intrinsically* and *internationally* *valuable*." The consideration of this fact brings him to his main thesis—namely, that *the medium of exchange should be valueless*, and that gold is really the very worst medium of exchange that could have been adopted, especially since it has been so largely adopted by other nations as to form practically an international currency. Its disadvantages, he says, arise from its *scarcity*, *weight*, and *internationality*, and the worst of these is "internationality." The supply of gold being strictly limited, the number of money units composable of gold is still more limited, and as the demand for "money" constantly increases the more a country becomes civilized, the more does the number of coins constantly tend to become insufficient for the needs of the community. Hence a continuous fall of prices most ruinous to food-producers, because, of course, "the quantities of produce exacted as rent increase in proportion as the price of the produce falls."

The *weight* of gold is another disadvantage which led to the substitution of bank-notes for gold, and now of cheques for bank-notes, with the very significant result embodied in Table XXV, (on p. 77), from which it appears that whilst the quantity of gold in private hands has only increased

from £46,000,000 in 1845 to £90,000,000 in 1896, the amount of the cheques that have passed through the Clearing House in that period has increased from 1,000 millions to 7,575 millions, and the circulation of notes in proportion to the population has actually decreased (from £1 8s. 9d. a head to £1 os. 11d.). It is so obviously convenient to get rid of cumbrous currency that one may fairly anticipate the time when the business of the world will be even more largely transacted by means of cheques. "As commercial transactions multiply it is *impossible to keep valuable money* units in circulation, their place being always taken by valueless tokens of some kind."

The last and most serious of the disadvantages inevitable with a gold currency, he says, is *internationality*—the very quality which would generally be alleged as one of the chief merits of a medium of exchange. His argument is that in the competition for custom between rival manufacturing States the merchant who can sell "cheapest" will sell most, and that "cheapness" is nothing but the relation of rival commodities to the money units which determine their price; so that (he says) the nature of the money unit adopted by any country is of supreme importance in determining the relative commercial position of its manufacturers in all markets open to their sale. For instance, Viscount Hayashi is quoted (p. 11) as saying that money goes five times as far in Japan as in England. That is, the Japanese can buy as much for £1 sterling as we in England can buy for £5. Then it is argued that "the competition of foreign food-producers for gold—*i.e. for the British food-token**—is the reason for the great fall in wheat prices (p. 10), and that is, of course, disastrous for the British farmer"; but the question is whether the competition is made so much more severe, or, indeed, affected at all, by the fact of the foreign countries adopting the British gold standard. As a matter of fact, we know that silver-using countries, such as India,

* This seems to be contradicted on p. 22, where Mr. Mayor says the German Bank would (naturally) prefer gold in bars.

have had a great deal to do with bringing about the fall of prices in this country quite irrespective of the adoption of a gold currency by certain continental nations, though their action, no doubt, increased the price of gold, as measured in commodities, for a good many years. Japan, a silver-using country, is a very good example of a dangerous commercial rival ; but as she advances in civilization (so-called), prices and the cost of labour will rise there also, and international prices will tend to equalize themselves, whatever the currency of the country may be. Major Phipson, indeed, contends that there is no remedy for the more advanced nation competing with those more backward, except "the elimination from its currency of the international factor" but even before 1870 an English sovereign was always freely negotiable abroad at its full intrinsic value, and it is difficult to understand how the fact that other nations have adopted a gold standard can have done more than slightly facilitate exchange. In attributing all the disasters that have undoubtedly befallen the English wheat farmer since 1870-1874 to this one cause, Major Phipson seems to have overlooked the revolution that followed the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the enormous reduction in freights from all parts of the world that set in about that time, in consequence of which the English farmer has suddenly had to compete, at the same time, with the cheap labour of the East and the cheap land of the West. Nor does he seem to see that the natural remedy for the present state of affairs is simply *decentralization*, as exemplified in the Garden City. Once let the population go back to the land, so that each town may be in close touch with its own food-producers, and the English farmer will get the upper hand again. To say, as Major Phipson does on p. 93, that it is impossible to see *any limit* to the fall in prices seems positively absurd. Even the most "pauperized millions" cannot grow food for nothing, any more than ships can carry grain for nothing ; and, even in India, which has been brought so much nearer to us within the last thirty years,

the price of grain has already doubled, and the inevitable tendency of prices and the cost of labour is to rise to something approaching the general level. The real grievance of the British farmer is the system of fixed *money rents*, which are, as Major Phipson observes, nothing else than continually *falsified produce-contracts*. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that rents have fallen continually, more or less in proportion to the fall in the price of produce. To read some of Major Phipson's lamentations one might almost imagine that cheap food is no advantage at all. It is no doubt conceivable that one result of the cheapness of food in this country may be to turn it into a playground for America and the rising West; and even now it is often more profitable to turn land into deer-forests than wheat-fields. If this tendency continues, it may end in our being as comfortably prosperous as the Swiss, even if no part of our population are so outrageously rich as at present. It does not follow that the producing classes would be at all worse off, and they might very easily be much more comfortable than the labouring classes, at any rate, are under the present system.

J. P.

RECONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCES OF BENGAL AND ASSAM.

THE following is the text of the resolution of the Government, dated Simla, July 19, 1905 :

" In December, 1903, the Government of India in letters to several of the Local Governments, which were published in the Official Gazette, announced their desire to consider the redistribution of certain of the territories of the Eastern and North-Eastern Provinces of India, notably of Bengal and Assam. Their attention had been called to the matter by the constantly accumulating evidence of the excessive and intolerable burden imposed upon the Bengal Government by a charge too great for any one administration,

and of the consequent deterioration in the standards of Government, notably in portions of Eastern Bengal. Simultaneously the importance of rendering Assam a self-contained and independent administration with a service of its own, and of providing for its future commercial and industrial expansion, was impressed upon them. These considerations suggested a careful investigation of the circumstances and surroundings of both provinces, and resulted in the formulation of certain proposals for the readjustment of their territorial boundaries. The criticism which was invited, and which was freely and usefully bestowed upon these proposals, justified substantial alterations in the original plan, and led in the end to the abandonment of that portion of the scheme which contemplated the transfer of certain territories from Madras to Bengal, and of the greater part of Chutia Nagpur from Bengal to the Central Provinces. The Government of India were convinced by the arguments placed before them by the Local Governments concerned that in neither case would the transfer promote the end which they had in view. Reasons of administrative expediency, arising out of the peculiar linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical conformation of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam, were opposed to the transfer of those areas from the Government of Madras. Commercial considerations were mainly responsible for the continued retention of the British districts of Chutia Nagpur under the Government of Bengal.

“2. Two changes only have been decided upon in the territories bordering upon Bengal and the Central Provinces. It was proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and accepted by the Chief Commissioner, that the five Native States of Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korea, and Chang Bhakhar, at present attached to the Division of Chutia Nagpur, and forming a solid block of territory with the Hindi-speaking population on the west of the districts of Palamau and Ranchi, should be handed over from Bengal to the Central

Provinces, and this proposal has been accepted by the Governor-General in Council. Owing to their physical remoteness these States have not hitherto received as much attention as might be desired; and it is hoped that their administration will be improved, while the status of the Chiefs will be raised by their being placed under the Political Agent of Raipur, who is already invested with a similar political charge in the Central Provinces.

“3. Both the Local Governments similarly recommended, and the Government of India have agreed, that the Sambalpur District (with the exception of the Chandarpur-Padampur estate and the Phuljhar zamindari) and the five Uriya-speaking States of Patna, Kalahandi or Karond, Sonpur, Bamra, and Rairakhol should be transferred from the Central Provinces to the Orissa Division of Bengal. Linguistic considerations are the main reason for this transfer, which it is confidently believed will be beneficial to the interests of the people. It is in contemplation to protect the interests of the Chiefs affected by appointing a European Political Officer to take charge of the entire group of Uriya-speaking States.

“4. These proposals are, however, of minor importance compared with the principal changes to which the Secretary of State has given his sanction, and which involve the creation of a new administration of the first-class out of certain divisions of Bengal, together with the territories at present administered by the Chief Commissioner of Assam. In their original form these suggestions arose from a proposal which had already on a previous occasion been under the consideration of the Government of India, and had then only been postponed by them—namely, to incorporate the Chittagong Division with Assam. It was proposed in the letters of December, 1903, to include the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh also, for reasons which were then stated, and which it is not necessary now to repeat. The discussion which was elicited by these suggestions indicated to the Government of India that, large as were their

proposals, they were not large enough if satisfaction were to be given to the feelings of those who were alarmed at the possible deprivation of privileges which they had for long enjoyed, and to which they attached a not unnatural value. These feelings attracted the earnest attention of the Government of India; and in February, 1904, His Excellency the Viceroy, in a series of speeches delivered in reply to public addresses at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh, foreshadowed the willingness of Government to consider a wider scheme, involving the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and an independent revenue authority, and the transfer of so much territory as would be required to justify the institution of so highly organized and fully equipped an administration.

"5. From that date the efforts of Government were principally directed to a discussion of the areas that could most advantageously be assigned to the new province, and to an examination of the safeguards that were required to secure the legitimate interests of their inhabitants. A scheme was submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for the amalgamation with Assam of the Chittagong and Dacca divisions and the districts of Pabna, Bogra, and Rangpur. This proposal did not seem to the Government of India to be proportionate to the scope of the important administration which it was now contemplated to create, nor would it have given to Bengal, whose population would still have exceeded 59,000,000, the permanent relief that ought to ensue from an adequate reduction of its existing area and responsibilities. Accordingly, it was proposed to increase the transferred area by the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Malda, and the State of Cooch Behar. These additions were thought by the Government of India to be justified on the grounds that they would constitute a new province with a population of over 31,000,000, while leaving Bengal with a little more than 54,000,000; that they would provide a clearly defined western boundary corresponding with well-recognised characteristics, both

geographical, ethnological, social, and linguistic ; that they would concentrate in a single province the typical Muhammadan population of Bengal, for whom Dacca would furnish a natural capital ; that the whole of the tea industry (with the exception of the Darjeeling gardens), and the greater part of the jute tracts would thus be brought under a single Government, and the long-established divisional areas would thereby remain undisturbed.

"6. The enlarged scheme was cordially accepted by the Governments both of Bengal and Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor reported that he had discussed the proposal with the Members of the Board of Revenue and with his most senior officers, and had found that with scarcely an exception there was complete unanimity in accepting it. The Chief Commissioner of Assam attached great value to the future association under a single Government of the tea-growing areas supplied by free labour with those worked by indentured labour, and thought that the gradual substitution of natural for artificial methods of recruitment would be accelerated. He also proposed the creation of a new Commissionership out of the Surma Valley districts and Manipur, at present under his own direct control. This suggestion was accepted by the Government of India, and will raise the number of commissionerships in the new province to five.

"7. The effect of the proposals thus agreed upon, and now about to be introduced, will be as follows : A new province will be created, with the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, consisting of the Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshahi divisions of Bengal, the district of Malda, the State of Hill Tipperah, and the present Chief Commissionership of Assam. Darjeeling will remain with Bengal. In order to maintain associations, which are highly valued in both areas, the province will be entitled Eastern Bengal and Assam. Its capital will be at Dacca, with subsidiary headquarters at Chittagong. It will comprise an area of 106,540 square miles, and a population of 31,000,000, of

whom 18,000,000 are Muhammadans and 12,000,000 Hindus. It will possess a Legislative Council, and a Board of Revenue of two members, and the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta is left undisturbed. The existing province of Bengal—diminished by the surrender of these large territories on the east, and of the five Hindi States of Chutia Nagpur, but increased by the acquisition of Sambalpur and the five Uriya States before mentioned—will consist of 141,580 square miles, with a population of 54,000,000, of whom 42,000,000 are Hindus and 9,000,000 Muhammadans. In short, the territories now composing Bengal and Assam will be divided into two compact and self-contained provinces, by far the largest constituents, of each of which will be homogeneous in character, and which will possess clearly-defined boundaries, and be equipped with the complete resources of an advanced administration.

“8. The Governor-General in Council is fully aware of the opposition which these proposals have encountered, and has no desire to undervalue the sentiments upon which it has been based. Ties of mutual association grow up so quickly, and become so closely interlaced, that territorial redistribution can rarely be accomplished except at the cost of a disruption, which is often painful, and generally unpopular. On the other hand, when old connections are severed new ones almost immediately take their place, growing with a rapidity that in a very short time is found to invest them with a sanctity scarcely inferior to that of the associations which they have superseded.

“9. The Government of India are encouraged by previous experience to hope that such will be the case in the present instance. They will be greatly disappointed if there are not found in the new province elements of cohesion which will speedily endow it with a stability and individuality of its own. In any case, the Government that is called upon to decide such cases must regard them from a wider standpoint than that of purely local, and in all probability transient, considerations. They are bound to keep in view

the interests of the Government and of the people as a whole. If they are convinced that owing to arrangements devised for a different state of affairs, and now obsolete, the administration suffers if they see one Government weighed down with a burden which it cannot properly discharge, and another Government shut out from the development that ought naturally to await it, they cannot permanently remain indifferent to the situation thus produced. Either a remedy must be sought, or the responsibility for a conscious neglect of duty is incurred.

“ 10. Upon two conditions, however, the community has a claim to insist. The first is that the solution ultimately approved shall not be arrived at in haste, or until all available alternatives have been fully considered, and its superiority over them conclusively established. This procedure has been followed in the present case. It is now more than eighteen months since the first proposals of the Government of India were officially published. In the interval they have been the subject of wide-spread and searching criticism at the hands of those who were directly or indirectly concerned. Representations from an immense number of public bodies or gatherings have reached the Government. These have in every case been attentively examined ; many of them have not been without effect upon the course adopted ; and the very last charge that could with justice be brought against the Government would be one of undue speed in arriving at a final decision. In the course of this prolonged study of the case, the various suggestions that have at different times been put forward for the relief of Bengal have been exhaustively examined. The idea of creating a new Commissionership or Chief Commissionership out of portions of the province, the separation from Bengal of smaller areas than those ultimately selected, the transfer of sufficient territory to the Central Provinces to convert the latter administration into a Lieutenant-Governorship, the substitution of administration in Bengal by a Lieutenant-Governor and Council for

administration by a Lieutenant-Governor alone. All of these have been duly considered, and have not been rejected until they were found to contain flaws or drawbacks which were inconsistent with the essential aim. On the other hand, the scheme which was preferred to them has received the practically unanimous approval of the leading officials of the three administrations whom it directly affects, as well as the final sanction of the Secretary of State.

"11. The second condition above referred to is that, as far as possible, an attempt should be made to remove every well-grounded cause of complaint, and to satisfy every reasonable demand on the part of those who will be personally affected by the new arrangement. The Government of India have endeavoured throughout to act in accordance with this principle, and to it the majority of the modifications in the original plan are due. The grant to the new province of a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue, and the retention of the jurisdiction of the High Court, are instances of this desire; and the Governor-General in Council can confidently state that there is no guarantee for the good government of the transferred populations which he has not been willing, if its merits were satisfactorily demonstrated, to adopt.

"12. The result is the creation of a new province, founded upon that which is the secret of all good administration—namely, the close contact, in so far as this is possible in areas of great size, of the governors with the governed. The welfare of the people will be more vigilantly safeguarded, and larger opportunities will open up before the educated classes, when they are the nucleus of a powerful and self-contained administration exclusively devoted to their interests, than when they have been either the appendage of an overgrown and overworked province, or the constituents of a relatively backward and arrested organization. The change may be expected to raise the administrative standards, and to revive no small portion

of the former prosperity of Eastern Bengal. It will communicate a much-desired impetus to the hitherto retarded development of Assam.

"13. The Governor-General in Council, in directing that the necessary measures shall now be taken to introduce the scheme, looks forward to the day as not far distant when not merely will the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam have amply vindicated its creation as an administrative reform of the first importance, but when it will have acquired a character and influence not inferior to those of any of the older Indian provinces, and will have attracted to itself the spontaneous and devoted loyalty of its sons."

The following is the state of the figures for Bengal and Assam as they will stand when the above proposals are carried into execution. It will be observed that they relieve Bengal to the extent of 11,000,000 of people, and that they place Assam almost exactly upon the same level with the Central Provinces—namely, 17,000,000.

BENGAL: Present population - - - - 78,493,410			
<i>Gains.</i>		<i>Losses.</i>	
Sambalpur (from Central Provinces) - - -	659,971	Chittagong Division and Hill Tippera (to Assam - - - -	4,911,056
Feudatory States (from Central Provinces) -	948,420	Dacca and Mymensingh (to Assam) - -	6,564,590
Ganjam District (from Madras) - - -	1,689,142	Chutia Nagpur (to Central Provinces) - -	3,986,915
Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency Tracts (from Madras) - -	1,172,102		
	<hr/> 4,469,635		<hr/> 15,462,561
Net loss to Bengal	10,992,926	Future population	67,500,484

ASSAM: Present population - - - - 6,126,343

Gains.

Chittagong (from Bengal) - - - -	4,911,056
Dacca and Mymensingh (from Bengal) - -	6,564,590
Net gain to Assam - - - -	11,475,646
Future population of Assam - - - -	17,601,989

RUSSIA AND JAPAN: TREATY OF PEACE.

The following is reported in the press as the substance of the articles of the Treaty of Peace :

ARTICLE I. stipulates for the re-establishment of peace and friendship between the Sovereigns of the two Empires, and between the subjects of Russia and Japan respectively.

ARTICLE II.—His Majesty the Emperor of Russia recognises the preponderant interest from political, military, and economic points of view of Japan in the Empire of Korea, and stipulates that Russia will not oppose any measures for its government, protection, or control that Japan will deem necessary to take in Korea in conjunction with the Korean Government, but Russian subjects and Russian enterprises are to enjoy the same status as the subjects and enterprises of other countries.

ARTICLE III.—It is mutually agreed that the territory of Manchuria shall be simultaneously evacuated by both the Russian and Japanese troops, both countries being concerned in this evacuation, and their situations being absolutely identical. All rights acquired by private persons and companies shall remain intact.

ARTICLE IV.—The rights possessed by Russia in conformity with the lease to Russia of Port Arthur and Dalny, together with the lands and waters adjacent, shall pass over entirely to Japan, but the properties and rights of Russian subjects are to be safeguarded and respected.

ARTICLE V.—The Russian and Japanese Governments engage themselves, reciprocally, not to put any obstacles in the way of the general measures, which shall be alike for all nations, that China may take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria.

ARTICLE VI.—The Manchurian Railway shall be operated jointly between the Russians and the Japanese at Kouang-tcheng-tse. The respective portions of the line shall be used only for commercial and industrial purposes. In view of Russia keeping her line with all the rights acquired

by her convention with China for the construction of the railway, Japan acquires the mines in connection with such section of the line which falls to her. The rights of private parties or private enterprises, however, are to be respected. Both parties to this Treaty remain absolutely free to undertake what they may deem fit on the expropriated ground.

ARTICLE VII.—The Russians and the Japanese engage to make a junction of the lines which they own at Kouang-tcheng-tse.

ARTICLE VIII.—It is agreed that the lines of the Manchurian Railway shall be worked with a view to ensuring commercial traffic between them without obstruction.

ARTICLE IX.—Russia cedes to Japan the southern part of Sakhalin Island as far north as the fiftieth degree of north latitude, together with the island depending thereon. The right of free navigation is assured in the Bays of La Pérouse and Tartary.

ARTICLE X. deals with the situation of Russian subjects in the southern part of Sakhalin, and stipulates that Russian colonists shall be free, and have the right to remain without changing their nationality. Japan, on the other hand, shall have the right to force Russian convicts to leave the territory ceded to her.

ARTICLE XI.—Russia shall make an agreement with Japan giving the Japanese subjects the right to fish in Russian territorial waters in the Seas of Japan, Okhotsk, and Behring.

ARTICLE XII.—The two high contracting parties engage to renew the Commercial Treaty existing between the two Governments before the war in all its vigour, with slight modifications of detail and the most-favoured-nation clause.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Russians and Japanese reciprocally engage to exchange prisoners of war, paying the real cost of the keep of the same, such cost to be supported by documents.

ARTICLE XIV.—This Treaty shall be drawn up in two languages, French and English, the French text being evidence for the Russians, and the English for the Japanese. In case of difficulty in interpretation the French document will be decisive.

ARTICLE XV.—The ratification of this Treaty shall be signed by the Sovereigns of the two States within fifty days after the signature of the Treaty. The French and American Embassies shall be the intermediaries between the Japanese and Russian Governments, and will announce by telegraph the ratification of the Treaty.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

The following two additional articles have been agreed to :

1. The evacuation of Manchuria by both armies shall be complete within eighteen months from the signing of the Treaty, beginning with the retirement of the troops of the first line. At the expiration of eighteen months the two parties will only be able to leave as railway guards fifteen soldiers to every kilometre of the line.

2. The boundary which limits the parts owned respectively by Russia and Japan in Sakhalin shall be definitively marked off on the spot by a Special Boundary Commission.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD ; 41 AND 43, MADDOX STREET, BOND STREET, LONDON, W., 1905.

1. *The Unveiling of Lhasa*, by EDMUND CANDLER, author of "A Vagabond in Asia." With illustrations and map. Second impression. The story of the recent mission to Lhasa is full of interest on many grounds. The political object of the expedition was important, and the result was most satisfactory to those engaged in it, as well as to those who guide and administer Indian affairs. The author witnessed all the stirring events and incidents of the campaign, except (owing to the wounds he had received) the bombardment and relief of Gyantse, which is written by Mr. Henry Newman, Reuter's correspondent, and an eyewitness. The greater portion of this interesting narrative was written on the spot, giving life and vividness to all the scenery and events that took place. There are upwards of fifty illustrations of places, persons, camps, forts, and other objects of interest, and a distinct and well-executed map, marking the various stages of the onward march to Lhasa. The excellent type adds a charm to the volume. Mr. Candler expresses the opinion that the permanence of the terms of settlement or "the new conditions in Tibet does not depend on China. If the Tibetans think they are still able to flout us they will do so, and one pretext will serve as well as another. But if they have learnt that our displeasure is dangerous, they will take care not to provoke it again."

"The success or failure of the recent expedition depends on the impression we have left on the Tibetans. If that impression is to be lasting, we must see that our interests are well guarded in Lhasa, or in a few months we may lose the ground we gained, with what cost and danger to our-

selves only those who took part in the expedition can understand."

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; AVE MARIA LANE, E.C.

2. *Europe and the Far East*, by SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS, Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, etc. ("Cambridge Historical Series," pp. 450, 7s. 6d.). This handy volume enables the general reader and the mercantile man, who may be too absorbed in their own affairs to specialize their reading, to take a rapid survey of the complicated events which have led up to the present grave situation in the Far East. There is no diving into remote history, no discussion of obscure religious problems or racial theories; the learned professor simply tells the public in plain, straightforward language the leading features of our European relations with China, Japan, Corea, Annam, and Siam, and in such a way that the most casual searcher for truth may, in the course of two or three evenings' quiet reading, possess himself, without great mental effort, of the salient and essential facts. It is perhaps to be regretted that, whilst he was about it, Professor Douglas did not round off his subject by taking in Manila, too, with a side glance, perhaps, at Loochoo and Formosa; for the Philippines are at least as well known to Europe as Annam, and have played an international part of equal if not greater importance. But we must be grateful for such mercies as are vouchsafed to us, and thank both the author and the general editor for this particular work, as well as for the promised series, "intended for the use of all persons anxious to understand the nature of existing political conditions . . . from about the end of the fifteenth century down to the present time."

It is now close upon forty years since Sir Robert Douglas had his short experience in the British consular service; the present reviewer, when in proud charge as a youngster of the humble vice-consulate of Taku thirty-three years ago, had the advantage of scanning the present

professor's local work within that limited range, as a predecessor, also juvenile. It is therefore scarcely a matter for surprise that, after so long an interval of armchair study, the author should have grown a trifle out of touch with living and seething Chinese affairs. For instance, upon page 2 : "A duty was first levied on imported goods in 990 B.C. During the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) a regular market was opened at Canton"; and we are then carried with a second jump up straightway to the British doings of 1840. Skips of a thousand years apiece are rather too summary a method of dealing with the important question of early trade, to say the least of it. In A.D. 284 we are told (page 4) that the Roman Emperor Carus despatched a mission to the Chinese Court. It is true that the native historians do record a "tribute" visit in that year from what is usually presumed to be some part of the Roman Empire; but the "Emperor Carus" (who in any case died in 282) is apparently a pure gloss on the part of Professor Douglas. It is true that Gibbon asserts (without giving his authority) that Chinese envoys were present at Aurelian's triumph (Aurelian died in 275), but the so-called "envoys," if envoys of any kind were there, most probably consisted of speculative merchants on both sides. And with regard to the seventh century mission from Byzantium to "the chêng-kwan," why, *chêng-kwan* was merely the reign-date (627-647), and can in no possible sense be qualified as "the." So with the "Mili-i-ling Kais-a" mission of 1081, this should be Mieh-li-ling Kai-sa (written by one author Mieh-li-sha)—*i.e.*, most probably the Seljuk ruler, Malek Shah, of Asia Minor (1072-1092).

If we turn to more modern affairs, we find (p. 215) that the Abbé Huc was murdered in 1875, and M. Boquette was sent to make inquiry. The real facts are that Abbé Huc died at Paris in 1860; M. Jean Huc was murdered in 1873, and M. Roquette was sent to make inquiry. Careless slips of this kind are by no means rare in Professor Douglas's book; for instance, Count Pontiatine

always for Poutiatine, Mr. Macauley always for Macaulay, Sir Nicholas O'Connor for O'Conor, the Annamese Emperors Thien-tri and Chien-tong always for Thieu-tri and Chieu-tong, Mr. Deting for Mr. Detring, etc. In the preface we are told that the use of the hyphen in Chinese names is often misleading; but Professor Douglas, notwithstanding, throughout his book indulges in the wildest irregularity; the names of provinces, towns, emperors, and ordinary individuals are not only as often spelt with hyphens as without, but we are treated to several varieties of the same name on one page: thus, Weihaiwei and Wei-hai-wei; Peitâng, Pehtang, and Pei-t'ang. The word *Tzu*, *tz'ŭ*, or *tzŭ* is a particular *bête-noire* of the London professor; for, besides irregularity in diacritical marks, the aspirate is as often as not omitted, or inserted wrongly. In a popular work, destined in the main to illuminate the darkness of those who are not specialists, these hyphens, marks, and aspirates are, of course, really of secondary importance, and might well be omitted altogether; but it is quite absurd to make use of them unless they be applied systematically and correctly. The chapter on the "Revolution in Japan," reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, stands in this respect in great contrast with Professor's Douglas's own original chapter on the "Opening of Japan," which bristles with irregular vowels and vowel marks, not to mention such Japanese anomalies as *Shimbara* and *Joi-i*.

In signaling these few superficial defects (the tale of which is by no means even half completed above), the present writer by no means wishes to *dénigrer* (as the French say) the excellent compilatory work of Professor Douglas, not to speak of the enterprising conception of the general editor, Dr. G. W. Prothero; but a work professedly emanating from a great English University should certainly be more perfect in technique; and, moreover, the punctuation, amongst other things, is by no means up to first-class English standard. The word "instigate" is twice used in the sense of "suggest," without any hint of there being

evil or doubtful motive, and this is scarcely sanctioned by good literary usage; whilst the obsolete form "forgo" appears for "forego" (p. 105). Probably there were difficulties in the way of proof-reading, which may minimize the responsibilities of both author and editor; but however that may be, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's recent work upon "Sir Harry Parkes in China" shows up Oxford very favourably in comparison with Cambridge, so far as press efficiency is concerned.

Professor Douglas has always, more especially in his letters to the *Times*, been rather hard upon the unfortunate Empress-Dowager, who is by no means a paragon of virtue, but who is perhaps no worse than many a royal head in Europe during the past century or two. He seems, like the pot-boy in "Pickwick," to delight in making the Christian flesh creep by hinting at the murders and poisonings the venerable lady delights to commit; accordingly the old hints are mysteriously suggested here once more, and we are led to infer that the Emperor T'ung-chi (her own son), his wife, and the Marquess Tsêng, were all more or less victims of her dark intrigues, whilst the present Emperor (her adopted son) *would* have been sacrificed if the Dowager had dared it. The Dowager-Empress cannot in the natural history of things live very long now, but when she does "ascend upon the phoenix wing," she need not blush over-much to be introduced to the spirits of Catherine II., Isabella II., Louis XV., George IV., or yet other select specimens of her Western cousins.—E. H. PARKER.

CASSELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW
YORK, MELBOURNE, 1905.

3. *Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay?* being outlines of "The Redemption of Labour," and "The Science of Civilization," by the late CECIL BALFOUR PHIPSON; edited by MARK B. F. MAJOR. Mr. Major, with great ability, has given us the "outlines" of two of the greatest works

which have been written on "Economics" since the days of Adam Smith. The object of the present "outline" is to exhibit, in as concise a form as possible—a no easy task—the contents of the two volumes we have indicated, with the view of attracting attention to those who are studying the important question of "Economics" in its various phases. Anyone, who has mastered the "outlines" will be anxious to give a more extensive and mature study of the whole subject, so ably and exhaustively described by the late Major C. B. Phipson, who devoted two decades in the production of his works. Whether the principles laid down by Major Phipson are accepted or not by the present professors of "Economics" in our Colleges and Universities, it is of great importance that Major Phipson's principles should be carefully examined and discussed in their respective aspects. Mr. Major states truly that Major Phipson wrote in advance of the present age; but "he lived to see Mr. Chamberlain, some two years ago, boldly place himself at the head of the party which is agitating for an alteration in our fiscal system, and it may well have seemed to Major Phipson that the time had arrived when at last the nation would be prepared to carefully consider the conclusions so closely affecting their welfare, at which he had arrived after his long years of earnest thought and laborious study."

The work before us gives a careful and correct analysis of the subjects discussed by Major Phipson—on the British system, as affecting food-producers, wage-earners, and land-owners; as affecting merchants in their foreign trade; the further effects on merchants and their agents (shopkeepers); the remedy; and a contrast of the Hebrew law with the Roman law, the latter as adverse to civilization, the former as favourable to progress. The answer is then given to the question, What is to be Britain's destiny?

We congratulate Mr. Major on the admirable way, in so limited a space, in indicating the various subjects and arguments which are contained in Major Phipson's invaluable volumes.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1905.

4. *The Far East*, by ARCHIBALD LITTLE, author of "Through the Yangtse Gorges," "Mount Omi and Beyond," etc. Mr. Little has given us in the present volume an encyclopædia of information of all kinds useful for the traveller, visitor, explorer, and merchant. This information has been derived from personal investigation and intimate acquaintance with the regions embraced under the title of the "Far East." The work has been written in the intervals of business, which necessitated him to travel in China and the neighbouring countries. The first of his journeys was in 1860, at the time when Shanghai was invested by the Taipings—from Mingpo up the Tsientang of Kingtehchen down the Poyang Lake to Kiukiang—the whole country traversed being the scene of the great struggle then going on between the forces of Hung-hsueh and the Imperialists. From his knowledge of the language he was enabled to accomplish the long journey in safety.

Under the term "The Far East," which the volume covers, comprises the continental countries of China, with its outlying dependencies, Siam and Indo-China, together with the long string of islands in the Pacific, which make up the Empire of Japan. Mr. Little, in a very ingenious way, contrasts the areas of these countries by maps, superimposing countries with which the "Far East" are compared with those of Europe. There are also numerous illustrations, well executed, and beautifully coloured maps, exhibiting the areas, the rivers, the population, orthography, geology, meteorology, and other particulars.

The author's description of Japan may be interesting at the present time: "While the British islands invited access from the continent by their navigable rivers and fertile uplands, the islands of Japan rose steeply from the sea in forest-clad mountains, separated by a few narrow cultivable deltas formed at the mouths of unnavigable torrents, which,

though now controlled by lofty embankments, still at times break loose, and devastate the surrounding plains. In their total area of 121,000 square miles, the British Isles come after Japan with 147,000 (excluding Formosa); but while the former are practically cultivated throughout, in Japan barely one-eighth of the area is cultivated. With the exception of the small river deltas, the whole country consists of mountains, amongst which tillage is confined to narrow valleys and small hollows, and to a few larger elevated valley basins, where a rich soil, mainly of volcanic origin, has collected. Large areas of this hilly region, outside the volcanic peaks and the chains of hills belonging to the older schist mountains, are composed of undulating plateau of clay and sand, the insoluble products of the disintegration of a much-weathered granite rock, frequently overlaid with diluvial gravel. These support light woods of fine and coarse innutritious grasses, but little or no pasture-land, the succulent herbage of Europe and of North China and Mongolia in the same latitude being entirely wanting. The 40,000,000 population of the fertile British islands is largely dependent upon imported food; the equally large population of Japan, up to the time of the opening of the country to foreign trade in 1854, were ever dependent on the crops they could themselves produce; hence an intensive cultivation of every available spot of arable land, chiefly with rice, the staple food of the people, and most prolific of cereals, and of which the hot summer sun and abundant rainfall enabled, in the south, two crops to be produced in the year; hence, also, the necessarily extraordinary thrift of the people, a generally insufficient diet, and probably their small stature. To-day the population totals 50,000,000, but the establishment of manufactures, and a foreign trade increasing by leaps and bounds, as in Britain, renders possible the import of unlimited food-supplies from abroad, and so more wholesome conditions now rule. Of subsidiary products of the sub-tropical zone Japan yields an endless list, while the wealth and variety of the Japanese

flora is proverbial. From South Cape in Formosa to the northernmost of the Kuriles, off Cape Lopatka in Kamtschatka, the Japanese islands reach, in a direction south-west and north-east, through 31° of latitude (21° to 51° N.), and from the Pescadores to the outer most Kuriles, 36° of longitude (119° to 136° E.); while the British Isles, from Land's End to the Shetlands, cover 11° of latitude only (50° to 61° N.), and from Valentia to Yarmouth 12° of longitude ($10^{\circ} 50'$ W. to $1^{\circ} 50'$ E.). The relative great compactness of homogeneity of the British domain is thus strikingly demonstrated. If we take York in latitude 54° as the centre of the British system, and Yokohama in latitude 35° as the centre of the Japanese, we find an average difference of nearly 20° of latitude in favour of the latter. But while the summers are hotter and moister, the winters are longer and colder than in the same latitude in Europe; and although Japan is free from the greater extremes of the "continental" climate of the mainland adjoining, yet it partakes largely of the character of the latter, and a peculiarly varied flora, as Professor Rein points out, is the result. Yokohama is the same latitude as Malta, but the period of development for wheat is in Japan two months longer than in Malta, "because there a pause of several months occurs, while in Malta even the coldest day of 10° C. is still warm enough to stimulate growth. Sugar, which flourishes as far north as latitude 30° in China (Szechuan), can only be grown in the extreme south. On the other hand, the Japanese can now obtain an inexhaustible supply of this staple from their latest acquisition, Formosa, as they have done formerly from the Liuchius."

Mr. Little refers to the system of feudalism, which had long existed in Japan, and considers that that system came to an end by the opening up of the country to foreign influences, inaugurated by Commodore Perry's tactful visit to Shimoda in 1854. After discussing the origin of the religious tenets of the Japanese, he concludes his invaluable work as follows :

"In any case, the extraordinary contrast we find to-day between the Chinese and Japanese, both branches of one family, affords a most interesting subject of study, and a theme for endless prophecies. Indeed, all the various peoples contained in the region known as the 'Far East,' that we have here attempted to depict, all of the same stock, and all deriving their civilization from a common source, deserve an exhaustive description where we have only attempted an impressionist sketch. The time will come when the Far East will be thought worthy of the same historical research that savants have devoted to the countries bordering the Mediterranean and the 'Near East,' the site of our own intellectual ancestry; but the language difficulty remains an obstacle, never to be completely overcome. To such an exhaustive treatment in the time coming the present work may perhaps serve as a modest introduction"—we should say, an invaluable one.

5. *The Masai, their Language and Folklore*, by A. C. HOLLIS, with Introduction by SIR CHARLES ELIOT, 1905. The author of this important and interesting volume occupies the position of Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, and is an eminent anthropologist. He has evinced by this work that he has missed no opportunity in studying and conversing daily with the natives, and hence his statements and information on the large and various fields of observation can be thoroughly relied upon. "The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral, and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maassæ, whilst their brethren are known as L-Oikop, or Il-Lumbwa. They are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts." Sir Charles Eliot states that at present "they inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa, from the equator to about 60° 5'." "In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often

imitate them, and have received a certain portion of Masai blood), and equally clearly related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa."

Referring to their language, the author, by his careful and minute researches, "has, for the first time, made the grammatical system of the language coherent and clear," and, in the opinion of Sir Charles Eliot, the book "will appeal chiefly to the scientific world, and, perhaps, with the exception of Sir Harry Johnston and Kraft's works, is the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to the anthropology and philology of the British possessions in East Africa." Also, in his exhaustive and admirable introduction, he concludes as follows (which is a sufficient recommendation to the work): "I agree with the opinion indicated by Mr. Hollis in the last paragraph of his preface, that the only hope of the Masai is that, under intelligent guidance, they may gradually settle down and adopt a certain measure of civilization. Any plan of leaving them to themselves, with their old military and social organization untouched, seems to me fraught with grave danger for the prosperity of the tribe, as well as for the public peace. But whatever their future may be, I am sure that the author of this book, which I now commend to the attention of officials, as well as men of science, has, by putting within the reach of all a knowledge of the language and the customs of the Masai, done much to facilitate a settlement of all questions which may arise between them and our Administration."

The work possesses also excellent illustrations of the people, their manners and customs, a well-executed map illustrating the various provinces, in accordance with their language and folklore, and a copious index.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND Co, LIMITED ; LONDON, 1905.

6. *The Japanese Spirit*, by OKAKURA-YOSHISABURO. To the lover of Japanese literary art this book will prove an

immeasurable delight, while all who have studied Japan by means of the works of earlier authors will find much information confirmed and expanded within the volume.

Mr. Okakura-Yoshisaburo, like his brother, Professor K. Okakura, has acquainted himself with much of our own literature, and has been filled with admiration at the analogy of thought existent between the poets of the East and the West.

"The Japanese Spirit" leads us gently step by step through the shadowy regions of mysticism and symbolic influences, and allows a gleam of light occasionally to penetrate our understanding of a nation which has been upheld by a mighty creed of unwritten tenets—a creed which finds but little expression save in the joy of the utter forgetfulness of gloom and dissolution; for the author remarks: "Until death stares us right in the face, we do not care to be religious in the ordinary sense of the term. True, we say and think we believe in death, but all the while this so-called death is nothing else than a new life in this present world of ours led in a supernatural way." As we inhale the perfume of sweet blossoms and the resinous fragrance from autumn's vanishing glories, so the Japanese draw from all their surroundings a subtle religious symbolism, which finds no adequate language to express its potentiality—a symbolism that can be conveyed to the meanest and most untutored mortals in a wordless beauty that influences every thought and action of their lives.

Pages relative to religion, poetry, and the ancient ceremony of *Cha-no-e*, will be helpful to those still searching for a better understanding of the "unknowable" Japanese.—S.

7. *Following the Sun-Flag. A Vain Pursuit through Manchuria*, by JOHN FOX, JUNR. The writer, desirous of visiting Japan and of witnessing the fighting between the Japanese and Russians, tells his experience in a very amusing and humorous style. He says: "Not being a military expert, my purpose was simply to see under the

(sun-flag of Japan) the brown little 'gun-man'—as he calls himself in his own tongue—in camp and on the march, in trench and in open field, in assault and in retreat ; to tell tales of his heroism, chivalry, devotion, sacrifice, incomparable patriotism ; to see him fighting, wounded, and, since such things in war must be, dying, dead. After seven months my spoils of war were post-mortem battlefields, wounded convalescents in hospitals, deserted trenches, a few guns, and one Russian prisoner in a red shirt." The chief interest and complacency of the book is in the free and easy style by which he gives sidelights into the examples of patriotism, sacrifices of the people of all ranks, and conditions of men and women in assisting the soldiers who went to the front, as well as into the habits and customs of the domestic circles of the Japanese and their amusements. Referring to a dinner-party, "a Japanese lady apologized profusely for being late at dinner. She had been to the station to see her son off for the front, where already were three of her sons. Said another straightway: 'How fortunate to be able to give four sons to Japan!' On every gateway is posted a red slab where a man has gone to the war, marked, 'gone to the front,' to be supplanted with a black one—'Bravery for ever' should he be brought home dead." In another example, the little maid who unpacked his bag for him said: "You are going to Korea?" "Yes, I am going to Korea." "I want to go to Korea," said the maid; "but they won't let girls go." "Why do you want to go to Korea?" said the writer. And "for the first time I saw Japanese eyes flash, and her answer came like the crack of a whip—'to fight!'"

Our space does not permit us to make further quotations from the author's entertaining pages. He concludes by saying: "All my life Japan had been one of the two countries on earth I most wanted to see. No more enthusiastic pro-Japanese ever put foot on the shore of that little island than I was when I swung into Yokohama harbour." And "if the arch on which a civilization rests

be character, the keystone of that arch, I suppose, must be honesty—simple honesty.”

JOHN LONG, 13 AND 14, NORRIS STREET, HAYMARKET,
LONDON, S.W.

8. *Glimpses of the Ages; or, the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History*, by THEOPHILUS E. SAMUEL SCHOLES, M.D., etc. This is a very interesting, laborious, and learned work, and its purpose is to elucidate what is, and long has been, a bone of contention amongst anatomists and naturalists as to the whole of mankind having a common or monogenetic birth on the one hand, or a plural or polygenetic on the other. Two different classes or schools are mentioned by the author representing different sides—one said to be showing as its characteristics breadth, candour, and magnanimity, to which the names of Blumenbach, Prichard, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and Reich are given; and the other as its characteristics narrowness, concealment, and selfishness, to which are affixed the names of Heeren, Vogt, Nott and Gliddon, Buckle and Brinton.

The human race is divided into the more advanced and the less advanced—the more advanced represented by the white race, the less advanced by the coloured races. These different races were widely separated, and had little intercourse with each other till Alexander the Great conquered Asia; Rome afterwards bringing the whole civilized world under its power, and later the Crusades effected to some extent the same object.

The inferiority of the coloured races is recognised as an established fact by the generality of mankind, and the cranium has been brought forward to prove that the black and white races are quite distinct from the relative smallness of the skull of the former, conjoined with other differences in other bones.

The colour of the skin, hair, and eye again divide man-

kind into three groups—the melanous (black), the leucous (white), and the xanthous (yellow); the first comprising the largest of the human family; next the Albinos, the white or leucous variety. These are scattered all over the world, and have white hair, red, tender eyes, and very white skins, and are numerically not in large numbers. The Xanthous includes people with light brown, auburn, yellow, or red hair—this variety exists in the other two varieties. These three colours are manifest in the different races of mankind, though the term Albino is unfortunately made synonymous with the white or leucous order, yet the Albino proper exists in all the different races showing an unnatural whiteness of skin and hair and redness of eyes, etc., and may even be seen in the inferior creation from the earwig to the elephant: all different species, but the same in colour.

The skulls of different nations are examined and their capacity is tested by measurements external and internal. Various sizes are given—the average being 85 cubic inches. The short heads are named Brachycephalic, the long heads Dolichocephalic, and the medium Mesaticephalic, representing respectively Turks, etc., negroes, etc., and Germans, etc. If the face projects too much it is indicative of bad form; the European, being the least forward, is labelled as Orthognathous, the negro Mesognathous, and the Australian, Prognathous, being the lowest in the group.

The quality of beauty amongst the different races is touched upon, and each nation or tribe has its own criteria, generally without reference to the natural harmony of the facial organs or colouring of each.

Darwin is quoted to prove the close similarity between the tissues and blood of man and of the lower animals, both in minute structure and in composition and is shown more plainly than does comparison under the microscope. The cæcum is a branch or diverticulum of the intestinal canal ending in a cul-de-sac, and is extremely long in many of the lower vegetable-feeding animals, yet in the kangaroo it is

bereft of an appendix, and so escapes one of the most dangerous diseases of modern times.

We are glad to notice that the author disapproves of Darwin's and Keane's affinity with the lower animals, or from "a whole Anthropous group," rather than from "a single human pair," the differences outweighing the resemblance of a Simian descent, thus demolishing the theory of evolution—that conscience is a rule made by a community for its government, that virtue is the product of intellectual growth, and that belief in a Supreme Being is born with us.

The classification of the races of the human species show their internal organism and development exactly alike, giving rise to the central nervous system—the connective tissues and the epithelial, all spreading their separate structure and functions to particular parts of the body.

The three great progenitors of the human race are now classified under Professor Keane's three divisions: (1) The Ethiopic or Hamitic group; (2) the Mongolian or Semitic division; and (3) the Caucasian group.

These three groups are developed as to their structure on similar and parallel lines, commencing with the cell and ending with a homogeneous organism, alike in all particulars. Evolution restricts itself to animal life principally, and confesses itself unable to account for the origin of life or the mental powers, and forgets that all the races have a special name for the Supreme Being, thus pointing rather to a special creation than to evolution. Moreover, all the three varieties of heads and of colour are found in the three classes.

The ancient Egyptians—are they of Negro descent? is the question put in Chapter XX. Many authorities are cited for and against, and the conclusion is come to that they were of Hamitic origin from three points of view—the lingual, the physical, and the historical. According to the author, the Negro may be distinguished from the other races by certain definite characteristics—hair black and curly, nose short and full, rounded or flat, lips full rather

than thin, complexion full or burnished black, to the light brown or yellow or tawny hue. All people bearing these features should be regarded as members of the Negro variety of mankind, and those persons approximating to this standard may be classed as Negroids. One difficulty with regard to Egypt is its situation in the ancient world, easily accessible to the three continents, and many people from each settling there, giving the country quite a cosmopolitan character. Yet it may be granted that the autochthonoi were entirely of the Hamitic race.

In Chapter XXIII. an historical account is given of "Africa as seen in the Past," and shows the ancient Egyptians were the most advanced people of their time, both in government, extent of country, populousness, and advancement of the fine arts; and the next chapter is headed "Africa as seen in the Present," and the great Mandingo people are selected as a fair sample of the Negro under nature and Mohammedan culture. They inhabit Senegambia, north of Sierra Leone, with other tribes. They are tall in stature, have slender, athletic forms, black complexion, hair crisp and curly, eyes small and twinkling, forehead broad and slanting, lips moderately full, nose slightly depressed. They are gentle in their intercourse, cheerful in friendship, attentive to the sick, and hospitable, etc. They have fairly-built houses; they are the most industrious people of the Soudan. Fruits of many sorts are cultivated; they have cattle, sheep, etc., use the bow in hunting, spin cotton and dye it with indigo, smelt iron, etc. From the description these people appear quite civilized. In central Soudan Bishop Tugwell spent about twelve months, and gives an account of the country. He says: "Many of the conditions there are quite different from anything I have seen in other parts of Africa. The people have an organized system of cleansing the town, all refuse being collected daily, carried off by donkeys, and put on farms as manure. The greater part of the town is well kept. There exists a form of irrigation for growing rice,

onions, tobacco, and here, for the first time in Africa, I saw entire farms surrounded with hedges. Both in Kano and Zaria the people are not ignorant of affairs of the outer world. All through Housaland they are quick and intelligent, and possess great possibilities under British rule. With the exception of the ruling Falanis, who number perhaps about 5 per cent. of the population, they welcome British civilization and methods. There exists a definite system of education with schools in every town, and many of the houses are well built."

As to the United States, between 10 and 11 million Hamites are said to live there, and for two and a half centuries are said to have inhabited that country. A very interesting account is given of them during the forty years of their emancipation, and it is worth while to read the account of Dr. Scholes' history of this period, as the imagination can scarcely understand the great progress they have made in civilization, education, theology, medicine, dentistry, and in the mechanical arts. The history of their progress is too long to give a fair account of their attainments, and Dr. Scholes' book alone can show a fair and true estimate of their advancement. However, it may be useful to mention the four great leaders of the Negro Race—viz., Mr. Booker T. Washington, the Hon. Frederick Douglass, Dr. E. W. Blyden, and Toussaint L'Overture. A short history of each is given of a most interesting character.

Other chapters follow—To what is Civilization primarily due? Civilization among the Races. The two types of Civilization. Causes of Civilization. Coloured Labour. Modern Civilization and its Future.

To conclude, the brain is the chief organ of man by which it is alone possible to gauge his powers, whether he be black or white, African or European. Cuvier may have a brain weighing 63 ounces and Byron so small a head that it may be drowned in an ordinary-sized hat, yet each from his mental output may be classed as in his day first in his

individual work without reference to Shem, Ham, and Japheth.—GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

9. *China in Law and Commerce*, by T. R. JERNIGAN. Mr. Jernigan is evidently a very able and energetic man, and, so far as he has been able to get facts first-hand for himself, whether from intelligent Chinese of his acquaintance, or from personal observation and general experience, he is a very excellent authority. But it is painfully manifest, throughout the book, that he neither understands the Chinese language, nor has any sound working acquaintance with the literature and history of the country. In the first chapter on "Physical Features and Origins" he has fallen under the fascinating spell of Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, whose eccentric theories upon the "Chows," the "Kara-nirus," the "Sanskrit origin of Confucius' Odes," etc., have for a generation afforded amusement to all competent sinologists. In Chinese Mr. Kingsmill is at best but a dilettante. His proper scientific sphere is believed to be that of geology; yet even here he seems to be thought a bit of a crank, for in the *Saturday Review* of August 19, 1905, he informs the public that the London Geological Society declined in 1897, and again this year, to publish certain papers of his touching a mysterious new North Pole of his own discovery, and a "Miocene Equator." So in Chinese his "Pareaeen peoples," "Arimaspians," and "Ushwars," are antediluvian or ancient monsters of his own fecund imagination, as also his "Aryan men," corruptedly "pronounced *Lai-man*"; his Mongols derived from the Geougen Tartar Mukula (*sic*) "pronounced as Mughul"; his Yarkand and Kashgar, which were totally unknown to Chang K'ien; his "King of Ceylon," who sent "water buffaloes" in A.D. 97, etc. In short, this chapter is largely arrant twaddle, and, even where fairly sound, careless and inaccurate.

The second chapter, on "Government," seems to be largely a second-hand compilation from Mayers and Williams; on the whole, it may pass muster, but it is dry and "unconvincing." "The Emperor Hwang Li of China" (p. 55) is an absurd jumble of ideas, into which none but a scissors-and-paste man could possibly fall. Being an American attorney-at-law himself, Mr. Jernigan is on surer ground with the third chapter, on "Law"; but even here he would have found later additions and editions of Chinese Law in the *China Review* for 1879-1883, where Mr. G. Jamieson, whom he quotes so often, gives all the recent amendments upon Staunton's translation. The "Li Kwei of about twenty centuries ago" (p. 71) should be "the Marquis Wên of the State of Wei, aided by his minister Li K'wei, B.C. 427." The next chapter, on "Family Law," is not bad, but there were two other critical works on this subject published almost at the same time as P. von Moellendorff's treatise of 1877, from which last alone Mr. Jernigan quotes. The fifth chapter, on "Tenure and Transfer of Property," is decidedly good, for here the learned Père, Peter Hoang, comes in to keep the author straight. The chapter on "Taxation" is also good, but Edkins (if correctly quoted, p. 158) is no good authority if he says that only 15,833,333 acres were on the land-tax record in 1650, and 17,913,432 in 1810. The original accounts of the Board show over 2,900,000 *k'ing* in 1650, and over 8,900,000 in 1734 (not to speak of 1810), and one *k'ing* is about sixteen acres! The chapter on "Courts" is also very creditable, but (p. 182) the mysterious "Si-tung of A.D. 927," quoted from Edkins as a legal luminary, seems to be quite an imaginary personage, for no such event or historical person is anywhere mentioned in that year; and, in any case, the "Emperor" in question was only a Turk, paying tribute to the Kitan Tartars, ruling ephemerally over a mere fraction of Central China. The chapter on "Extra Territoriality" is excellent, and well up-to-date; that on "Guilds" is also very praiseworthy; but Mr.

Jernigan should have stated his obligations to the late Dr. Macgowan, from whom he quotes wholesale. Chapter X., on "Business Customs," shows the pushing and keen-eyed American observer at his best; notably good are his sensible remarks (p. 261) about the need of an exhibition hall, the supineness of foreign "ten-per-centers," the need of studying Chinese, the duties of compradores and shroffs, and so on. The words *footook* and *gombeen*, which Mr. Jernigan frequently uses as though known to everyone, have never been once heard or read by the present critic during a twenty-seven years' residence in China. The alleged massacre of Portuguese, moreover, in 1545 is an event totally unknown to the Portuguese themselves. The chapter on "Banks" is perhaps the best, most trustworthy, and most original of all, and it has for a long time been badly wanted. Mr. Wong Kai-kah (who, judged by the spelling, must be a Ningpo man) is entitled to our best thanks for his luminous *exposé*. In the next chapter, on "Weights, Measures, and Currency," the fantastic hand of Mr. Kingsmill seems to peep out again in the connection of *pi* (cloth for barter) with *pretium* and *πρᾶσις*, and that of *kin* with Sanskrit *hrikus*, Greek *χαλκός*, Gothic *gulth*, English "gold," etc. On page 298 the *cash* (*ts'ien*), or 一圓 of a dollar, is confused with a *mace* (*ts'ien*), or 一毫 of a tael; and the whole "history of the cash" is thus distorted. The chapter on "Land Transit" is disfigured by more of Mr. Kingsmill's mad-cap road "identifications"; but, on the whole, Mr. Charles Maguire, whose personal experiences as a tramp furnished valuable first-hand aid to Mr. Jernigan, has produced very good information, if in rather scrappy and disjointed form. The chapter on "Water Transit" would be admirable were it not for the large number of misspellings, such as *Puk'usi* for *P'u-k'wei* (pp. 347, etc.), *Maochr* for *Mao-êrh* (pp. 356, etc.), *Kailing* for *Kia-ling* (pp. 339, etc.), *Shin-hing* for *Shiu-hing* (p. 342), and very many others. The last chapter on "Railway Transit" is particularly complete and valuable.

In sum, Mr. Jernigan's virtues are all his own ; his vices partly those of Mr. Kingsmill, and partly the result of "ignorance, sir, sheer ignorance." A second edition, overhauled by a despised "twenty-years-in-the-country-and-know-the-language-man," would double the value of this useful publication, which, even as it stands, is in general business worth far ahead of most of the hasty productions which have lately flooded the market.—E. H. PARKER.

JOHN MURRAY ; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1905.

10. *Women and Wisdom of Japan*, with an Introduction by SHINGORO TAKIISHI (Wisdom of the East Series). This little handbook deals with a wide subject within a small compass. The translations are new and valuable. They delineate the analysis of the heart of a perfect Japanese woman of olden times, according to a Japanese man's standard of morality and praiseworthiness. Severe measures were instituted, we are told, because the power of woman over man was considered possible to become too subtle, if allowed to exist ; hence arose the stern discipline of suppression, subjugation, and utter unselfishness expected to be suffered in silence by the weaker sex in the Far East. The Introduction by Shingoro Takiishi is of great interest, and prepares the way for the information that follows in sequence.—S.

11. *The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, by SIR ALFRED LYALL, P.C., with portraits and illustrations, in two volumes. Sir Alfred Lyall has been fortunate in having such a subject for his pen as the life of the late Lord Dufferin, and the latter has been equally fortunate in having such a biographer. The two volumes before us are all that a biography should be, giving a clear account of the personality of the man whose life is narrated, and also a vivid description of the times and scenes in which he lived and moved, and in which he proved so brilliant a figure.

Lord Dufferin, who described himself as a "Scotchman,

very much improved by being an Irishman for three hundred years," was born on February 21, 1826, and as the son of Price Lord Dufferin, succeeded to the headship and property of a family of Scottish settlers in Ulster, and from his beautiful mother he also inherited the good looks and brilliancy of the Sheridans. Losing his father early, it was Helen Lady Dufferin who became the companion, councillor, and friend of his early life, and to his mother he owed much. He was appointed a Lord-in-Waiting in 1849, and, deciding to embrace a life of politics, he was made an English Peer as Baron Clandeboye.

Ireland and its agrarian troubles, even in his Oxford days, interested him, and in 1854 he became absorbed in the introduction of a Bill on tenant right into the House of Lords. He was a *persona grata* with Queen Victoria, and travelled much, and it is to this period that we owe the delightful "Letters from High Latitudes." He travelled in Egypt and Syria, and in 1860, when trouble broke out in the Lebanon, he was very naturally appointed British Representative in the Joint Commission there, and it was in this Mission that we first find displayed "the judgment, firmness, and generosity" which were so characteristic, and in it he obtained much knowledge of the Pashas, their ways, and those of Oriental peoples. Offered the Government of Bombay on his return, he refused it for his mother's sake; and in 1862, five years before his mother died, married Miss Harriot Hamilton Rowan, who was to become so well known in Indian philanthropy as his wife, and it was to his marriage that he was to owe all his later happiness. In 1864 he was made Under-Secretary of State for India, and then of the War Office; and after filling many other important posts, was in 1872 appointed Governor-General of Canada. Lord Dufferin had to face many problems in Canada—race problems, the Pacific Railway difficulty, and American jealousy; yet he overcame them all, and was able to leave in 1881 with many expressions of praises of the "unselfish loyalty" of

the whole of Canada. After this success, Lord Dufferin was sent as Ambassador to Russia, where the Emperor Alexander was assassinated, and then to Turkey, and later was Commissioner in Egypt at the time when Arabi Pasha's rising was the cause of difficulty and danger to the British occupation. At this juncture Lord Dufferin showed his usual tact—very necessary in a "veritable Khedive de l'Egypte"—and was in 1884 rewarded by being made Viceroy of India. Sir Alfred Lyall is at his best in the part of the work dealing with India. He shows how Lord Dufferin at once intimated that there would be no reversal of Lord Ripon's friendly policy towards the natives. He describes how the Viceroy grappled with the agrarian difficulties, and with what success he established friendly relations with Afghanistan, and completed the Russo-Afghan demarcation.

The conquest and annexation of Burma occurred during Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty, and on account of this enormous increase of territory to the Empire he received, by special favour of the Queen, the Marquisate of Ava. Among the great questions in India to the Viceroy was how far constitutional concessions were to be granted to Indian reformers; again the decentralising movement that he favoured has, it is shown, been followed by good results. Making over the Viceroyalty to Lord Lansdowne in 1888, Lord Dufferin became Ambassador at Rome, and we have interesting glimpses of Italy's Red Sea policy and of diplomatic society. The Embassy to France followed in 1892, and he occupied that last official post in his long career until 1896. The two sad last years of Lord Dufferin's life are sympathetically touched upon, and the biography ends with an admirable character sketch of its subject, which shows to every reader his dignity, readiness, intelligence, and charm.—F. S.

SARODA RAY ; OMRAOGARY, MURSHIDABAD, 1905.

12. *The Musnud of Murshidabad (1704-1904), being a Synopsis of the History of Murshidabad for the Last Two Centuries, to which are appended Notes of Places and Objects of Interest at Murshidabad.* Compiled by PURNA CH. MAJUMDAR, copiously illustrated. This very carefully compiled synopsis ought to command much attention, as it is a compendium descriptive of the places and objects of much interest of what may be said to be the birthplace and cradle of British rule in India. Travellers and visitors, from the increased improvements in railway and other means of travel, will now have an opportunity of inspecting the various places of interest in this famous district. The work is full of excellent portraits and other illustrations, which add a charm to the compilation. Besides a preface and introduction, Part I. contains a list of the Nawabs with their titles, and Part II. contains no fewer than upwards of 100 illustrations and descriptions of temples, mosques, palaces, gardens, historic houses, tombs, and other objects of the greatest interest to travellers, sightseers, and historians. There are also a plan of the battle of Plassey, as well as portraits of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, an appendix of historical documents, numerous genealogical tables, and a copious index. The synopsis is concluded with the following soliloquy by the learned compiler : " As the visitor, fatigued with the troubles of his travels, sits to rest on the terrace of the Neoara house, astonished at the majestic scenery and admiring the glorious sights that are presented to his vision by the Nizamut Killah on the bank opposite, bathed in the soft but effulgent rays of the setting sun, its towers and turrets reflected on the silvery stream that flows by, his eyes riveted on the picture before him, and his mind absorbed with an eventful past, his ears catch the sound of sweet music from the bandstand of the Killah, from which emanate, as are destined to emanate for all time to come, the majestic strains of *Rule Britannia* and *GOD SAVE THE KING.*"

SMITH, ELDER & CO. ; LONDON.

13. *The Story of an Indian Upland*, by F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT, B.A., I.C.S., with twenty illustrations and a map, and an introduction by the Hon. H. H. RISLEY, C.S.I., C.I.E. It is delightful to read this masterly sketch of a little-known district of India. Written in a clear, pleasant style, the author has put before us an excellent account of two Dravidian races, who, though arriving there at very different times, now dwell near each other in the district called the Daman-i-Koh—the skirt of the Hills of Rajmahal—and the Santal Parganas. The older of these races, the Paharias, have dwelt in these hills from time immemorial, and have escaped alike the Hindu domination of the Kingdom of Gaur, and the later Mussulman Empires in Bengal and Delhi. Occupying the jungle-covered hills as a primitive people with few wants, they regarded the settled populations of the plains solely as foreigners, to be avoided, or plundered. The Zemindars in the plains certainly, in later times, attempted to bribe them into friendship, and historic ground begins, when, in 1756, tired of continual inroads, they treacherously massacred a large number of Paharia chiefs at the ceremonial banquet. Shortly after that the British appeared in Rajmahal, and their first knowledge of the Paharias was unpleasant, as the latter continued to rob their subjects, and particularly the mails. In 1778, Captain Browne instituted a sensible outpost of invalid Jagirs for retired soldiers to act as a buffer state ; but it was the coming, in 1779, of Augustus Cleveland that brought the Paharias into complete and harmonious subjection. Cleveland's short career of only a few years is excellently narrated, and his memory well deserves such a sympathetic account. He was one of those men—born leaders of men—dear to the heart of Warren Hastings, and he not only brought the Paharias under the British ráj, but as “Chilmili” his memory is still beloved by them. It was he who gave the Paharias a separate government suited to their isolation,

and the corps of hillmen he raised as guardians of their own lands proved more than efficient for the purpose. Cleveland died in 1784, and the chief succeeding political events when his system of government was once established were the changes in the delimitation of the district. But before this another of the aboriginal races—this time a wandering one—the Santals, had come into the neighbourhood, and after 1836 they were permitted to occupy the debateable lands at the foot of the Paharias' hills. Once settled as cultivators they should have flourished in peace, but the exactions and oppressions of Zemindar and Mahajan ground them down. They rebelled in 1855, and were not reduced until after prolonged fighting and terrific slaughter, and it was only then discovered that they were fighting not against the British, but against the evils of money-lending. Since then, in spite of mysterious "movements," they have been—on the whole—quiet. Christian missions have made some progress, and Hinduising has commenced in some of the tribes, though the great mass are still unchanged in manners and customs. Two chapters, "The Yearly Round in Sagarbhanga," and "Life in a Paharia Village," tell of the life, festivals, and customs of the Santals and Paharias respectively, and they tell of them well. Moreover, Appendix II. gives the names of the Santal septs and sub-septs for the anthropologist. The last chapter in the work deals with an account of Deoghar—the "House of God," the sacred city of the Hindus, which, legend says, was founded by Rahan, King of Lonka and is a place of pilgrimage on account of its holy lake, is not the least attractive part of a fascinating book. Mr. Bradley-Birt is again to be congratulated on his success in adding a notable work to Anglo-Indian literature.—F. S.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE ;
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON, W.C.

14. *The Original Sources of the Qur'ân*, by the REV.
W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, M.A., D.D., author of "The Religion

of the Crescent," etc. This work is intended for students of comparative religion, and is the result of many years' study of the various Oriental religions, ancient and modern. He points out the difference of the Qur'ân and the traditions as follows: "The Qur'ân is styled 'Recited Revelations,' and the Traditions as the 'Unrecited Revelation,' because the Qur'ân, and it alone, is considered to constitute the very utterance of God Himself. Hence the rule that has been laid down that any Tradition, however authenticated it may be, that is clearly contrary to a single verse of the Qur'ân, must be rejected." The author very clearly narrates when and how the Qur'ân was first put together in a collected whole, and his conclusion is, after a very long and patient research and examination, that "we still have the Qur'ân as Muhammad left it, and hence we may, with almost perfect certainty as to the correctness of the text, proceed to study the book, to ascertain what he taught, and whence he derived the various statements and doctrines which are contained in the Qur'ân, and explained and amplified in the Traditions, as constituting the religion of Islam." On these principles, which the author has closely followed, the reader will appreciate the excellency of the work. He concludes as follows: "It is not too much to say that in the minds of his followers Muhammad holds as important a place as Jesus Christ does in those of Christians. The influence of his example for good or ill affects the whole Muhammadan world in even the smallest matters, and few men have played a more momentous part in the religious, moral, and political history of the human race than the founder of Islam." There is, attached to the work, a very useful index.

T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1905.

15. *Ethiopia in Exile; Jamaica Revisited*, by B. PULLEN-BURRY, author of "Jamaica as it is," etc. The author's book on Jamaica has been described as "entertaining" and

its information "interesting." The present work is the outcome of the author's "absence from England extending over several months, during which period he had paid a second visit to the island. On his way thither he made a somewhat prolonged tour through Canada, the United States, and Cuba." Probably what he narrates about the United States is the most interesting. We shall refer chiefly to his chapter on "The Negro under American Rule," and particularly to the institution, founded and carried on by Booker Washington, for the education of the negro race. The prejudice and hatred of the whites against the blacks are as strong and vivid as ever in certain quarters. It is called the "Tuskegee Institute," with all kinds of buildings, schools, workshops, dining-rooms, library, halls, cottages, and residences for teachers—in short, every accommodation requisite for carrying on a great scheme of industrial education. It is largely attended by students. The result is highly satisfactory, not only to the founder, but also to the enlightened donors who have contributed to the institution. The author asserts that "notwithstanding the outcry against the educated negro, the fact is undeniable that the southern white people place three times as much value on the services of an educated negro as they place upon the service of an uneducated one. This holds good with the young women also, who secure temporary work as domestic servants during vacation time. Considering the strenuous nature of the life during the three years' course at Tuskegee, where the work of the day begins at 7 a.m. and continues till 5 p.m., allowing intervals only for meals, with two hours' attendance at evening classes afterwards, and the hard work often required of them in the vacations, one is compelled to admit that there must be sterling qualities beneath the dusky skins." The volume is eminently interesting, and contains much valuable information on the various places visited by the author.

16. *The Story of my Struggles.* The Memoirs of

ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest. Two vols., with illustrations of the author. This is a remarkable biography of a man, who from the direst poverty and other disadvantages, became in languages, literature, and politics, a high authority on many matters connected with affairs in Central Asia and in Europe. His indomitable perseverance, stimulated and guided by a devout and devoted mother and a kind Providence, enabled him not only to overcome all difficulties, but to erect for himself one of the finest monuments in our time of a self-made man. With great modesty, consistent with great achievements, he writes in his own words—"the various stages of my life have been passed in various countries and societies, and a personal record of men and events, dating from half a century back, may not be without interest in the present generation. Unchecked by conventional modesty and false shame, I have related all I went through in plain and unadorned words, and if I have not concealed facts relating to my very humble origin, and to the mistakes I committed, neither have I thought it necessary to leave unmentioned the result of my labours and the honours entailed by them. It is now forty years ago since I had first the honour of coming before the British public, and my desire to be thoroughly known by it may be pardoned." In this spirit and with this motive he has written his memoir. The contents of the first volume relates to his antecedents and infancy; his juvenile struggles; his experience and incidents as a private tutor (at a very early age); his first and second journeys to the East; and his return to Europe. The second volume contains his narrative from London to Budapest; his political career and position in England; the triumph of his labours; his impressions at the English Court; his intercourse with Sultan Abdul Hamid; his intercourse with Nasreddin Shah and his successor; and an admirable summary of his whole life. He concludes by saying: "My eye is still undimmed and my memory still clear, and even as in past

years, so now two worlds with all their different countries, peoples, cities, morals, and customs rise up before my eyes. As the bee flies from one flower to another, so my thoughts wander from Europe to Asia and back again. Everywhere I feel at home; from all sides well-known faces smile recognition; all sorts of people talk to me in their mother-tongue. Thus encompassing the wide world, feasting one's eyes on the most varied scenery—this, indeed, is a delight reserved for travellers only, for travelling is decidedly the greatest and noblest enjoyment in all the world. And so I have no reason to complain of my lot, for if my life was hard the reward was abundant also, and now at the end of it I can be fully satisfied with the result of my struggles."

The illustrations in the first volume are portraits of the author at the ages of eighteen and seventy, and in the second, those after his return from Central Asia, and with his Tartar, 1864. There are literary appendices, relating to European and Asiatic echoes of his incognito travels, and his scientific, linguistic, literary activity, ethnology, religious beliefs, social reforms, and other very interesting subjects.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Aggressive Hinduism, by the SISTER NIVDITA (MARGARET E. NOBLE), of Ramakrishna - Vivekananda, author of the "Web of Indian Life." (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This is a very clever and able contribution, reprinted from the *Indian Review*, advocating aggressive steps for higher and world-wide education on the part of the enlightened Hindu. It is republished in such a form and at such a small price as to enable friends to give the essay a very wide circulation. The important object of the writer may be understood from the following closing paragraph: "Strong as the thunder-bolt, austere as *brahmacharya*, great-hearted and selfless, such should be

that *Sannyas*, and not less than this should be the son of a militant Hinduism."

Folklore of the Telegus: A Collection of Forty-two Highly-amusing and Instructive Tales, by G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) These short tales appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, and are now for the first time appearing in book-form. In the introduction the writer says truly there is a fascination to the child listening to the tales of its grandmother, and a desire to hear another story and a kiss. These pleasant incidents adds a charm to life, and are long remembered, while more recent events are blotted from the memory. The saying is "that the child becomes a philosopher on its mother's knee." The author states that "the blending of the natural with the supernatural has so taken possession of the Telegu mind, that there can be no gloomier form of infidelity than that which questions the moral attributes of the Almighty." The perusal of these simple tales will both amuse and instruct the reader.

Plague in India, being a paper read on May 18, 1905, before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, by CHARLES CREIGHTON, M.D., author of "A History of Epidemics in Britain." Reprinted (by permission) by the Leigh-Brown Endowment. (George Bell and Sons, York House, Portugal Street, London, W.C.) This paper embodies the results of a special journey which this eminent specialist took for the purpose of investigating the external aspects of the plague in India. It is accompanied with maps, showing the areas, etc., of the plague. There is also a short report of the discussion which took place on the paper.

Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1903-1904. Part I. (Office of the Superintendent of the Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1905.) The progress of the Archæological Survey during the year has been steady in all its branches and its staff strengthened. Besides what have been found, various

coins, seals, inscriptions, images, jewellery, etc., have been purchased.

Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for 1904. (Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1905.) The number of boys detained at the end of the year was 158, classified according to race and religion as follows: Native Christians, 3; Mahomedans, 33; Bráhmíns, 9; Low Castes, 27; other Hindus, 86. The system of education continues the same as that during the past three years—vernacular reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Observations upon the Inscriptions of Nabonidus concerning Naram Sins' Foundation-Stone, by the REV. F. A. JONES, Ilford. (Printed for the author and published by the Kingsgate Press, 4, Southampton Row, London, W.C., 1905.) These suggestions offer proof that 3,200 years was the perfectly regular Babylonian form for expressing somewhere about 2,346 B.C., and that Nabonidus could have expressed it in no other way without betraying the secret method of the priests for dates before the first Elamite invasion, being the method then current involving the inclusion in one sum two different modes of expressing the facts. The writer fortifies his suggestions by various quotations and interesting calculations.

A Report on a Second Collection of Coins from Malacca. By R. HANITSCH, PH.D., with one plate. This is a paper reprinted from the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The coins referred to are Portuguese, issued probably by King Emmanuel and John III. They have on the obverse the cross, and on the reverse the sphere. There have also been found twenty-five Malay coins, most of them too much worn to be deciphered.

The Fifth Financial and Economical Annual of Japan, 1905. (The Department of Finance. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Tokyo.) The contents of this volume are important and interesting. There are, *first*, an exceedingly well-executed map of Japan, and

ingeniously coloured diagrams, showing at a glance revenue and expenditure, sources of revenue and expenditure under various heads and aspects, values of imports and exports, loans of various kinds, traffic mileage of State and private railways, shipping and shipyards, weights, measures, and moneys, and their equivalents in English and French. *Second*, there are statements and tables innumerable of finance, agricultural, industry and commerce, banking and money market, railway and other communications, and with an appendix exhibiting the chief economic conditions of the country, the import tariff, and the various departments which are under the control of the Minister of Finance. The work deserves a minute study by all commercial bodies and others interested in the country.

Climate: a Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel, edited by CHARLES P. HARFORD. M.A., M.D., July, 1905. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, London, E.) This very useful publication in its July number contains an excellent article by the editor on the different fevers in the tropical climates, and hints as to their diagnosis; also articles by Colonel Hendley, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retired), on "Health of Europeans in India"; "Leprosy," by Leopold Hill, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; "Kala-azar," by Louis W. Sambon, M.D., Naples, an epidemic sometimes called the "black sickness"; and "A New Form of Tropical Clothing."

The Anglo-Russian Literary Society (founded in 1893). (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) *Proceedings*, May, June, and July, 1905; printed for the Society. The object of this Society is to promote the study of the Russian language and literature, to form a library of Russian books, to hold periodical meetings, and to promote friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia. The present report contains interesting articles on the "Beauties of Russian Literature," "Russia and the Jews," "The Spirit of Ancient Russia in Modern Art," and various other objects and interesting information. The Hon. Secretary is Mr. Edward A. Cazalet.

The Life of Father Dolling, by CHARLES E. OSBORNE, Vicar of Seghill, Northumberland. (George Newnes, Limited, Southampton Street, London, W.C., 1905.) This is a new and cheap (6d.) edition of the life of a well-known Christian philanthropist. The profits on the sale of this edition, like those of the large and expensive edition, will be devoted to the funds of the Dolling Memorial Home, Worthing.

Murby's "Science and Art Department":—Series of Text Books. *Mineralogy*, by FRANK RUTLEY, F.G.S., late Lecturer on Mineralogy in the Royal College of Science, London. Fourteenth edition, revised and corrected. (Thomas Murby and Co., 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, London, E.C.) In the thirteenth edition of this useful handbook important additions were made, and the present (fourteenth) edition has again been carefully revised and corrected. There is an interesting and important article on "Radio-Active Elements," by Mr. Ernest Howard Adye, advisory hints to students, and a minute index.

A Pāli Reader, with Notes and Glossary, by DINES ANDERSEN, PH.D., Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Part II., Glossary (first half). (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag; Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz; London: Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, W.C., 1904-1905.) A very useful and well-printed Glossary, the second half of which will appear in the beginning of the year, when we hope to give a full account of the work.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1903. "Report of the United States National Museum" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905). The contents of this magnificent volume are specially interesting. Besides the reports above indicated, it contains, in Part II., short descriptive and beautifully illustrated accounts of the buildings of the United States National Museum, museums and kindred institutions of

New York City, Albany, Buffalo, Chicago, and National Museums in England and in European cities.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—

Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E.; and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.* Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. iv., edited by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (London: Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, 1905);—Part I. of the

Tadhkkiratu 'L-Awliyá ("Memoirs of the Saints"), edited by Reynold A. Nicholson, M.A. (Luzac and Co., 1905);—*S'ri Brahma Dhàrà* ("Shower from the highest"), through the favour of the Mahatma S'ri Agamya Guru Paramahansa (London: Luzac and Co., 1905);—*Hebrew Humour and other Essays*, by J. Chotzner, PH.D. (London: Luzac and Co., 1905);—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle*: a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York, 1905);—*The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, Haymarket, 1905);—*The Far Eastern Tropics*: Studies of the administration of tropical dependencies, by Alleyne Ireland, F.R.G.S. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1905);—*The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*, by W. J. Simpson, M.D., F.R.C.P. (John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd., Oxford House, 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W., 1905);—*Indian Love*, by Laurence Hope (London: W. Heinemann; New York: John Lane, 1905);—*The Mahabharata: A Criticism*, by C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. (A. J. Combridge and Co., Bombay, and 31, Newgate Street, London, 1905);—An abridged translation of the *History of Tabaristan*, compiled about A.H. 613 (A.D. 1216), by Muhammad B. Al-Hasan B. Isfandiyar, based on the India Office MS., compared with two MSS. in the British Museum, by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly; Leyden: E. J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientale, 1905);—*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate-Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia—from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, by G. Le Strange, author of "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," etc. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1905);—*The Ring from Jaipur*, by F. M. Peard (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1905);—*The Gold and Silver Wares of Assam*. A monography, by F. C. Hanniker, I.C.S. 1S. 1905.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—Lord Curzon as Viceroy having on August 20 resigned, the Earl of Minto was appointed his successor.

Copious rains have fallen in Rajputana and other drought-affected districts, followed by heavy floods.

The Government has decided that, from October 1, one anna and half anna postage-stamps, at present in use, may be utilized either for postal purposes or for payment of stamp-duty. It is also notified that, from the same date, pen-marked stamps, or stamps bearing on their face dates or initials or writing of any kind, will not be accepted by the post-office in payment of postage.

Bengal has been divided into two provinces, in consequence of which considerable feeling has been exhibited by natives, both Muhammadan and Hindu. At Dacca, the capital of the new province, at a largely attended meeting a resolution was passed to petition the Secretary of State to appoint an English statesman as Governor of Bengal.

Mr. J. B. Fuller has been appointed first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The scarcity of rain prevailing early in the year in Madras, and the bad season, has caused a great fall in the revenue. Up to the end of May only $208\frac{1}{2}$ lacs were collected, as against $221\frac{3}{4}$ lacs in the corresponding period of last year. There is also a decrease of 12 lacs in the land revenue.

Exports and imports for 1904-1905: There is an increase in the imports, chiefly due to sugar machinery, raw cotton, and textile manufactures. Exports were 3 per cent. higher than last year. The grain trade has increased in volume by 32 per cent., and in value by 851 lacs, of which wheat accounts for 698 lacs. The total of grain and pulse was of

the value of 4,111 lacs, or 26·7 per cent. of the total value of the exports.

The Mahars, a Bombay caste, have petitioned the Viceroy praying for the admission of their men into the ranks of the native army and police.

Mr. John William Pitt Muir Mackenzie, I.C.S., has been appointed member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay in succession to Sir James Monteath, K.C.S.I., whose term of service has expired.

INDIA: NATIVE.—The next sittings of the Muhammadan Educational Conference will be held at Aligarh in December next. At a committee meeting held last June, Khalifah Muhammad Husain Khan, Mumtaz-ul-Mulk, Mushir-ed-Dowlah, of Patiala, was unanimously elected president. The finances of the College are most flourishing, the income for last year amounting to 1,24,047 rupees, whilst donations and subscriptions for buildings amounted to 1,23,499 rupees.

The coming of age (twenty-first birthday) of H.H. the Maharaja of MAISUR was celebrated in July last with much pomp and ceremony.

It has been decided by Government to entrust the Maharaja of JAMMU and KASHMIR with a larger measure of administrative responsibility than he at present possesses. The State Council will be abolished.

The Jairi Students' Institute, erected by Sheth Manikchand Pawachand of Bombay, was opened by H.H. the Maharaja of KOLAPORE on August 9.

Mr. Brojendro Nath Seal, head of the COOCH BEHAR College, a well-known Indian savant, has been appointed Director of Public Instruction of Cooch Behar.

The small State of SANDUR has, during the minority of its Raja, returned to financial prosperity. The State debts are being rapidly paid off, the Treasury is full, and a new source of revenue is being exploited in the form of mangane-se deposits, which are let out for mining.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—The mission to Bhutan under

Mr. Claude White has been successful in discharging its duties, and has now returned to India.

The bridge across the Hunza River has been swept away by a very high flood on August 2. The road between Chalt and Gilgit has also sustained much damage.

CEYLON.—His Excellency Sir Henry Blake, the Governor, is taking three months home leave. During his absence the Hon. Mr. Ashmore, the Lieutenant-Governor, will administer the Government, and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler, Acting Auditor-General, will act as Colonial Secretary.

The Registrar-General has estimated the population of the Colony on March 31 last at 3,836,350.

Colonel R. C. B. Lawrence, A.A.G. at Aldershot will succeed Brigadier-General Money this month as General Officer Commanding Ceylon.

AFGHANISTAN.—Great activity by the Afghans has been shown lately in the Province of Badakhshan. A new cantonment is being built in the Kokaha Valley, and new roads are being constructed to the Afghan outposts on the Oxus. Sardar Hayātullah Khan, half-brother of H. H. the Amir is the governor.

PERSIA.—H. I. M. the Shah arrived in Vienna in June last on his way to Contrexeville.

Prince Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, 'Alā-es-Saltanah, Persian Minister at the Court of St. James's, and head of a special mission to England with the temporary rank of Ambassador, has been decorated by H. M. the King with the Honorary Knighthood of the Grand Cross of the Royal Victoria Order.

H. I. M. whilst at Vichy received in audience Abdullah Al-Mâmun Al-Suhrawardy, founder of the Imperial Pan-Islamic Society, whose scheme of building a Pan-Islamic mosque in London he expressed approval of. Members of the Shah's suite, which included Haji Āgā Amin-ul-Zarb, and Āgā Muin-ul-Tujjār, subscribed over 2,000 tomans towards the funds.

H. I. M. returned to Persia in September viâ St. Petersburg, where he was received by the Tsar and Grand Dukes.

PERSIAN GULF AND MASKAT.—The Hague Tribunal's award in the Anglo-French arbitration has decided that, as from January 1892, France has not the right to authorize subjects of the Sultan of Maskat to fly the French flag, unless such subjects were under French protection before 1863.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—It is reported that Turkish troops under Faizi Pasha occupied Sana on September 5 without opposition. The Arabs had diverted the Turkish attention whilst they destroyed the Government palace, the barracks, and other public buildings, and removed their stores of grain.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Orenburg-Tashkand railway is now open for passenger and goods traffic.

JAPAN AND RUSSIA.—Through the eminent services of Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the United States of America, both belligerent Governments agreed to meet and arrange terms of peace in America. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was the place chosen, and there the delegates of both Governments met—M. Witte on behalf of Russia, and Baron Komura on behalf of Japan—and drew up a treaty composed of a short preamble and certain articles, the substance of which will be found in our pages under the heading "Correspondence, Notes, and News." This treaty was signed on September 5, subject to formal ratification by the Tsar and Mikado.

General Linievitch, at Guntzuling, the Russian headquarters, has received a notification from Marshal Oyama proposing a meeting and an arrangement for an armistice, pending the ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

JAPAN.—Subscriptions to the fourth Japanese domestic loan amounted to 500,000,000 yen (£50,000,000), of which 77,000,000 yen were subscribed above the issue price. The foreign subscriptions aggregated 79,000,000 yen, English and Americans being the chief contributors.

On receipt of the particulars of the Treaty of Peace in Japan great indignation was shown at the result, which many conceived was unfavourable to Japan, owing to the Government not having pressed the demand for an indemnity. Riots occurred in the capital and provinces, and many persons were killed and injured. As we go to press, the riotous proceedings have subsided and order has been restored.

CHINA.—The Government has decided to pay the Boxer Indemnity to all the Powers concerned in gold, by telegraphic transfer, except Russia, who has agreed to receive payment in silver.

Owing to complaints of bad treatment towards Chinese subjects and travellers in the United States, a boycott of American goods was instituted all over China. The Government has issued an Edict advising people to cease from preventing the purchase and use of American goods until after Congress meets, when this state of affairs may be considered and remedied.

This boycott has paralyzed the American flour trade from the Pacific coast ports.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—Heavy rain-storms during August last have produced some splendid crops. A portion of the Sudan railway was, at the same time, washed away.

There passed through the Suez Canal in 1904, 4,237 vessels of a net tonnage of 13,401,835 tons, as compared with 3,761 vessels of 11,907,288 tons in 1903. The transit receipts have risen from 103,620,268 francs in 1903 to 115,818,479 francs in 1904, the highest total since the opening of the Canal. The original tariff for laden ships was 10 francs per ton in 1869. Its present rate is 8fr. 50c. On January 1 next the rate will be reduced to 7fr. 75c. Of 4,237 vessels, 2,672 were British.

EAST AFRICA : UGANDA.—In the entire period, from the commencement of the railway up to March 31, 1904, the expenditure was £5,459,287. The total receipts during that period were £99,216, and a sum of £20,000 having been provided for by vote in 1895-1896, the total net

expenditure chargeable upon monies provided under the Acts of 1896 and 1902 is £5,340,070. The total net expenditure has exceeded the issues from the Consolidated Fund by £29,070, which sum has been temporarily met out of balances in the hands of the accounting officer in East Africa.

TRANSVAAL.—One vote one value (in the Franchise) will be adhered to. The Congress of Het Volk, early in July, resolved on an attempt to persuade the Government to amend the new Constitution.

Sir Arthur Lawley opened the session of the Legislative Council at Pretoria on July 18.

The estimates for 1905-1906 show a surplus of £87,480. A railway conference between the Cape Colony and the Natal Governments, and the High Commissioner has been held.

The exports for the half year ended June 30 amounted to £11,305,979. The principal exports being—gold, £10,076,369; diamonds, £628,142; and wool, £37,116.

The death is announced of Lerothodi, Paramount Chief of BASUTOLAND, a native governor of statesman-like mind, and for many years faithful in his devotion to British rule in South Africa.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: NORTHERN NIGERIA.—Trouble has broken out with the Amirate of Hadeija, to the east of Kano. A force has been collected to operate against it.

AUSTRALASIA: COMMONWEALTH.—In the Federal House of Representatives, on August 22, Sir John Forrest, the Finance Minister, in the course of his speech, said that the total revenue of the Commonwealth for the past financial year amounted to £11,460,000, being £109,000 below the estimate. The estimated revenue for the current year is £11,387,000. The estimated expenditure for this year amounts to £4,606,000, and the surplus returnable to the States to £6,784,000. The following are the principal increases in expenditure: Naval contribution, £51,000; increased bounty on locally-grown sugar, £25,000; defence,

£25,000; posts and telegraphs, £88,000; and new public works, £118,000. The total expense to Australia of Federation this year amounts to £297,000, being 1s. 5d. per head of the population.

VICTORIA.—In consequence of Mr. Deakin's motion of no confidence in the Government being carried by 42 to 25, Mr. Deakin succeeded Mr. Reid as Premier, and formed a new Cabinet as follows: Mr. Isaacs, Attorney-General; Sir William Lyne, Trade and Customs; Sir J. Forrest, Treasurer; Mr. Chapman, Postmaster-General; Mr. Playford, Defence; Mr. Groom, Home Affairs; Mr. Ewing, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council; and Mr. Keating without portfolios.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Assembly, last July, having voted a want of confidence in the Government, a new Ministry was formed as follows: Mr. T. Price, Premier, and Minister of Public Works and Education; Mr. A. Peake, Treasurer and Attorney-General; Mr. L. O'Loughlin, Lands, Mines and Agriculture; Mr. A. Kirkpatrick, Chief Secretary and Minister of Industry.

The revenue for the quarter ended March 31 last amounted to £776,128.

QUEENSLAND.—Lord Chelmsford has been appointed Governor in succession to Major-General Sir Herbert Charles Chermside.

Parliament was opened on July 25.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—A new Ministry was formed in August, composed of the following: Mr. C. H. Rason, Premier and Minister of Justice; Mr. N. J. Moore, Lands and Agriculture; Mr. Frank Wilson, Minister of Works; Mr. W. Kingsmill, Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education; Dr. Hicks, Minister of Commerce and Labour; Mr. H. Gregory, Minister of Mines and Railways; Mr. L. Moss, without portfolio. The latter will superintend the Crown Law Department.

NEW ZEALAND.—Mr. Seddon, in the course of a speech, said that the Colony was the wealthiest country in the

world per head of population. It stood at £308 per inhabitant, while the United Kingdom only reached £302.

The sum of £1,000,000 is proposed to be raised on a loan for Public Works.

The estimated expenditure for the current year is £6,960,000, and the estimated revenue £7,467,000.

CANADA.—Magnificent crops have been reaped generally, especially in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Mr. Roblin, Premier and Minister of Agriculture of Manitoba, after a visit of inspection, said that the total yields of wheat in Manitoba and the North-West was well over 100,000,000 bushels, being an average of over 25 bushels per acre. Ontario has yielded 18,467,043 bushels, or 23 per acre.

Lord Grey, the Governor-General, has been given the honorary title of Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency and Lady Grey, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, attended the inauguration of the new Province of Alberta, at Edmonton in September. This province comprises Alberta, the western half of Athabasca, and a narrow strip of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia. The other province (Saskatchewan) consists of the eastern half of Athabasca and the major portion of the present territories of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. Regina is the capital.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—For the fiscal year ending June, 1906, the revenue has been estimated at \$2,498,000, and the expenditure at \$2,470,000.

The coastwise whale fishery for last year has proved a financial failure.

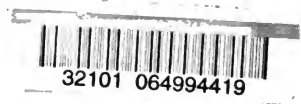
Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following :—Commander Arthur W. Chitty, C.I.E., late of the Indian Navy (operations in Sind 1842-43, Persian war 1856-57 and Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-General Alexander Callander, late of the Bengal Army ;—Major H. G. Daniel, late Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Nile

expedition 1884-85, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Dr. William Thomas Blanford, F.R.S., LL.D., C.I.E., formerly of the Geological Survey of India (attached as geologist to the Abyssinian expedition 1868, Persian Boundary Commission 1872; President Geological Society, 1888);—Major-General F. O. Salusbury (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny, North-West Frontier 1863);—Major-General de Symons Barrow (Mutiny suppression 1858-59);—Surgeon-General James Macnabb Cunningham, C.S.I., M.D., LL.D., formerly of the Bengal Medical Service;—Captain Claude Clerk, C.I.E., formerly 2nd Madras Cavalry (Persian war 1855-56, Mission to Herat 1857-58);—Captain J. A. Forbes (Burmese war 1852, Baltic 1854-55);—Sir George Chetwode, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel 8th Hussars (Crimea and Mutiny);—Major-General Montague Protheroe, C.B., C.S.I., Madras Native Infantry 1858 (Abyssinia 1868, Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1885);—Colonel W. Hughes-Hallett, of the Indian army (Burma 1886-87);—Colonel Sir John Farquharson, K.C.B., R.E.;—William Ford, C.S.I., Bengal Civil Service appointed 1843, retired 1869 (Mutiny);—Major Wilfred George Howard Marshall, Grenadier Guards (Sudan 1898, South Africa 1899-1902);—Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, R.A.;—The Grand Sherif of Mecca, Aun-ur-Rafiq Pasha (at Jiddah);—Major Douglas Drury Barnes, Superintendent of Police, British Honduras;—Mr. John Brown, C.E., C.M.G., Engineer-in-Chief of the Cape Government Railways;—Major Charles John Burgess, late 46th Foot and Military Knight of Windsor (Crimea);—Commander Reginald Henry Curteis, R.N., retired (Egyptian war 1882);—Lieutenant H. L. H. Fell, late R.N. of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province of the Sudan, Egyptian Army, and afterwards of the Sudan Civil Service (Nile expedition 1899, Nyam-Nyam expedition 1904-05);—The Rev. Ebenezer E. Jenkins, LL.D., ex-President Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (in India 1845-63);—The Rev. Thomas Lewis John Warneford, chaplain Calcutta Ecclesiastical Establishment (Afghan Field Force 1879-80,

Ghazni Field Force 1880-81);—Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., saw nearly forty years of public life in India in different appointments;—Captain Montagu Burrows, late R.N. and Professor of Modern History at Oxford (Malaysia, St. Jean d'Acre 1840);—Colonel Charles Henry Luard, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers, appointed 1855, retired 1889;—At Kabul, Sardar Ahmad Khan, ex-Governor of Qandahār and brother to the Afghan envoy to India;—Captain Wilfred Romney Rawlinson, Adjutant 1st Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment (South African war);—Major-General Sir George Robertson Hennessy, H.E.I.CO.'s. Service 1854 (Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-80, Sudan 1885);—Shaikh Muhammad Abdu, Grand Mufti of Egypt;—Major-General A. A. Stewart (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Condon, formerly Indian Medical Service, Bengal, 1859, retired 1891;—Colonel G. W. Cox, late Madras army (Karen insurrection 1857);—Mr. A. L. V. Newbank, late Bengal Educational Service (principal of Patna College 1881-97);—General Sir Montagu Gerard, Indian Army (Abyssinia 1868, Afghan campaign 1878-80, Egyptian expedition 1882);—The Hon. Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G., of the Newfoundland Assembly 1850;—Mr. Henry Sotheran, a well-known publisher;—Lieutenant-General Somerset Molyneux Wiseman-Clarke, C.B. (Crimea, Relief of Lucknow 1857, and Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Alexander John Lawrence, C.I.E., late Bengal Civil Service, entered from Haileybury 1856;—Captain C. G. Hutchinson, Indian Army, in Burma;—Captain William Maloney, for some years Governor of the Military Knights of Windsor (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny campaign);—Colonel C. W. J. Kingston, lately commanding 10th Regiment N.I. (Jāts) (Burma expedition 1887-89, Chen-Lushai 1889-90);—Colonel J. St. Leger (saw service in Shropshire Light Infantry in the Sutlej campaign of 1845-46);—Captain G. Bramwell, Bombay Staff Corps, retired (Persia 1857, Mutiny campaign 1858);—Captain Norman Nevill Bedingfeld, late 60th King's Royal Rifle

Corps (Hazara, Miranzai, and Isazai expeditions 1891-92); Miss Elizabeth Adelaide Manning, Honorary Secretary National Indian Association;—Captain Edward Sausmarez Carey, drowned in Egypt (North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, South African war);—Captain Charles Henry George Vesey Stores, North-West Frontier campaign and South Africa, also drowned in Egypt;—M. Jules Oppert, Member of the INSTITUTE and Professor at the COLLEGE DE FRANCE; a well-known Orientalist;—Mr. William Horniman, paymaster-in-chief, R.N. (St. Jean d'Acre, Baltic and Black Seas);—Mr. Lewis Charles Innes, late Judge, Madras High Court;—Commissary-General Leonce Routh, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General in Lower Canada 1839 (Crimea);—Khan Bahadur Muhammad Barikat Ali Khan, a well-known Rais of Lahore;—Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell Walter Hyslop, of the 93rd Highlanders, 1854 (Crimea, Mutiny);—Mr. Harold George Parsons, of the Colonial Service (Legislative Council, West Australia 1897, South African campaign, afterwards District Commissioner at Lagos);—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Heathcote Stisted (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Crimea, Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier 1863-64);—Mr. H. Irvin Blake, son of Sir Henry Blake, Governor of Ceylon;—Major-General William McConaghy, I.M.S.;—Major-General James Edmund Bacon Parsons, employed in the Punjab Commission (Mutiny).

September 12, 1905.



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